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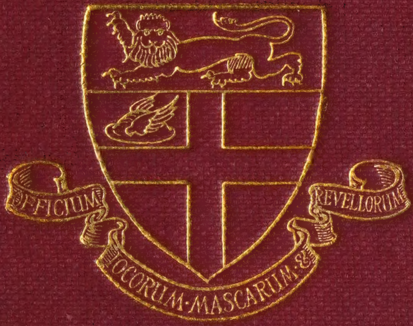

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THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE
VOL. III

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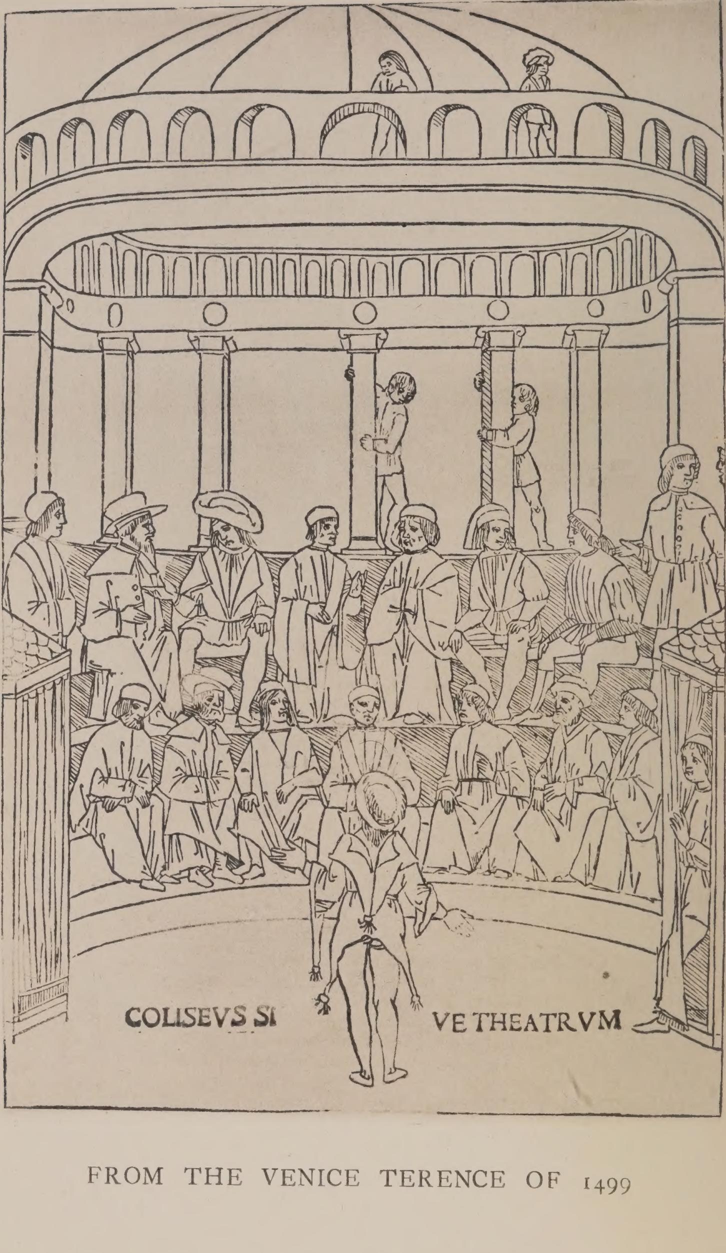

FROM THE VENICE TERENCE OF 1499

~~L.E.H~~
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THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

BY E.dmund K.erchever CHAMBERS. VOL. III

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NOTE ON SYMBOLS

I HAVE found it convenient, especially in Appendix A, to use the symbol < following a date, to indicate an uncertain date not earlier than that named, and the symbol > followed by a date, to indicate an uncertain date not later than that named. Thus 1903 <> 23 would indicate the composition date of any part of this book. I have sometimes placed the date of a play in italics, where it was desirable to indicate the date of production rather than publication.

XIX

STAGING AT COURT

[*Bibliographical Note.*—Of the dissertations named in the *note* to ch. xviii, T. S. Graves, *The Court and the London Theatres* (1913), is perhaps the most valuable for the subject of the present chapter, which was mainly written before it reached me. A general account of the Italian drama of the Renaissance is in W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, vol. ii (1901). Full details for Ferrara and Mantua are given by A. D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano* (1891), of which App. II is a special study of *Il Teatro Mantovano nel secolo xvi*. F. Neri, *La Tragedia italiana del Cinquecento* (1904), E. Gardner, *Dukes and Poets at Ferrara* (1904), and *The King of Court Poets* (1906), W. Smith, *The Commedia dell' Arte* (1912), are also useful. Special works on staging are E. Flechsig, *Die Dekorationen der modernen Bühne in Italien* (1894), and G. Ferrari, *La Scenografia* (1902). The Terence engravings are described by M. Herrmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (1914). Of contemporary Italian treatises, the unprinted *Spectacula* of Pellegrino Prisciano is in *Cod. Est. lat.* d. x. 1, 6 (cf. G. Bertoni, *La Biblioteca Estense*, 13), and of L. de Sommi's *Dialoghi in materia di rappresentazione scenica* (*c.* 1565) a part only is in L. Rasi, *I Comici italiani* (1897), i. 107. The first complete edition of S. Serlio, *Architettura* (1551), contains Bk. ii, on *Perspettiva*; the English translation was published by R. Peake (1611); extracts are in App. G; a biography is L. Charvet, *Sébastien Serlio* (1869). Later are L. Sirigatti, *La pratica di prospettiva* (1596), A. Ingegneri, *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche* (1598), and N. Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' Teatri* (1638).

For France, E. Rigal, *Le Théâtre de la Renaissance* and *Le Théâtre au xvii*^{e} *siècle avant Corneille*, both in L. Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la Langue et de la Litt. Françaises* (1897), iii. 261, iv. 186, and the same writer's *Le Théâtre Français avant la Période Classique* (1901), may be supplemented by a series of studies in *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*—P. Toldo, *La Comédie Française de la Renaissance* (1897–1900, iv. 336; v. 220, 554; vi. 571; vii. 263), G. Lanson, *Études sur les Origines de la Tragédie Classique en France* (1903, x. 177, 413) and *L'Idée de la Tragédie en France avant Jodelle* (1904, xi. 541), E. Rigal, *La Mise en Scène dans les Tragédies du xvi*^{e} *siècle* (1905, xii. 1, 203), J. Haraszti, *La Comédie Française de la Renaissance et la Scène* (1909, xvi. 285); also G. Lanson, *Note sur un Passage de Vitruve*, in *Revue de la Renaissance* (1904), 72. Less important is E. Lintilhac, *Hist. Générale du Théâtre en France* (1904–9, in progress). G. Bapst, *Essai sur l'Histoire du Théâtre* (1893), and D. C. Stuart, *Stage Decoration and the Unity of Place in France in the Seventeenth Century* (1913, *M. P.* x. 393), deal with staging, for which the chief material is E. Dacier, *La Mise en Scène à Paris au xvii*^{e} *siècle: Mémoire de L. Mahelot et M. Laurent* in *Mémoires de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, xxviii (1901), 105. An edition by H. C. Lancaster (1920) adds Mahelot's designs.]

We come now to the problems, reserved from treatment in the foregoing chapter, of scenic background. What sort of setting did the types of theatre described afford for the plots, often complicated, and the range of incident, so extraordinarily wide, which we find in Elizabethan drama? No subject in literary history has been more often or more minutely discussed, during the quarter of a century since the Swan drawing was discovered, and much valuable spadework has been done, not merely in the collecting and marshalling of external evidence, but also in the interpretation of this in the light of an analysis of the action of plays and of the stage-directions by which these are accompanied.[1] Some points have emerged clearly enough; and if on others there is still room for controversy, this may be partly due to the fact that external and internal evidence, when put together, have proved inadequate, and partly also to certain defects of method into which some of the researchers have fallen. To start from the assumption of a 'typical Shakespearian stage' is not perhaps the best way of approaching an investigation which covers the practices of thirty or forty playing companies, in a score of theatres, over a period of not much less than a century. It is true that, in view of the constant shifting of companies and their plays from one theatre to another, some 'standardization of effects', in Mr. Archer's phrase, may at any one date be taken for granted.[2] But analogous effects can be produced by very different arrangements, and even apart from the obvious probability that the structural divergences between public and private theatres led to corresponding divergences in the systems of setting adopted, it is hardly safe to neglect the possibility of a considerable evolution in the capacities of stage management between 1558 and 1642, or even between 1576 and 1616. At any rate a historical treatment will be well advised to follow the historical method. The scope of the inquiry, moreover, must be wide enough to cover performances at Court, as well as those on the regular stage, since the plays used for both purposes were undoubtedly the same. Nor can Elizabethan Court performances, in their turn, be properly considered, except in the perspective afforded by a short preliminary survey of the earlier developments of the art of scenic representation at other Renaissance Courts.

The story begins with the study of Vitruvius in the latter part of the fifteenth century by the architect Alberti and others, which led scholars to realize that the tragedies of the pseudo-Seneca and the comedies of Terence and the recently discovered Plautus had been not merely recited, but acted much in the fashion already familiar in contemporary *ludi* of the miracle-play type.[1] The next step was, naturally, to act them, in the original or in translations. Alberti planned a *theatrum* in the Vatican for Nicholas V, but the three immediate successors of Nicholas were not humanists, and it is not until the papacy of Innocent VIII that we hear of classical performances at Rome by the pupils of Pomponius Laetus. One of these was Tommaso Inghirami, who became a cardinal, without escaping the nickname of Phaedra from the part he had played in *Hippolytus.* This, as well as at least one comedy, had already been given before the publication (*c.* 1484–92) of an edition of Vitruvius by Sulpicius Verulanus, with an epistle addressed by the editor to Cardinal Raffaelle Riario, as a notable patron of the revived art. Sulpicius is allusive rather than descriptive, but we hear of a fair adorned stage, 5 ft. high, for the tragedy in the forum, of a second performance in the Castle of St. Angelo, and a third in Riario's house, where the audience sat under *umbracula*, and of the 'picturatae scenae facies', which the cardinal provided for a comedy by the Pomponiani.[2]

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[1] Cf. ch. xxii.

[2] *Quarterly Review* (April 1908), 446.

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[1] A copy at Berlin of the Strassburg *Terence* of 1496 has the manuscript note to the engraving of the *Theatrum*, 'ein offen stat der weltlichkeit da man zu sicht, ubi fiunt chorei, ludi et de alijs leutitatibus, sicut nos facimus oster spill' (Herrmann, 300). Leo Battista Alberti's *De Re Edificatoria* was written about 1451 and printed in 1485. Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, v. 3–9, deals with the theatre. The essential passage on the scene is v. 6, 8–9 'Ipsae autem scenae suas habent rationes explicitas ita, uti mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae regiae, dextra ac sinistra hospitalia, secundum autem spatia ad ornatus comparata, quae loca Graeci περιάκτους dicunt ab eo, quod machinae sunt in his locis versatiles trigonoe habentes singulares species ornationis, quae, cum aut fabularum mutationes sunt futurae seu deorum adventus, cum tonitribus repentinis [ea] versentur mutentque speciem ornationis in frontes. secundum ea loca versurae sunt procurrentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scaenam. genera autem sunt scaenarum tria: unum quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum. horum autem ornatus sunt inter se dissimili disparique ratione, quod tragicae deformantur columnis et fastigiis et signis reliquisque regalibus rebus; comicae autem aedificiorum privatorum et maenianorum habent speciem prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione, communium aedificiorum rationibus; satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topeodis speciem deformati'; cf. G. Lanson, in *Revue de la Renaissance* (1904), 72.

[2] 'Tu enim primus Tragoediae . . . in medio foro pulpitum ad quinque pedum altitudinem erectum pulcherrime exornasti: eamdemque, postquam in Hadriani mole . . . est acta, rursus intra tuos penates, tamquam in media Circi cavea, toto consessu umbraculis tecto, admisso populo et pluribus tui ordinis spectatoribus honorifice excepisti. Tu etiam primus picturatae scenae faciem, quum Pomponiani comoediam agerent, nostro saeculo ostendisti'; cf. Marcantonius Sabellicus, *Vita Pomponii* (*Op.* 1502, f. 55), 'Pari studio veterum spectandi consuetudinem desuetae civitati restituit, primorum Antistitum atriis suo theatro usus, in quibus Plauti, Terentii, recentiorum etiam quaedam agerentur fabulae, quas ipse honestos

Performances continued after the death of Pomponius in 1597, but we get no more scenic details, and when the *Menaechmi* was given at the wedding of Alfonso d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia in 1502 it is noted that 'non gli era scena alcuna, perchè la camera non era capace'.[1] It is not until 1513 that we get anything like a description of a Roman neo-classical stage, at the conferment of Roman citizenship on Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, the Florentine kinsmen of Leo X.[2] This had a decorated back wall divided by pilasters into five spaces, in each of which was a door covered by a curtain of golden stuff. There were also two side doors, for entrance and exit, marked 'via ad forum'.

An even more important centre of humanistic drama than Rome was Ferrara, where the poets and artists, who gathered round Duke Ercole I of Este, established a tradition which spread to the allied courts of the Gonzagas at Mantua and the Delle Rovere at Urbino. The first neo-classical revival on record at Ferrara was of the *Menaechmi* in 1486, from which we learn that Epidamnus was represented by five marvellous 'case' each with its door and window, and that a practicable boat moved across the *cortile* where the performance was given.[3]

In 1487 it was the turn of the *Amphitrio* 'in dicto cortile a tempo di notte, con uno paradiso cum stelle et altre rode'.[4]

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adolescentes et docuit, et agentibus praefuit'; cf. also D'Ancona, ii. 65; Creizenach, ii. 1.

[1] D'Ancona, ii. 74.

[2] D'Ancona, ii. 84; Herrmann, 353; Flechsig, 51. The scenic wall is described in the contemporary narrative of P. Palliolo, *Le Feste pel Conferimento del Patriziato Romano a Giuliano e Lorenzo de' Medici* (ed. O. Guerrini, 1885), 45, 63, 'Guardando avanti, se appresenta la fronte della scena, in v compassi distinta per mezzo di colonne quadre, con basi e capitelli coperti de oro. In ciascuno compasso è uno uscio di grandezza conveniente a private case. . . . La parte inferiore di questa fronte di quattro frigi è ornata. . . . A gli usci delle scene furono poste portiere di panno de oro. El proscenio fu coperto tutto di tapeti con uno ornatissimo altare in mezzo.' The side doors were in 'le teste del proscenio' (Palliolo, 98). I have not seen M. A. Altieri, *Giuliano de' Medici, eletto cittadino Romano* (ed. L. Pasqualucci, 1881), or N. Napolitano, *Triumphi de gli mirandi Spettaculi* (1519). Altieri names an untraceable Piero Possello as the architect; Guerrini suggests Pietro Rossello.

[3] D'Ancona, ii. 128, from *Diario Ferrarese*, 'in lo suo cortile . . . fu fato suso uno tribunale di legname, con case v merlade, con una finestra e uscio per ciascuna: poi venne una fusta di verso le caneve e cusine, e traversò il cortile con dieci persone dentro con remi e vela, del naturale'; Bapt. Guarinus, *Carm.* iv:

> Et remis puppim et velo sine fluctibus actam
> Vidimus in portus nare, Epidamne, tuos,
> Vidimus effictam celsis cum moenibus urbem,
> Structaque per latas tecta superba vias.
> Ardua creverunt gradibus spectacula multis,
> Velaruntque omnes stragula picta foros.

[4] D'Ancona, ii. 129.

Both the *Amphitrio* and the *Menaechmi* were revived in 1491; the former had its 'paradiso', while for the latter 'nella sala era al prospecto de quattro castelli, dove avevano a uscire quilli dovevano fare la representatione'.[1] Many other productions followed, of some of which no details are preserved. For the *Eunuchus*, *Trinummus*, and *Penulus* in 1499 there was a stage, 4 ft. high, with decorated columns, hangings of red, white, and green cloth, and 'cinque casamenti merlati' painted by Fino and Bernardino Marsigli.[2] In 1502, when Lucrezia Borgia came, the stage for the *Epidicus*, *Bacchides*, *Miles Gloriosus*, *Casina*, and *Asinaria* was of the height of a man, and resembled a city wall, 'sopra gli sono le case de le comedie, che sono sei, non avantagiate del consueto'.[3] The most elaborate description on record is, however, one of a theatre set up at Mantua during the carnival of 1501, for some play of which the name has not reached us. Unfortunately it is not very clearly worded, but the stage appears to have been rather wider than its depth, arcaded round, and hung at the back with gold and greenery. Its base had the priceless decoration of Mantegna's *Triumphs*, and above was a heaven with a representation of the zodiac. Only one 'casa' is noted, a 'grocta' within four columns at a corner of the stage.[4]

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[1] Ibid. 130.

[2] Ibid. 132, 135. The two Marsigli, with Il Bianchino and Nicoletto Segna, appear to have painted scenes and ships for the earlier Ferrarese productions.

[3] Ibid. 134.

[4] Ibid. 381, from G. Campori, *Lettere artistiche inedite*, 5, 'Era la sua forma quadrangula, protensa alquanto in longitudine: li doi lati l'uno al altro de rimpecto, havevano per ciaschuno octo architravi con colonne ben conrespondenti et proportionate alla larghezza et alteza de dicti archi: le base et capitelli pomposissimamente con finissimi colori penti, et de fogliami ornati, representavano alla mente un edificio eterne ed antiquo, pieno de delectatione: li archi con relevo di fiori rendevano prospectiva mirabile: la largheza di ciascheuno era braza quactro vel cerca: la alteza proporzionata ad quella. Dentro nel prospecto eran panni d'oro et alcune verdure, si come le recitationi recerchavano: una delle bande era ornata delli sei quadri del Cesareo triumpho per man del singulare Mantengha: li doi altri lati discontro erano con simili archi, ma de numero inferiore, che chiascheuno ne haveva sei. Doj bande era scena data ad actorj et recitatorj: le doe altre erano ad scalini, deputati per le donne et daltro, per todeschi, trombecti et musici. Al jongere del' angulo de un de' grandi et minorj lati, se vedevano quactro altissime colonne colle basi orbiculate, le quali sustentavano quactro venti principali: fra loro era una grocta, benchè facta ad arte, tamen naturalissima: sopra quella era un ciel grande fulgentissimo de varij lumi, in modo de lucidissime stelle, con una artificiata rota de segni, al moto de' quali girava mo il sole, mo la luna nelle case proprie: dentro era la rota de Fortuna con sei tempi: *regno, regnavj, regnabo*: in mezo resideva la dea aurea con un sceptro con un delphin. Dintorno alla scena al frontespitio

The scanty data available seem to point to the existence of two rather different types of staging, making their appearance at Ferrara and at Rome respectively. The scene of the Ferrarese comedies, with its 'case' as the principal feature, is hardly distinguishable from that of the mediaeval *sacre rappresentazioni*, with its 'luoghi deputati' for the leading personages, which in their turn correspond to the 'loci', 'domus', or 'sedes' of the western miracle-plays.[1] The methods of the *rappresentazioni* had long been adopted for pieces in the mediaeval manner, but upon secular themes, such as Poliziano's *Favola d'Orfeo*, which continued, side by side with the classical comedies, to form part of the entertainment of Duke Ercole's Court.[2] The persistence of the mediaeval tradition is very clearly seen in the interspersing of the acts of the comedies, just as the *rappresentazioni* had been interspersed, with 'moresche' and other 'intermedii' of spectacle and dance, to which the 'dumb shows' of the English drama owe their ultimate origin.[3] At Rome, on the other hand, it looks as if, at any rate by 1513, the 'case' had been conventionalized, perhaps under the influence of some archaeological theory as to classical methods, into nothing more than curtained compartments forming part of the architectural embellishments of the *scena* wall. It is a tempting conjecture that some reflex, both of the Ferrarese and of the Roman experiments, may be traced in the woodcut illustrations of a number of printed editions of Terence, which are all derived from archetypes published in the last decade of the fifteenth century. The synchronism between

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da basso era li triumphi del Petrarcha, ancor loro penti per man del p^{o}. Mantengha: sopra eran candelierj vistosissimi deaurati tucti: nel mezo era un scudo colle arme per tucto della C^{a}. M^{à}.; sopra la aquila aurea bicapitata col regno et diadema imperiale: ciascheuno teneva tre doppieri; ad ogni lato era le insegne. Alli doi maiorj, quelle della S^{ta}. de N. S. et quelle della Cesarea Maestà: alli minorj lati quelle del C^{o}. Sig. Re, et quelle della Ill^{ma}. Sig^{a}. da Venetia; tra li archi pendevano poi quelle de V. Ex., quelle del Sig. duca Alberto Alemano: imprese de Sig. Marchese et Sig^{a}. Marchesana: sopre erano più alte statue argentate, aurate et de più colorj metallici, parte tronche, parte integre, che assai ornavano quel loco: poi ultimo era il cielo de panno torchino, stellato con quelli segni che quella sera correvano nel nostro hemisperio.' Flechsig, 26, thinks that the architect was Ercole Albergati (Il Zafarano).

[1] D'Ancona, i. 485; *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 79, 83, 135.

[2] Ferrari, 50; D'Ancona, ii. 1, give examples of these at Ferrara and elsewhere. The *Favola d'Orfeo*, originally produced about 1471, seems to have been recast as *Orphei tragedia* for Ferrara in 1486. It had five acts, *Pastorale, Ninfale, Eroico, Negromantico, Baccanale*; in the fourth, the way to hell and hell itself were shown—'duplici actu haec scena utitur'.

[3] J. W. Cunliffe, *Early English Classical Tragedies*, xl; F. A. Foster, in *E. S.* xliv. 8.

the revival of classical acting and the emergence of scenic features in such illustrations is certainly marked. The Terentian miniatures of the earlier part of the century show no Vitruvian knowledge. If they figure a performance, it is a recitation by the wraith Calliopius and his gesticulating mimes.[1] Nor is there any obvious scenic influence in the printed Ulm *Eunuchus* of 1486, with its distinct background for each separate woodcut.[2] The new spirit comes in with the Lyons *Terence* of 1493, wherein may be seen the hand of the humanist Jodocus Badius Ascensius, who had certainly visited Ferrara, and may well also have been in touch with the Pomponiani.[3] The Lyons woodcuts, of which there are several to each play, undoubtedly represent stage performances, real or imaginary. The stage itself is an unrailed quadrangular platform, of which the supports are sometimes visible. The back wall is decorated with statuettes and swags of Renaissance ornament, and in front of it is a range of three, four, or five small compartments, separated by columns and veiled by fringed curtains. They have rather the effect of a row of bathing boxes. Over each is inscribed the name of a character, whose 'house' it is supposed to be. Thus for the *Andria* the inscriptions are 'Carini', 'Chreme[tis]', 'Chrisidis', 'Do[mus] Symonis'. On the scaffold, before the houses, action is proceeding between characters each labelled with his name. Sometimes a curtain is drawn back and a character is emerging, or the interior of a house is revealed, with some one sitting or in bed, and a window behind. It is noteworthy that, while the decoration of the back wall and the arrangement of the houses remain uniform through all the woodcuts belonging to any one play, they vary from play to play. Sometimes the line of houses follows that of the wall; sometimes it advances and retires, and may leave a part of the wall uncovered, suggesting an entrance from without. In addition to the special woodcuts for each play, there is a large introductory design of a 'Theatrum'. It is a round building, with an exterior staircase, to which spectators are proceeding, and are accosted on their way by women issuing from the 'Fornices', over which the theatre is built. Through the removal of part of the walls, the interior is also made visible. It has two galleries and standing-room below. A box next the stage in the upper gallery is marked 'Aediles'. The stage is cut off by curtains, which are divided by two narrow columns. In front of the curtains sits a flute-player. Above is inscribed 'Proscenium'. Some of the Lyons cuts are adopted, with others from the Ulm *Eunuchus*, in the Strasburg *Terence* of 1496.[1] This, however, has a different 'Theatrum', which shows the exterior only, and also a new comprehensive design for each play, in which no scaffold or back wall appears, and the houses are drawn on either side of an open place, with the characters standing before them. They are more realistic than the Lyons 'bathing boxes' and have doors and windows and roofs, but they are drawn, like the Ulm houses, on a smaller scale than the characters. If they have a scenic origin, it may be rather in the 'case' of Ferrara than in the conventional 'domus' of Rome. Finally, the Venice *Terence* of 1497, while again reproducing with modifications the smaller Lyons cuts, replaces the 'Theatrum' by a new 'Coliseus sive Theatrum', in which the point of view is taken from the proscenium.[2] No raised stage is visible, but an actor or prologue is speaking from a semicircular orchestra on the floor-level. To right and left of him are two houses, of the 'bathing-box' type, but roofed, from which characters emerge. He faces an auditorium with two rows of seats and a gallery above.

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[1] Herrmann, 280, 284; cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 208.

[2] Translation by Hans Nithart, printed by C. Dinckmut (Ulm, 1486); cf. Herrmann, 292, who reproduces specimen cuts from this and the other sources described.

[3] Edition printed by Johannes Trechsel (Lyons, 1493); cf. Herrmann, 300. The editor claims for the woodcuts that 'effecimus, ut etiam illitteratus ex imaginibus, quas cuilibet scenae praeposuimus, legere atque accipere comica argumenta valeat'. Badius also edited a Paris *Terence* of 1502, with *Praenotamenta* based on Vitruvius and other classical writers, in which he suggests the use in antiquity of 'tapeta . . . qualia nunc fiunt in Flandria'.

We are moving in shadowy regions of conjecture, and if all the material were forthcoming, the interrelations of Rome and Ferrara and the Terentian editors might prove to have been somewhat different from those here sketched. After all, we have not found anything which quite explains the 'picturatae scenae facies' for which Cardinal Raffaelle Riario won such praise, and perhaps Ferrara is not really entitled to credit for the innovation, which is generally supposed to have accompanied the production of the first of Ariosto's great Italian comedies on classical lines, the *Cassaria* of 1508. This is the utilization for stage scenery of the beloved Italian art of architectural perspective. It has been suggested, on no very secure grounds, that the first to experiment in this direction may have been the architect Bramante Lazzari.[1] But the scene of the *Cassaria* is the earliest which is described by contemporary observers as a *prospettiva*, and it evidently left a vivid impression upon the imagination of the spectators.[2] The artist was Pellegrino da Udine, and the city represented was Mytilene, where the action of the *Cassaria* was laid. The same, or another, example of perspective may have served as a background in the following year for Ariosto's second comedy, *I Suppositi*, of which the scene was Ferrara itself.[3] But other artists, in other cities, followed in the footsteps of Pellegrino. The designer for the first performance of Bernardo da Bibbiena's *Calandra* at Urbino in 1513 was probably Girolamo Genga;[4] and for the second, at Rome in 1514, Baldassarre Peruzzi, to whom Vasari perhaps gives exaggerated credit for scenes which 'apersono la via a coloro che ne hanno poi fatte a' tempi nostri'.[5] Five years later, *I Suppositi* was also revived at Rome, in the Sala d' Innocenzio of the Vatican, and on this occasion no less an artist was employed than Raphael himself.[6] As well as the scene, there was an elaborately painted front curtain, which fell at the beginning of the performance. For this device, something analogous to which had almost certainly already been used at Ferrara, there was a precedent in the classical *aulaeum*. Its object was apparently to give the audience a sudden vision of the scene, and it was not raised again during the action of the play, and had therefore no strictly scenic function.[1]

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[1] Edition printed by Johannes Grüninger (Strassburg, 1496); cf. Herrmann, 318.

[2] Editions printed by Lazarus Soardus (Venice, 1497 and 1499); cf. Herrmann, 346. The *Theatrum* and other cuts are also reproduced in *The Mask* for July 1909.

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[1] Flechsig, 84, citing as possibly a stage design an example of idealized architecture inscribed 'Bramanti Architecti Opus' and reproduced by E. Müntz, *Hist. de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, ii. 299. Bramante was at Rome about 1505, and was helped on St. Peter's by Baldassarre Peruzzi. But there is nothing obviously scenic in the drawing.

[2] D'Ancona, ii. 394, 'Ma quello che è stato il meglio in tutte queste feste e representationi, è stato tute le sene, dove si sono representate, quale ha facto uno M^{o}. Peregrino depintore, che sta con il Sig^{re}.; ch' è una contracta et prospettiva di una terra cum case, chiesie, campanili et zardini, che la persona non si può satiare a guardarla per le diverse cose che ge sono, tute de inzegno et bene intese, quale non credo se guasti, ma che la salvaràno per usarla de le altre fiate'.

[3] Ibid., 'il caso accadete a Ferrara'.

[4] Ibid. 102, 'La scena poi era finta una città bellissima con le strade, palazzi, chiese, torri, strade vere, e ogni cosa di rilevo, ma ajutata ancora da bonissima pintura e prospettiva bene intesa'; the description has further details. Genga is not named, but Serlio (cf. App. G) speaks of his theatrical work for Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino (succ. 1508). Vasari, vi. 316, says that he had also done stage designs for Francesco's predecessor Guidobaldo.

[5] Vasari, iv. 600. Some of Peruzzi's designs for *Calandra* are in the Uffizi; Ferrari (tav. vi) reproduces one.

[6] D'Ancona, ii. 89, 'Sonandosi li pifari si lasciò cascare la tela; dove era pinto Fra Mariano con alcuni Diavoli che giocavano con esso da ogni lato della tela; et poi a mezzo della tela vi era un breve che dicea: *Questi sono li capricci di Fra Mariano*; et sonandosi tuttavia, et il Papa mirando con il suo occhiale la scena, che era molto bella, di mano di Raffaele, et rappresentava si bene per mia fè forami di prospective, et molto furono laudate, et mirando ancora il cielo, che molto si rappresentava bello, et poi li candelieri, che erano formati in lettere, che ogni lettera substenìa cinque torcie, et diceano: *Leo Pon. Maximus*'.

The sixteenth-century *prospettiva*, of which there were many later examples, is the type of scenery so fully described and illustrated by the architect Sebastiano Serlio in the Second Book of his *Architettura* (1551). Serlio had himself been the designer of a theatre at Vicenza, and had also been familiar at Rome with Baldassarre Peruzzi, whose notes had passed into his possession. He was therefore well in the movement.[2] At the time of the publication of the *Architettura* he was resident in France, where he was employed, like other Italians, by Francis I upon the palace of Fontainebleau. Extracts from Serlio's treatise will be found in an appendix and I need therefore only briefly summarize here the system of staging which it sets out.[3] This is a combination of the more or less solid ' case ' with flat cloths painted in perspective. The proscenium is long and comparatively shallow, with an entrance at each end, and flat. But from the line of the *scena* wall the level of the stage slopes slightly upwards and backwards, and on this slope stand to right and left the ' case ' of boards or laths covered with canvas, while in the centre is a large aperture, disclosing a space across which the flat cloths are drawn, a large one at the back and smaller ones on frames projecting by increasing degrees from behind the ' case '. Out of these elements is constructed, by the art of perspective, a consistent scene with architectural perspectives facing the audience, and broken in the centre by a symmetrical vista. For the sake of variety, the action can use practicable doors and windows in the façades, and to some extent also within the central aperture, on the lower part of the slope. It was possible to arrange for interior action by discovering a space within the 'case' behind the façades, but this does not seem to have been regarded as a very effective device.[1] Nor is there anything to suggest that Serlio contemplated any substantial amount of action within his central recess, for which, indeed, the slope required by his principles of perspective made it hardly suitable. As a matter of fact the action of the Italian *commedia sostenuta*, following here the tradition of its Latin models, is essentially exterior action before contiguous houses, and some amusing conventions, as Creizenach notes, follow from this fact; such as that it is reasonable to come out of doors in order to communicate secrets, that the street is a good place in which to bury treasure, and that you do not know who lives in the next house until you are told.[2] In discussing the decoration of the stage, Serlio is careful to distinguish between the kinds of scenery appropriate for tragedy, comedy, and the satyric play or pastoral, respectively, herein clearly indicating his debt and that of his school to the doctrine of Vitruvius.

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[1] Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, xxxii. 80:

> Quale al cader de le cortine suole
> Parer, fra mille lampade, la scena,
> D'archi, et di più d' una superba mole
> D' oro, e di statue e di pitture piena.

This passage was added in the edition of 1532, but a more brief allusion in that of 1516 (xliii. 10, 'Vo' levarti dalla scena i panni') points to the use of a curtain, rising rather than falling, before 1519; cf. p. 31; vol. i, p. 181; Creizenach, ii. 299; Lawrence (i. 111), *The Story of a Peculiar Stage Curtain*.

[2] Ferrari (tav. xii) reproduces from *Uffizi*, 5282, an idealization by Serlio of the *piazzetta* of S. Marco at Venice as a *scenario*.

[3] Cf. App. G. Book ii first appeared in French (1545).

It must not be supposed that Serlio said the last word on Italian Renaissance staging. He has mainly temporary theatres in his mind, and when theatres became permanent it was possible to replace laths and painted cloths by a more solid architectural *scena* in relief. Of this type was the famous *Teatro Olympico* of Vicenza begun by Andrea Palladio about 1565 and finished by Vincenzo Scamozzi about 1584.[3] It closely followed the indications of Vitruvius, with its *porta regia* in the middle of the *scena*, its *portae minores* to right and left, and its proscenium doors in *versurae* under balconies for spectators. And it did not leave room for much variety in decoration, as between play and play.[1] It appears, indeed, to have been used only for tragedy. A more important tendency was really just in the opposite direction, towards change rather than uniformity of scenic effect. Even the perspectives, however beautiful, of the comedies did not prove quite as amusing, as the opening heavens and hells and other ingeniously varied backgrounds of the mediaeval plays had been, and by the end of the sixteenth century devices were being tried for movable scenes, which ultimately led to the complete elimination of the comparatively solid and not very manageable ‘ case ’.[2]

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[1] De Sommi, *Dial.* iv (*c.* 1565, D'Ancona, ii. 419), 'Ben che paia di certa vaghezza il vedersi in scena una camera aperta, ben parata, dentro a la quale, dirò così per esempio, uno amante si consulti con una ruffiana, et che paia aver del verisimile, è però tanto fuor del naturale esser la stanza senza il muro dinanzi, il che necessariamente far bisogna, che a me ne pare non molto convenirsi: oltre che non so se il recitare in quel loco, si potrà dire che sia in scena. Ben si potrà per fuggir questi due inconvenienti, aprire come una loggia od un verone dove rimanesse alcuno a ragionare'.

[2] Creizenach, ii. 271.

[3] Ferrari, 105, with engravings; A. Magrini, *Il teatro Olympico* (1847). This is noticed by the English travellers, Fynes Morison, *Itinerary*, i. 2. 4 (ed. 1907, i. 376), 'a Theater for Playes, which was little, but very faire and pleasant', and T. Coryat, *Crudities*, ii. 7, 'The scene also is a very faire and beautifull place to behold'. He says the house would hold 3,000. In *Histriomastix*, ii. 322, the 'base trash' of Sir Oliver Owlet's players is compared unfavourably with the splendour of Italian theatres. A permanent theatre had been set up in the *Sala grande* of the Corte Vecchia at Ferrara in 1529, with scenery by Dosso Dossi representing Ferrara, for a revival of the *Cassaria* and the production of Ariosto's *Lena*; it was burnt down, just before Ariosto's death, in 1532 (Flechsig, 23; Gardner, *King of Court Poets*, 203, 239, 258).

It is difficult to say how far the Italian perspective scene made its way westwards. Mediaeval drama—on the one hand the miracle-play, on the other the morality and the farce—still retained an unbounded vitality in sixteenth-century France. The miracle-play had its own elaborate and traditional system of staging. The morality and the farce required very little staging at all, and could be content at need with nothing more than a bare platform, backed by a semicircle or hollow square of suspended curtains, through the interstices of which the actors might come and go.[3] But from the beginning of the century there is observable in educated circles an infiltration of the humanist interest in the classical drama; and this, in course of time, was reinforced through two distinct channels. One of these was the educational influence, coming indirectly through Germany and the Netherlands, of the ‘ Christian Terence ’, which led about 1540 to the academic Latin tragedies of Buchanan and Muretus at Bordeaux.[4] The other was the direct contact with humanist civilization, which followed upon the Italian adventures of Charles VIII and Louis XII, and dominated the reigns of François I and his house, notably after the marriage of Catherine de' Medici to the future Henri II in 1533. In 1541 came Sebastiano Serlio with his comprehensive knowledge of stage-craft; and the translation of his *Architettura*, shortly after its publication in 1545, by Jean Martin, a friend of Ronsard, may be taken as evidence of its vogue. In 1548 the French Court may be said to have been in immediate touch with the *nidus* of Italian scenic art at Ferrara, for when Henri and Catherine visited Lyons it was Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este who provided entertainment for them with a magnificent performance of Bibbiena's famous *Calandra*. This was ' nella gran sala di San Gianni ' and was certainly staged in the full Italian manner, with perspective by Andrea Nannoccio and a range of terra-cotta statues by one Zanobi.[1] Henceforward it is possible to trace the existence of a Court drama in France. The Italian influence persisted. It is not, indeed, until 1571 that we find regular companies of Italian actors settling in Paris, and these, when they came, probably played, mainly if not entirely, *commedie dell' arte*.[2] But Court performances in 1555 and 1556 of the *Lucidi* of Firenzuola and the *Flora* of Luigi Alamanni show that the *commedia sostenuta* was already established in favour at a much earlier date.[3] More important, however, is the outcrop of vernacular tragedy and comedy, on classical and Italian models, which was one of the literary activities of the Pléiade. The pioneer in both *genres* was Étienne Jodelle, whose tragedy of *Cléopâtre Captive* was produced before Henri II by the author and his friends at the Hôtel de Reims early in 1553, and subsequently repeated at the Collège de Boncour, where it was accompanied by his comedy of *La Rencontre*, probably identical with the extant *Eugène*, which is believed to date from 1552. Jodelle had several successors: in tragedy, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Jacques and Jean de la Taille, Jacques Grévin, Robert Garnier, Antoine de Montchrestien; and in comedy, Rémy Belleau, Jean de Baïf, Jean de la Taille, Jacques Grévin, and Pierre Larivey. So far as tragedy was concerned, the Court representations soon came to an end. Catherine de' Medici, always superstitious, believed that the *Sophonisbe* of Mellin de Saint-Gelais in 1556 had brought ill luck, and would have no more.[4] The academies may have continued to find hospitality for a few, but the best critical opinion appears to be that most of the tragedies of Garnier and his fellows were for the printing-press only, and that their scenic indications, divorced from the actualities of representation, can hardly be regarded as evidence on any system of staging.[1] Probably this is also true of many of the literary comedies, although Court performances of comedies, apart from those of the professional players, continue to be traceable throughout the century. Unfortunately archaeological research has not succeeded in exhuming from the archives of the French royal households anything that throws much light on the details of staging, and very possibly little material of this kind exists. *Cléopâtre* is said to have been produced 'in Henrici II aula . . . magnifico veteris scenae apparatu'.[2] The prologue of *Eugène*, again, apologizes for the meagreness of an academic setting:

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[1] Probably some temporary additions to the permanent decoration of the *scena* was possible, as Ferrari (tav. xv) gives a design for a *scenario* by Scamozzi.

[2] Ferrari, 100.

[3] Engravings, by Jean de Gourmont and another, of this type of stage are reproduced by Bapst, 145, 153, and by Rigal in Petit de Julleville, iii. 264, 296; cf. M. B. Evans, *An Early Type of Stage* (*M. P.* ix. 421).

[4] Cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 217.

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[1] Baschet, 6; D'Ancona, ii. 456; H. Prunières, *L'Opéra Italien en France* (1913), xx; A. Solerti, *La rappresentazione della Calandra a Lione nel 1548* (1901, *Raccolta di Studii Critici ded. ad A. d' Ancona*), from *La Magnifica et Triumphale Entrata del Christianissimo Re di Francia Henrico Secundo* (1549).

[2] Cf. ch. xiv (Italians).

[3] D'Ancona, ii. 457.

[4] Brantôme, *Recueil des Dames*, i. 2 (*Œuvres*, ed. 1890, x. 47), ' Elle eut opinion qu'elle avoit porté malheur aux affaires du royaume, ainsi qu'il succéda; elle n'en fit plus jouer'. Ingegneri says of tragedies, ' Alcuni oltra dicio le stimano di triste augurio '.

> Quand au théâtre, encore qu'il ne soit
> En demi-rond, comme on le compassoit,
> Et qu'on ne l'ait ordonné de la sorte
> Que l'on faisoit, il faut qu'on le supporte :
> Veu que l'exquis de ce vieil ornement
> Ores se voue aux Princes seulement.

Hangings round the stage probably sufficed for the colleges, and possibly even on some occasions for royal *châteaux*.[3] But Jodelle evidently envisaged something more splendid as possible at Court, and a notice, on the occasion of some comedies given before Charles IX at Bayonne in 1565, of 'la bravade et magnificence de la dite scène ou théâtre, et des feux ou verres de couleur, desquelles elle etait allumée et enrichie' at once recalls a device dear to Serlio, and suggests a probability that the whole method of staging, which Serlio expounds, may at least have been tried.[4] Of an actual theatre 'en demi-rond' at any French palace we have no clear proof. Philibert de l'Orme built a *salle de spectacle* for Catherine in the Tuileries, on a site afterwards occupied by the grand staircase, but its shape and dimensions are not on record.[1] There was another in the pleasure-house, which he planned for Henri II in the grounds of Saint-Germain, and which was completed by Guillaume Marchand under Henri IV. This seems, from the extant plan, to have been designed as a parallelogram.[2] The hall of the Hôtel de Bourbon, hard by the Louvre, in which plays were sometimes given, is shown by the engravings of the *Balet Comique*, which was danced there in 1581, to have been, in the main, of similar shape. But it had an apse ' en demi-rond ' at one end.[3] It may be that the Terence illustrations come again to our help, and that the new engravings which appear, side by side with others of the older tradition, in the *Terence* published by Jean de Roigny in 1552 give some notion of the kind of stage which Jodelle and his friends used.[4] The view is from the auditorium. The stage is a platform, about 3½ ft. high, with three shallow steps at the back, on which actors are sitting, while a prologue declaims. There are no hangings or scenes. Pillars divide the back of the stage from a gallery which runs behind and in which stand spectators. Obviously this is not on Italian lines, but it might preserve the memory of some type of academic stage.

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[1] E. Rigal in *Rev. d' Hist. Litt.* xii. 1, 203; cf. the opposite view of J. Haraszti in xi. 680 and xvi. 285.

[2] Sainte-Marthe, *Elogia* (1606), 175.

[3] G. Lanson in *Rev. d' Hist. Litt.* x. 432. In *Northward Hoe*, iv. 1, Bellamont is writing a tragedy of Astyanax, which he will have produced 'in the French court by French gallants', with 'the stage hung all with black velvet'.

[4] Lanson, *loc. cit.* 422. A description of a tragi-comedy called *Geniévre*, based on Ariosto, at Fontainebleau in 1564 neglects the staging, but gives a picture of the audience as

> une jeune presse
> De tous costez sur les tapis tendus,
> Honnestement aux girons espandus
> De leur maîtresse.

B. Rossi's *Fiammella* was given at Paris in 1584 with a setting of 'boschi'.

If we know little of the scenic methods of the French Court, we know a good deal of those employed in the only public theatre of which, during the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth, Paris could boast. This was the Hôtel de Bourgogne, a rectangular hall built by the Confrérie de la Passion in 1548, used by that body for the representation of miracle-plays and farces up to 1598, let between 1598 and 1608 to a succession of visiting companies, native and foreign, and definitively occupied from the latter year by the Comédiens du Roi, to whom Alexandre Hardy was dramatist in chief.[5] The *Mémoire pour la décoration des pièces qui se représentent par les comediens du roy, entretenus de sa Magesté* is one of the most valuable documents of theatrical history which the hazard of time has preserved in any land. It, or rather the earlier of the two sections into which it is divided, is the work of Laurent Mahelot, probably a machinist at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, and contains notes, in some cases apparently emanating from the authors, of the scenery required for seventy-one plays belonging to the repertory of the theatre, to which are appended, in forty-seven cases, drawings showing the way in which the requirements were to be met.[1] It is true that the *Mémoire* is of no earlier date than about 1633, but the close resemblance of the system which it illustrates to that used in the miracle-plays of the Confrèrie de la Passion justifies the inference that there had been no marked breach of continuity since 1598. In essence it is the mediaeval system of juxtaposed 'maisons', corresponding to the 'case' of the Italian and the 'houses' of the English tradition, a series of independent structures, visually related to each other upon the stage, but dramatically distinct and serving, each in its turn, as the background to action upon the whole of the free space—*platea* in mediaeval terminology, *proscenium* in that of the Renaissance—which stretched before and between them. The stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne had room for five such 'maisons', one in the middle of the back wall, two in the angles between the back and side walls, and two standing forward against the side walls; but in practice two or three of these compartments were often devoted to a 'maison' of large size. A 'maison' might be a unit of architecture, such as a palace, a senate-house, a castle, a prison, a temple, a tavern; or of landscape, such as a garden, a wood, a rock, a cave, a sea.[2] And very often it represented an interior, such as a chamber with a bed in it.[1] A good illustration of the arrangement may be found in the *scenario* for the familiar story of Pyramus and Thisbe, as dramatized about 1617 by Théophile de Viaud.[2]

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[1] Lanson, *loc. cit.* 424.

[2] The plan is in J. A. Du Cerceau, *Les Plus Excellens Bastimens de France* (1576–9), and is reproduced in W. H. Ward, *French Châteaux and Gardens in the Sixteenth Century*, 14; cf. R. Blomfield, *Hist. of French Architecture*, i. 81, who, however, thinks that Du Cerceau's ' bastiment en manière de théâtre ' was not the long room, but the open courtyard, in the form of a square with concave angles and semicircular projections on each side, which occupies the middle of the block.

[3] Prunières, *Ballet de Cour*, 72, 134.

[4] Bapst, 147, reproduces an example. This is apparently the type of French stage described by J. C. Scaliger, *Poetice* (1561), i. 21, ' Nunc in Gallia ita agunt fabulas, ut omnia in conspectu sint ; universus apparatus dispositis sublimibus sedibus. Personae ipsae nunquam discedunt : qui silent pro absentibus habentur '.

[5] Rigal, 36, 46, 53.

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[1] The full text is printed by E. Dacier from *B. N. f. fr.* 24330 in *Mémoires de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris* (1901), xxviii. 105, and is analysed by Rigal, 247. The designs have recently (1920) been published in H. C. Lancaster's edition; reproductions, from the originals or from models made for the Exposition of 1878, will be found of Durval's *Agarite* in Rigal, f.p., Lawrence, i. 241, Thorndike, 154; of Hardy's *Cornélie* in Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy* (1890), f.p., Bapst, 185; of *Pandoste* in Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France*, 71, 75; of Mairet's *Sylvanire* in E. Faguet, *Hist. de la Litt. Fr.* ii. 31; and of *Pyrame et Thisbé*, Corneille's *L'Illusion Comique*, and Du Ryer's *Lisandre et Caliste* in Petit de Julleville, *Hist.* iv. 220, 270, 354.

[2] 'Il faut un antre . . . d'où sort un hermite' (Dacier, 116), 'une fenestre qui soit vis à vis d'une autre fenestre grillée pour la prison, où Lisandre puisse parler à Caliste' (116), 'un beau palais eslevé de trois ou quatre marches' (117), 'un palais ou sénat fort riche' (117), 'une case où il y ayt pour enseigne L'Ormeau' (117), 'une mer' (117), 'une tente' (121), 'un hermitage où l'on monte et descend' (123), 'une fenestre où se donne une lettre' (124), 'une tour, une corde nouée pour descendre de la tour, un pont-levis qui se lâche quand il est nécessaire' (125), 'une sortie d'un roy en forme de palais' (127).

> ‘ Il faut, au milieu du théâtre, un mur de marbre et pierre fermé ; des ballustres ; il faut aussi de chasque costé deux ou trois marches pour monster. A un des costez du théâtre, un murier, un tombeau entouré de piramides. Des fleurs, une éponge, du sang, un poignard, un voile, un antre d’où sort un lion, du costé de la fontaine, et un autre antre à l’autre bout du théâtre où il rentre.’

The *Pandoste* of Alexandre Hardy required different settings for the two parts, which were given on different days.[3] On the first day,

> ‘ Au milieu du théâtre, il faut un beau palais ; à un des costez, une grande prison où l’on paroist tout entier. A l’autre costé, un temple ; au dessous, une pointe de vaisseau, une mer basse, des rozeaux et marches de degrez.’

The needs of the second day were more simply met by ‘ deux palais et une maison de paysan et un bois ’.

Many examples make it clear that the methods of the Hôtel de Bourgogne did not entirely exclude the use of perspective, which was applied on the back wall, ‘ au milieu du théâtre ’ ; and as the Italian stage, on its side, was slow to abandon altogether the use of ‘ case ’ in relief, it is possible that under favourable circumstances Mahelot and his colleagues may have succeeded in producing the illusion of a consistently built up background much upon the lines contemplated by Serlio.[4] There were some plays whose plot called for nothing more than a single continuous scene in a street, perhaps a known and nameable street, or a forest.[5]

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[1] ‘ Il faut aussy une belle chambre, une table, deux tabourets, une écritoire ’ (117), ‘ une belle chambre, où il y ayt un beau lict, des sièges pour s’asseoir ; la dicte chambre s’ouvre et se ferme plusieurs fois ’ (121), ‘ forme de salle garnie de sièges où l’on peint une dame ’ (126).

[2] Dacier, 119.

[3] Ibid. 119.

[4] ‘ Forme de fontaine en grotte coulante ou de peinture ’ (Dacier, 127) ; ‘ Au milieu du théâtre, dit la persepective, doit avoir une grande boutique d’orfèvre, fort superbe d’orfèvrerie et autre joyaux ’ (136) ; ‘ Il faut deux superbes maisons ornées de peinture ; au milieu du théâtre, une persepective où il y ait deux passages entre les deux maisons ’ (137).

[5] ‘ Il faut que le théâtre soit tout en pastoralle, antres, verdures, et fleurs ’ (116), ‘ Il faut... le petit Chastellet de la rue Saint Jacques, et faire paroistre une rue où sont les bouchers ’ (116), ‘ en pastoralle à la discrétion du feinteur ’ (124), ‘ Il faut le théâtre en rues et maisons ’ (129, for Rotrou’s *Les Ménechmes*), ‘ La décoration du théâtre doit estre en boutique ’ (136), ‘ le feinteur doit faire paraitre sur le théâtre la place Royalle ou l’imiter à peu près ’ (133).

Nor was the illusion necessarily broken by such incidents as the withdrawal of a curtain from before an interior at the point when it came into action, or the introduction of the movable ship which the Middle Ages had already known.[1] It was broken, however, when the 'belle chambre' was so large and practicable as to be out of scale with the other 'maisons'.[2] And it was broken when, as in *Pandoste* and many other plays, the apparently contiguous 'maisons' had to be supposed, for dramatic purposes, to be situated in widely separated localities. It is, indeed, as we shall find to our cost, not the continuous scene, but the need for change of scene, which constitutes the problem of staging. It is a problem which the Italians had no occasion to face; they had inherited, almost unconsciously, the classical tradition of continuous action in an unchanged locality, or in a locality no more changed than is entailed by the successive bringing into use of various apertures in a single façade. But the Middle Ages had had no such tradition, and the problem at once declared itself, as soon as the matter of the Middle Ages and the manner of the Renaissance began to come together in the 'Christian Terence'. The protest of Cornelius Crocus in the preface to his *Joseph* (1535) against 'multiple' staging, as alike intrinsically absurd and alien to the practice of the ancients, anticipates by many years that law of the unity of place, the formulation of which is generally assigned to Lodovico Castelvetro, and which was handed down by the Italians to the Pléiade and to the 'classical' criticism of the seventeenth century.[3] We are not here concerned with the unity of place as a law of dramatic structure, but we are very much concerned with the fact that the romantic drama of western Europe did not observe unity of place in actual practice, and that consequently the stage-managers of Shakespeare in England, as well as those of Hardy in France, had to face the problem of a system of staging, which should be able rapidly and intelligibly to represent shifting localities. The French solution, as we have seen, was the so-called ‘ multiple ’ system, inherited from the Middle Ages, of juxtaposed and logically incongruous backgrounds.

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[1] 'Il faut que cela soit caché durant le premier acte, et l'on ne faict paroistre cela qu'au second acte, et se referme au mesme acte' (116), 'un eschaffaut qui soit caché' (117), 'le vaisseau paraist au quatriesme acte' (120). For the use of curtains to effect these discoveries, cf. Rigal, 243, 253, who, however, traces to a guess of Lemazurier, *Galerie Historique*, i. 4, the often repeated statement that to represent a change of scene 'on levait ou on tirait une tapisserie, et cela se faisait jusqu'à dix ou douze fois dans la même pièce'.

[2] It is so, e.g., in the design for *Agarite*.

[3] 'Non sic tolerari potest, ut longe lateque dissita loca in unum subito proscenium cogantur; qua in re per se absurdissima et nullo veterum exemplo comprobata nimium sibi hodie quidam indulserunt'; cf. Creizenach, ii. 102. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 89, 206, 290, discusses the origin of the unities, and cites Castelvetro, *Poetica* (1570), 534, 'La mutatione tragica non può tirar con esso seco se non una giornata e un luogo', and Jean de la Taille, *Art de Tragédie* (1572), 'Il faut toujours représenter l'histoire ou le jeu en un même jour, en un même temps, et en un même lieu'.

Geography would be misleading if it suggested that, in the westward drift of the Renaissance, England was primarily dependent upon the mediation of France. During the early Tudor reigns direct relations with Italy were firmly established, and the classical scholars of Oxford and Cambridge drew their inspiration at first hand from the authentic well-heads of Rome and Florence. In matters dramatic, in particular, the insular had little or nothing to learn from the continental kingdom. There were French players, indeed, at the Court of Henry VII in 1494 and 1495, who obviously at that date can only have had farces and morals to contribute.[1] And thereafter the lines of stimulus may just as well have run the other way. If the academic tragedy and comedy of the Pléiade had its reaction upon the closet dramas of Lady Pembroke, Kyd, Daniel, Lord Brooke, yet London possessed its public theatres long before the Parisian makeshift of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, and English, no less than Italian, companies haunted the Court of Henri IV, while it is not until Caroline days that the French visit of 1495 can be shown to have had its successor. The earliest record of a classical performance in England was at Greenwich on 7 March 1519, when ‘ there was a goodly commedy of Plautus plaied ’, followed by a mask, in the great chamber, which the King had caused ‘ to be staged and great lightes to be set on pillers that were gilt, with basons gilt, and the rofe was covered with blewe satyn set full of presses of fyne gold and flowers ’.[2] The staging here spoken of, in association with lights, was probably for spectators rather than for actors, for in May 1527, when a dialogue, barriers, and mask were to be given in a banqueting house at Greenwich, we are told that ‘ thys chambre was raised with stages v. degrees on every syde, and rayled and counterailed, borne by pillars of azure, full of starres and flower delice of gold; every pillar had at the toppe a basin silver, wherein stode great braunches of white waxe '.[1] In this same year 1527, Wolsey had a performance of the *Menaechmi* at his palace of York Place, and it was followed in 1528 by one of the *Phormio*, of which a notice is preserved in a letter of Gasparo Spinelli, the secretary to the Italian embassy in London.[2] Unfortunately, Spinelli's description proves rather elusive. I am not quite clear whether he is describing the exterior or the interior of a building, and whether his *zoglia* is, as one would like to think, the framework of a proscenium arch, or merely that of a doorway.[3] One point, however, is certain. Somewhere or other, the decorations displayed in golden letters the title of the play which was about to be given. Perhaps this explains why, more than a quarter of a century later, when the Westminster boys played the *Miles Gloriosus* before Elizabeth in January 1565, one of the items of expenditure was for ' paper, inke and colores for the wryting of greate letters '.[4]

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[1] *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 257; Lawrence (i. 123), *Early French Players in England*. It is only a guess of Mr. Lawrence's that these visitors played *Maistre Pierre Patelin*, a farce which requires a background with more than one *domus*. Karl Young, in *M. P.* ii. 97, traces some influence of French farces on the work of John Heywood. There had been ‘ Franschemen that playt ’ at Dundee in 1490, and ‘ mynstrells of Fraunce ’, not necessarily actors, played before Henry VII at Abingdon in 1507.

[2] Halle, i. 176.

Investigation of Court records reveals nothing more precise than this as to the staging of plays, whether classical or mediaeval in type, under Henry VIII. It is noticeable, however, that a play often formed but one episode in a composite entertainment, other parts of which required the elaborate pageantry which was Henry's contribution to the development of the mask; and it may be conjectured that in these cases the structure of the pageant served also as a sufficient background for the play. Thus in 1527 a Latin tragedy celebrating the deliverance of the Pope and of France by Wolsey was given in the ' great chamber of disguysings ', at the end of which stood a fountain with a mulberry and a hawthorn tree, about which sat eight fair ladies in strange attire upon ' benches of rosemary fretted in braydes layd on gold, all the sydes sette wyth roses in braunches as they wer growyng about this fountayne '.[5] The device was picturesque enough, but can only have had an allegorical relation to the action of the play. The copious Revels Accounts of Edward and of Mary are silent about play settings. It is only with those of Elizabeth that the indications of ' houses ' and curtains already detailed in an earlier chapter make their appearance.[1] The ' houses ' of lath and canvas have their analogy alike in the ' case ' of Ferrara, which even Serlio had not abandoned, and in the ' maisons ' which the Hôtel de Bourgogne inherited from the Confrérie de la Passion. We are left without guide as to whether the use of them at the English Court was a direct tradition from English miracle plays, or owed its immediate origin to an Italian practice, which was itself in any case only an outgrowth of mediaeval methods familiar in Italy as well as in England. Nor can we tell, so far as the Revels Accounts go, whether the ' houses ' were juxtaposed on the stage after the ' multiple ' fashion of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, or were fused with the help of perspective into a continuous façade or vista, as Serlio bade. Certainly the Revels officers were not wholly ignorant of the use of perspective, but this is also true of the machinists of the Hôtel de Bourgogne.[2] Serlio does not appear to have used curtains, as the Revels officers did, for the discovery of interior scenes, but if, on the other hand, any of the great curtains of the Revels were front curtains, these were employed at Ferrara and Rome, and we have no knowledge that they were employed at Paris. At this point the archives leave us fairly in an *impasse*.

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[1] Halle, ii. 86.

[2] *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 196; cf. ch. xii (Paul's). Spinelli's letter is preserved in Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, xlvi. 595, ' La sala dove disnamo et si rapresentò la comedia haveva nella fronte una grande zoglia di bosso, che di mezzo conteneva in lettere d' oro: *Terentii Formio*. Da l' un di canti poi vi era in lettere antique in carta: *cedant arma togae*. Da l' altro: *Foedus pacis non movebitur.* Sotto poi la zoglia si vide: *honori et laudi pacifici*. . . . Per li altri canti de la sala vi erano sparsi de li altri moti pertinenti alla pace '.

[3] *V. P.* iv. 115 translates ' zoglia di bosso ' as ' a garland of box ', but Florio gives ' soglia ' as ' the threshold or hanse of a doore; also the transome or lintle over a dore '.

[4] Murray, ii. 168; cf. ch. xii (Westminster).

[5] Halle, ii. 109.

It will be well to start upon a new tack and to attempt to ascertain, by an analysis of such early plays as survive, what kind of setting these can be supposed, on internal evidence, to have needed. And the first and most salient fact which emerges is that a very large number of them needed practically no setting at all. This is broadly true, with exceptions which shall be detailed, of the great group of interludes which extends over about fifty years of the sixteenth century, from the end of Henry VII's reign or the beginning of Henry VIII's, to a point in Elizabeth's almost coincident with the opening of the theatres. Of these, if mere fragments are neglected, there are not less than forty-five. Twenty are Henrican;[1] perhaps seven Edwardian or Marian;[2] eighteen Elizabethan.[3] Characteristically, they are morals, presenting abstract personages varied in an increasing degree with farcical types; but several are semi-morals, with a sprinkling of concrete personages, which point backwards to the miracle-plays, or forward to the romantic or historical drama. One or two are almost purely miracle-play or farce; and towards the end one or two show some traces of classical influence.[4] Subject, then, to the exceptions, the interludes—and this, as already indicated, is a fundamental point for staging—call for no changes of locality, with which, indeed, the purely abstract themes of moralities could easily dispense. The action proceeds continuously in a locality, which is either wholly undefined, or at the most vaguely defined as in London (*Hickscorner*), or in England (*King Johan*). This is referred to, both in stage-directions and in dialogue, as 'the place', and with such persistency as inevitably to suggest a term of art, of which the obvious derivation is from the *platea* of the miracle-plays.[5] It may be either an exterior or an interior place, but often it is not clearly envisaged as either. In *Pardoner and Friar* and possibly in *Johan the Evangelist* it is a church; in *Johan Johan* it is Johan's house. Whether interior or exterior, a door is often referred to as the means of entrance and exit for the characters.[1] In *Johan Johan* a door is supposed to lead to the priest's chamber, and there is a long colloquy at the 'chamber dore'. In exterior plays some kind of a house may be suggested in close proximity to the 'place'. In *Youth* and in *Four Elements* the characters come and go to a tavern. The 'place' of *Apius and Virginia* is before the gate of Apius. There is no obvious necessity why these houses should have been represented by anything but a door. The properties used in the action are few and simple; a throne or other seat, a table or banquet (*Johan Johan*, *Godly Queen Hester*, *King Darius*), a hearth (*Nature*, *Johan Johan*), a pulpit (*Johan the Evangelist*), a pail (*Johan Johan*), a dice-board (*Nice Wanton*). My inference is that the setting of the interludes was nothing but the hall in which performances were given, with for properties the plenishing of that hall or such movables as could be readily carried in. Direct hints are not lacking to confirm this view. A stage direction in *Four Elements* tells us that at a certain point 'the daunsers without the hall syng'. In *Impatient Poverty* (242) Abundance comes in with the greeting, 'Joye and solace be in this hall!' *All for Money* (1019) uses 'this hall', where we should expect 'this place'. And I think that, apart from interludes woven into the pageantry of Henry VIII's disguising chambers, the hall contemplated was at first just the ordinary everyday hall, after dinner or supper, with the sovereigns or lords still on the dais, the tables and benches below pushed aside, and a free space left for the performers on the floor, with the screen and its convenient doors as a background and the hearth ready to hand if it was wanted to figure in the action. If I am right, the staged dais, with the sovereign on a high state in the middle of the hall, was a later development, or a method reserved for very formal entertainments.[2] The actors of the more homely interlude would have had to rub shoulders all the time with the inferior members of their audience. And so they did. In *Youth* (39) the principal character enters, for all the world like the St. George of a village mummers' play, with an

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[1] Cf. ch. viii.

[2] The memorandum on the reform of the Revels office in 1573, which I attribute to Edward Buggin, tells us (*Tudor Revels*, 37 ; cf. ch. iii) that ' The connynge of the office resteth in skill of devise, in vnderstandinge of historyes, in iudgement of comedies tragedyes and showes, in sight of perspective and architecture, some smacke of geometrye and other thynges '. If Sir George Buck, however, in 1612, thought that a knowledge of perspective was required by the Art of Revels, he veiled it under the expression ' other arts ' (cf. ch. iii).

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[1] *Mundus et Infans, Hickscorner, Youth, Johan Evangelist, Magnificence, Four Elements, Calisto and Melibaea, Nature, Love, Weather, Johan Johan, Pardoner and Friar, Four PP., Gentleness and Nobility, Witty and Witless, Kinge Johan, Godly Queen Hester, Wit and Science, Thersites,* with the fragmentary *Albion Knight.* To these must now be added Henry Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres* (N.D., but 1500<), formerly only known by a fragment (cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 458), but recently found in the Mostyn collection, described by F. S. Boas and A. W. Reed in *T. L. S.* (20 Feb. and 3 April 1919), and reprinted by S. de Ricci (1920).

[2] *Wealth and Health, Nice Wanton, Lusty Juventus, Impatient Poverty, Respublica, Jacob and Esau,* and perhaps *Enough is as Good as a Feast,* with the fragmentary *Love Feigned and Unfeigned.*

[3] *Trial of Treasure, Like Will to Like, The Longer Thou Livest, the More Fool Thou Art, Marriage of Wit and Science, Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, New Custom, The Tide Tarrieth no Man, All for Money, Disobedient Child, Conflict of Conscience, Pedlar's Prophecy, Misogonus, Glass of Government, Three Ladies of London, King Darius, Mary Magdalene, Apius and Virginia,* with the fragmentary *Cruel Debtor.*

[4] For details of date and authorship cf. chh. xxiii, xxiv, and *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 439, 443. Albright, 29, attempts a classification on the basis of staging, but not, I think, very successfully.

[5] Cf. e.g. *Hickscorner*, 544; *Youth*, 84, 201, 590, 633; *Johan Johan*, 667; *Godly Queen Hester*, 201, 635, 886; *Wit and Science*, 969; *Wit and Wisdom*, 3, p. 60; *Nice Wanton*, 416; *Impatient Poverty*, 164, 726, 746, 861, 988; *Respublica*, V. i. 38; *Longer Thou Livest*, 628, 1234; *Conflict of Conscience*, III. i. 2; *et ad infinitum*. Characters in action are said to be in place. For the *platea* cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 80, 135, but *Kinge Johan*, 1377, has a direction for an alarm '*extra locum*'.

> A backe, felowes, and gyve me roume
> Or I shall make you to auoyde sone.[3]

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[1] Cf. e.g. *Wit and Science*, 193, 'Wyt speketh at the doore'; *Longer Thou Livest*, 523, 'Betweene whiles let Moros put in his head', 583, 'Crie without the doore', &c., &c.

[2] Cf. ch. vii.

[3] Cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 216, and for the making of 'room' or 'a hall' for a mask, ch. v.

In *Like Will to Like* the Vice brings in a knave of clubs, which he 'offreth vnto one of the men or boyes standing by'. In *King Darius* (109) Iniquity, when he wants a seat, calls out

> Syrs, who is there that hath a stoole?
> I will buy it for thys Gentleman;
> If you will take money, come as fast as you can.

A similar and earlier example than any of these now presents itself in *Fulgens and Lucres*, where there is an inductive dialogue between spectators, one of whom says to another

> I thought verely by your apparel,
> That ye had bene a player.

Of a raised stage the only indication is in *All for Money*, a late example of the type, where one stage-direction notes (203), 'There must be a chayre for him to sit in, and vnder it or neere the same there must be some hollowe place for one to come vp in', while another (279) requires 'some fine conueyance' to enable characters to vomit each other up.

I come now to nine interludes which, for various reasons, demand special remark. In *Jacob and Esau* (> 1558) there is coming and going between the place and the tent of Isaac, before which stands a bench, the tent of Jacob, and probably also the tent of Esau. In *Wit and Wisdom* (> 1579) action takes place at the entrances of the house of Wantonness, of the den of Irksomeness, of a prison, and of Mother Bee's house, and the prison, as commonly in plays of later types, must have been so arranged as to allow a prisoner to take part in the dialogue from within. Some realism, also, in the treatment of the den may be signified by an allusion to 'these craggie clifts'. In *Misogonus* (*c.* 1560–77), the place of which is before the house of Philogonus, there is one scene in Melissa's 'bowre' (ii. 4, 12), which must somehow have been represented. In *Thersites* (1537), of which one of the characters is a snail that 'draweth her hornes in', Mulciber, according to the stage-directions, 'must have a shop made in the place', which he leaves and returns to, and in which he is perhaps seen making a sallet. Similarly, the Mater of Thersites, when she drops out of the dialogue, 'goeth in the place which is prepared for her', and hither later 'Thersites must ren awaye, and hyde hym behynde hys mothers backe'. These four examples only differ from the normal interlude type by some multiplication of the houses suggested in the background, and probably by some closer approximation than a mere door to the visual realization of these. There is no change of locality, and only an adumbration of interior action within the houses. Four other examples do entail some change of locality. Much stress must not be laid on the sudden conversions in the fourth act of *The Conflict of Conscience* (> 1581) and the last scene of *Three Ladies of London* of the open 'place' into Court, for these are very belated specimens of the moral. And the opening dialogue of the *Three Ladies*, on the way to London, may glide readily enough into the main action before two houses in London itself. But in *The Disobedient Child* (*c.* 1560) some episodes are before the house of the father, and others before that of the son in another locality forty miles away. In *Mary Magdalene* (< 1566), again, the action begins in Magdalo, but there is a break (842) when Mary and the Vice start on their travels, and it is resumed at Jerusalem, where it proceeds first in some public place, and afterwards by a sudden transition (1557) at a repast within the house of Simon. In both cases it may be conjectured that the two localities were indicated on opposite sides of the hall or stage, and that the personages travelled from one to the other over the intervening space, which was regarded as representing a considerable distance. You may call this 'multiple staging', if you will. The same imaginative foreshortening of space had been employed both in the miracle-plays and in the 'Christian Terence'.[1] Simon's house at Jerusalem was, no doubt, some kind of open *loggia* with a table in it, directly approachable from the open place where the earlier part of the Jerusalem action was located.

Godly Queen Hester (? 1525–9) has a different interest, in that, of all the forty-four interludes, it affords the only possible evidence for the use of a curtain. In most respects it is quite a normal interlude. The action is continuous, in a 'place', which represents a council-chamber, with a chair for Ahasuerus. But there is no mention of a door, and while the means of exit and entrance for the ordinary personages are unspecified, the stage directions note, on two occasions (139, 635) when the King goes out, that he 'entreth the trauerse'. Now 'traverses' have played a considerable part in attempts to reconstruct the Elizabethan theatre, and some imaginative writers have depicted them as criss-crossing about the stage in all sorts of possible and impossible directions.[2]

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[1] Cf. M. L. Spencer, *Corpus Christi Pageants in England*, 184; Creizenach, ii. 101.

[2] Wallace, ii. 48, 'The Blackfriars stage was elastic in depth as well as width, and could according to the demands of the given play be varied by curtains or traverses of any required number placed at any required distance between the balcony and the front of the stage'; Prölss, 89; Albright, 58; cf. p. 78.

The term is not a very happy one to employ in the discussion of late sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century conditions. After *Godly Queen Hester* it does not appear again in any play for nearly a hundred years, and then, so far as I know, is only used by Jonson in *Volpone*, where it appears to indicate a low movable screen, probably of a non-structural kind, and by John Webster, both in *The White Devil* and in *The Duchess of Malfi*, where it is an exact equivalent to the 'curtains' or 'arras', often referred to as screening off a recess at the back of the stage.[1] Half a century later still, it is used in the Restoration play of *The Duke of Guise* to indicate, not this normal back curtain, but a screen placed across the recess itself, or the inner stage which had developed out of it, behind 'the scene'.[2] Webster's use seems to be an individual one. Properly a 'traverse' means, I think, not a curtain suspended from the roof, but a screen shutting off from view a compartment within a larger room, but leaving it open above. Such a screen might, of course, very well be formed by a curtain running on a rod or cord.[3] And a 'traverse' also certainly came to mean the compartment itself which was so shut off.[4] The construction is familiar in the old-fashioned pews of our churches, and as it happens, it is from the records of the royal chapel that its Elizabethan use can best be illustrated. Thus when Elizabeth took her Easter communion at St. James's in 1593, she came down, doubtless from her 'closet' above, after the Gospel had been read, 'into her Majestes Travess', whence she emerged to make her offering, and then 'retorned to her princely travess sumptuously sett forthe', until it was time to emerge again and receive the communion. So too, when the Spanish treaty was sworn in 1604, 'in the chappell weare two traverses sett up of equall state in all thinges as neare as might be'. One was the King's traverse 'where he usually sitteth', the other for the Spanish ambassador, and from them they proceeded to 'the halfe pace' for the actual swearing of the oath.[1] The traverse figures in several other chapel ceremonies of the time, and it is by this analogy, rather than as a technical term of stage-craft, that we must interpret the references to it in *Godly Queen Hester*. It is not inconceivable that the play, which was very likely performed by the Chapel, was actually performed in the chapel.[2] Nor is it inconceivable, also, that the sense of the term 'traverse' may have been wide enough to cover the screen at the bottom of a Tudor hall.

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[1] *Volpone*, v. 2801 (cf. p. 111); *White Devil*, v. iv. 70:

'*Flamineo.* I will see them,
They are behind the travers. Ile discover
Their superstitious howling.
Cornelia, the Moore and 3 other Ladies discovered, winding Marcello's coarse';

Duchess of Malfi, IV. i. 54:

'*Here is discover'd, behind a travers, the artificiall figures of Antonio and his children, appearing as if they were dead.*'

[2] *Duke of Guise*, v. 3 (quoted by Albright, 58), 'The scene draws, behind it a Traverse', and later, 'The Traverse is drawn. The King rises from his Chair, comes forward'.

[3] The Revels Accounts for 1511 (Brewer, ii. 1497) include 10*d.* for a rope used for a 'travas' in the hall at Greenwich and stolen during a disguising. Puttenham (1589), i. 17, in an attempt to reconstruct the methods of classical tragedy, says that the 'floore or place where the players vttered . . . had in it sundrie little diuisions by curteins as trauerses to serue for seueral roomes where they might repaire vnto and change their garments and come in againe, as their speaches and parts were to be renewed'.

[4] There was a traverse in the nursery of Edward V in 1474; cf. *H. O.* *28, 'Item, we will that our sayd sonne in his chamber and for all nighte lyverye to be sette, the traverse drawne anone upon eight of the clocke'.

I come now to the group of four mid-century farces, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, *Jack Juggler*, *Ralph Roister Doister*, and *Tom Tyler*, which literary historians have distinguished from the interludes as early 'regular comedies'. No doubt they show traces of Renaissance influence upon their dramatic handling. But, so far as scenic setting is concerned, they do not diverge markedly from the interlude type. Nor is this surprising, since Renaissance comedy, like the classical comedy upon which it was based, was essentially an affair of continuous action, in an open place, before a background of houses. *Gammer Gurton's Needle* requires two houses, those of Gammer Gurton and of Dame Chat; *Jack Juggler* one, that of Boungrace; *Ralph Roister Doister* one, that of Christian Custance. Oddly enough, both *Gammer Gurton's Needle* and *Jack Juggler* contain indications of the presence of a post, so placed that it could be used in the action.[3] *Tom Tyler*, which may have reached us in a sophisticated text, has a slightly more complicated staging. There are some quite early features. The locality is 'this place' (835), and the audience are asked (18), as in the much earlier *Youth*, to 'make them room'. On the other hand, as in *Mary Magdalene* and in *The Conflict of Conscience*, there is at one point (512) a transition from exterior to interior action. Hitherto it has been in front of Tom's house; now it is within, and his wife is in bed. An open *loggia* here hardly meets the case. The bed demands some discovery, perhaps by the withdrawal of a curtain.

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[1] Rimbault, 150, 167. There is an elaborate description of 'a fayer traverse of black taffata' set up in the chapel at Whitehall for the funeral of James in 1625 and afterwards borrowed for the ceremony in Westminster Abbey.

[2] The chapel of Ahasuerus come in and sing (860). On the possibility that plays may have been acted in the chapel under Elizabeth, cf. ch. xii.

[3] *G. G. Needle*, I. iv. 34; II. iv. 20, 'here, euen by this poste, Ich sat'; *Jack Juggler*, 908, 'Joll his hed to a post'.

I am of course aware that the forty-four interludes and the four farces hitherto dealt with cannot be regarded as forming a homogeneous body of Court drama. Not one of them, in fact, can be absolutely proved to have been given at Court. Several of them bear signs of having been given elsewhere, including at least three of the small number which present exceptional features.[1] Others lie under suspicion of having been written primarily for the printing-press, in the hope that any one who cared to act them would buy copies, and may therefore never have been given at all; and it is obvious that in such circumstances a writer might very likely limit himself to demands upon stage-management far short of what the Court would be prepared to meet.[2] This is all true enough, but at the same time I see no reason to doubt that the surviving plays broadly represent the kind of piece that was produced, at Court as well as elsewhere, until well into Elizabeth's reign. Amongst their authors are men, Skelton, Medwall, Rastell, Redford, Bale, Heywood, Udall, Gascoigne, who were about the Court, and some of whom we know to have written plays, if not these plays, for the Court; and the survival of the moral as a Court entertainment is borne witness to by the Revels Accounts of 1578–9, in which the 'morrall of the *Marriage of Mind and Measure*' still holds its own beside the classical and romantic histories which had already become fashionable. As we proceed, however, we come more clearly within the Court sphere. The lawyers stand very close, in their interests and their amusements, to the Court, and with the next group of plays, a characteristically Renaissance one, of four Italianate comedies and four Senecan tragedies, the lawyers had a good deal to do. Gascoigne's Gray's Inn *Supposes* is based directly upon one of Ariosto's epoch-making comedies, *I Suppositi*, and adopts its staging. Jeffere's *Bugbears* and the anonymous *Two Italian Gentlemen* are similarly indebted to their models in Grazzini's *La Spiritata* and Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele.* Each preserves complete unity of place, and the continuous action in the street before the houses, two or three in number, of the principal personages, is only varied by occasional colloquies at a door or window, and in the case of the *Two Italian Gentlemen* by an episode of concealment in a tomb which stands in a 'temple' or shrine beneath a burning lamp. Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, the neo-classical inspiration of which is advertised in the prefatory epistle, follows the same formula with a certain freedom of handling. In the first part, opportunity for a certain amount of interior action is afforded by two of the three houses; one is a prison, the other a barber's shop, presumably an open stall with a door and a flap-down shutter. The third is the courtesan's house, on which Serlio insists. This reappears in the second part and has a window large enough for four women to sit in.[1] The other houses in this part are a temple with a tomb in it, and a pageant stage used at a royal entry. The conveniences of exterior action lead to a convention which often recurs in later plays, by which royal justice is dispensed in the street. And the strict unity of place is broken by a scene (iv. 2) which takes place, not like the rest of the action in the town of Julio, but in a wood through which the actors are approaching it. Here also we have, I think, the beginnings of a convention by which action on the extreme edge of a stage, or possibly on the floor of the hall or on steps leading to the stage, was treated as a little remote from the place represented by the setting in the background. The four tragedies were all produced at the Court itself by actors from the Inns of Court. It is a little curious that the earliest of the four, *Gorboduc* (1562), is also the most regardless of the unity of place. While Acts I and III–V are at the Court of Gorboduc, Act II is divided between the independent Courts of Ferrex and Porrex. We can hardly suppose that there was any substantial change of decoration, and probably the same generalized palace background served for all three. Here also the convention, classical enough, rules, by which the affairs of state are conducted in the open. By 1562 the raised stage had clearly established itself. There are no regular stage-directions in *Gorboduc*, but the stage is often mentioned in the descriptions of the dumb-shows between the acts, and in the fourth of these 'there came from vnder the stage, as though out of hell, three furies'. Similarly in *Jocasta* (1566) the stage opens in the dumb shows to disclose, at one time a grave, at another the gulf of Curtius. The action of the play itself is before the palace of Jocasta, but there are also entrances and exits, which are carefully specified in stage-directions as being through 'the gates called Electrae' and 'the gates called Homoloydes'. Perhaps we are to infer that the gates which, if the stage-manager had Vitruvius in mind, would have stood on the right and left of the proscenium, were labelled 'in great letters' with their names; and if so, a similar device may have served in *Gorboduc* to indicate at which of the three Courts action was for the time being proceeding. *Gismond of Salerne* has not only a hell, for Megaera, but also a heaven, for the descent and ascent of Cupid. Like *Jocasta*, it preserves unity of place, but it has two houses in the background, the palace of Tancred and an independent 'chamber' for Gismond, which is open enough and deep enough to allow part of the action, with Gismond lying poisoned and Tancred mourning over her, to take place within it. *The Misfortunes of Arthur* is, of course, twenty years later than the other members of the group. But it is true to type. The action is in front of three *domus*, the 'houses' of Arthur and of Mordred, which ought not perhaps historically to have been in the same city, and a cloister. A few years later still, in 1591, Wilmot, one of the authors of *Gismond of Salerne*, re-wrote it as *Tancred and Gismund*. He did not materially interfere with the old staging, but he added an epilogue, of which the final couplet runs:

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[1] The manuscript of *Misogonus* was written at Kettering. The prologue of *Mary Magdalene* is for travelling actors, who had given it at a university. *Thersites* contains local references (cf. Boas, 20) suggesting Oxford. Both this and *The Disobedient Child* are adaptations of dialogues of Ravisius Textor, but the adapters seem to be responsible for the staging.

[2] Cf. ch. xxii.

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[1] II. ii. 'Fowre women bravelie apparelled, sitting singing in Lamiaes windowe, with wrought Smockes, and Cawles, in their hands, as if they were a working'. *Supposes*, IV. iv, is a dialogue between Dalio the cook, at Erostrato's window, and visitors outside. At the beginning, 'Dalio commeth to the wyndowe, and there maketh them answere'; at the end, 'Dalio draweth his hed in at the wyndowe, the Scenese commeth out'. The dialogue of sc. v proceeds at the door, and finally 'Dalio pulleth the Scenese in at the dores'. In *Two Ital. Gent.* 435, 'Victoria comes to the windowe, and throwes out a letter'. It must not be assumed on the analogy of later plays, and is in fact unlikely, that the windows of these early 'houses', or those of the 'case' at Ferrara in 1486, were upper floor windows.

> Thus end our sorrowes with the setting sun:
> Now draw the curtens for our Scaene is done.

If these lines had occurred in the original version of the play, they would naturally have been taken as referring to curtains used to cover and discover Gismond's death-chamber. But in this point Wilmot has modified the original action, and has made Gismund take her poison and die, not in her chamber, but on the open stage. Are we then faced, as part of the paraphernalia of a Court stage, at any rate by 1591, with a front curtain—a curtain drawn aside, and not sinking like the curtains of Ferrara and Rome, but like those curtains used to mark the beginning and end of a play, rather than to facilitate any changing of scenes?[1] It is difficult to say. Wilmot, not re-writing for the stage, may have re-written loosely. Or the epilogue may after all have belonged to the first version of the play, and have dropped out of the manuscript in which that version is preserved. The Revels Accounts testify that 'great curtains' were used in Court plays, but certainly do not prove that they were used as front curtains. The nearest approach to a corroboration of Wilmot is to be found in an epigram which exists in various forms, and is ascribed in some manuscripts to Sir Walter Raleigh.[2]

What is our life? a play of passion.
Our mirth? the musick of diuision.
Our mothers wombs the tyring houses bee
Where we are drest for liues short comedy.
The earth the stage, heauen the spectator is,
Who still doth note who ere do act amisse.
Our graues, that hyde vs from the all-seeing sun,
Are but drawne curtaynes when the play is done.

If these four comedies and four tragedies were taken alone, it would, I think, be natural to conclude that, with the Italianized types of drama, the English Court had also adopted the Italian type of setting.[3] Certainly the tragedies would fit well enough into Serlio's stately façade of palaces, and the comedies into his more homely group of bourgeois houses, with its open shop, its 'temple', and its discreet abode of a *ruffiana*.[1]

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[1] There is a reference to a falling curtain, not necessarily a stage one, in *Alchemist*, IV. ii. 6, 'O, for a suite, To fall now, like a cortine: flap'. Such curtains were certainly used in masks; cf. ch. vi.

[2] Donne, *Poems* (ed. Grierson), i. 441; J. Hannah, *Courtly Poets*, 29. Graves, 20, quotes with this epigram Drummond, *Cypress Grove*, 'Every one cometh there to act his part of this tragi-comedy, called life, which done, the courtaine is drawn, and he removing is said to dy'. But of course many stage deaths are followed by the drawing of curtains which are not front curtains.

[3] Inns of Court and University plays naturally run on analogous lines. For the 'houses' at Cambridge in 1564 and at Oxford in 1566, cf. ch. vii. The three Cambridge Latin comedies, *Hymenaeus* (1579), *Victoria* (*c.* 1580–3), *Pedantius* (*c.* 1581), follow the Italian tradition. For *Victoria*, which has the same plot as *Two Ital. Gent.*, Fraunce directs, 'Quatuor extruendae sunt domus, nimirum Fidelis, 1ª, Fortunij, 2ª, Cornelij, 3ª, Octauiani, 4ª. Quin et sacellum quoddam erigendum est, in quo constituendum est Cardinalis cuiusdam Sepulchrum, ita efformatum, vt claudi aperirique possit. In Sacello autem Lampas ardens ponenda est'. The earliest extant tragedies, Grimald's *Christus Redivivus* (*c.* 1540) and *Archipropheta* (*c.* 1547), antedate the pseudo-Senecan influence. Practical convenience, rather than dramatic theory, imposed upon the former a unity of action before the tomb. Grimald says, 'Loca item, haud usque eò discriminari censebat; quin unum in proscenium, facilè & citra negocium conduci queant'. The latter was mainly before Herod's palace, but seems to have showed also John's prison at Macherus. There is an opening scene, as

As courtly, beyond doubt, we must treat the main outlook of the choir companies during their long hegemony of the Elizabethan drama, which ended with the putting down of Paul's in 1590. Unfortunately it is not until the last decade of this period, with the 'court comedies' of Lyly, that we have any substantial body of their work, differentiated from the interludes and the Italianate comedies, to go upon. The *Damon and Pythias* of Richard Edwardes has a simple setting before the gates of a court. Lyly's own methods require rather careful analysis.[2] The locality of *Campaspe* is throughout at Athens, in 'the market-place' (III. ii. 56).[3] On this there are three *domus*: Alexander's palace, probably represented by a portico in which he receives visitors, and from which inmates 'draw in' (IV. iii. 32) to get off the stage; a tub 'turned towardes the sun' (I. iii. 12) for Diogenes over which he can 'pry' (V. iii. 21); a shop for Apelles, which has a window (III. i. 18), outside which a page is posted, and open enough for Apelles to carry on dialogue with Campaspe (III. iii.; IV. iv), while he paints her within. These three *domus* are quite certainly all visible together, as continuous action can pass from one to another. At one point (I. iii. 110) the philosophers walk direct from the palace to the tub; at another (III. iv. 44, 57) Alexander, going to the shop, passes the tub on the way; at a third (V. iv. 82) Apelles, standing at the tub, is bidden 'looke about you, your shop is on fire!'

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in *Promos and Cassandra*, of approach to the palace (Boas, 28, 35). Christopherson's *Jephthah*, Watson's (?) *Absalon*, and Gager's *Meleager* (1582) observe classical unity. The latter has two houses, in one of which an altar may have been 'discovered'. Boas, 170, quotes two s.ds., 'Transeunt venatores e Regia ad fanum Dianae' and 'Accendit ligna in ara, in remotiore scenae parte extructa'. Gager's later plays (Boas, 179) seem to be under the influence of theatrical staging. On Legge's *Richardus Tertius vide* p. 43, *infra*.

[1] I do not suggest that the actual 'templum' in Serlio's design, which is painted on the backcloth, was practicable. The *ruffiana's* house was. About the shop or tavern, half-way up the rake of the stage, I am not sure. There is an echo of the *ruffiana*, quite late, in *London Prodigal* (1605), v. i. 44, 'Enter Ruffyn'.

[2] The early editions have few s.ds. Mr. Bond supplies many, which are based on a profound misunderstanding of Lyly's methods of staging, to some of the features of which Reynolds in *M. P.* i. 581, ii. 69, and Lawrence, i. 237, have called attention.

[3] Possibly I. i might be an approach scene outside the city, as prisoners are sent (76) 'into the citie', but this may only mean to the interior of the city from the market-place.

As Alexander (v. iv. 71) tells Diogenes that he 'wil haue thy cabin remoued nerer to my court', I infer that the palace and the tub were at opposite ends of the stage, and the shop in the middle, where the interior action could best be seen. In *Sapho and Phao* the unity of place is not so marked. All the action is more or less at Syracuse, but, with the exception of one scene (II. iii), the whole of the first two acts are near Phao's ferry outside the city. I do not think that the actual ferry is visible, for passengers go 'away' (I. i. 72; ii. 69) to cross, and no use is made of a ferryman's house, but somewhere quite near Sibylla sits 'in the mouth of her caue' (II. i. 13), and talks with Phao.[1] The rest of the action is in the city itself, either before the palace of Sapho, or within her chamber, or at the forge of Vulcan, where he is perhaps seen 'making of the arrowes' (IV. iv. 33) during a song. Certainly Sapho's chamber is practicable. The stage-directions do not always indicate its opening and shutting. At one point (III. iii. 1) we simply get 'Sapho in her bed' in a list of interlocutors; at another (IV. i. 20) 'Exit Sapho', which can only mean that the door closes upon her. It was a door, not a curtain, for she tells a handmaid (V. ii. 101) to 'shut' it. Curtains are 'drawne' (III. iii. 36; IV. iii. 95), but these are bed-curtains, and the drawing of them does not put Sapho's chamber in or out of action. As in *Campaspe*, there is interplay between house and house. A long continuous stretch of action, not even broken by the act intervals, begins with III. iii and extends to the end of V. ii, and in the course of this Venus sends Cupid to Sapho, and herself waits at Vulcan's forge (V. i. 50). Presently (V. ii. 45) she gets tired of waiting, and without leaving the stage, advances to the chamber and says, 'How now, in Saphoes lap?' There is not the same interplay between the city houses and Sibylla's cave, to which the last scene of the play returns. I think we must suppose that two neighbouring spots within the same general locality were shown in different parts of the stage, and this certainly entails a bolder use of dramatic foreshortening of distance than the mere crossing the market-place in *Campaspe*. This foreshortening recurs in *Endymion*. Most of the action is in an open place which must be supposed to be near the palace of Cynthia, or at the lunary bank (II. iii. 9), of Endymion's slumber, which is also near the palace.[2] It stands in a grove (IV. iii. 160), and is called a ‘caban’ (IV. iii. 111). Somewhere also in the open space is, in Act v, the aspen-tree, into which Dipsas has turned Bagoa and from which she is delivered (v. iii. 283). But III. ii and IV. i are at the door of ‘the Castle in the Deserte’ (III. i. 41; ii. 1) and III. iv is also in the desert (cf. v. iii. 35), before a fountain. This fountain was, however, ‘hard by’ the lunary bank (IV. ii. 67), and probably the desert was no farther off than the end of the stage.[1] In *Midas* the convention of foreshortening becomes inadequate, and we are faced with a definite change of locality. The greater part of the play is at the Court of Midas, presumably in Lydia rather than in Phrygia, although an Elizabethan audience is not likely to have been punctilious about Anatolian geography. Some scenes require as background a palace, to which it is possible to go ‘in’ (I. i. 117; II. ii. 83; III. iii. 104). A temple of Bacchus may also have been represented, but is not essential. Other scenes are in a neighbouring spot, where the speaking reeds grow. There is a hunting scene (IV. i) on ‘the hill Tmolus’ (cf. v. iii. 44). So far Lyly's canons of foreshortening are not exceeded. But the last scene (v. iii) is out of the picture altogether. The opening words are ‘This is Delphos’, and we are overseas, before the temple of Apollo. In *Galathea* and in *Love's Metamorphosis*, on the other hand, unity is fully achieved. The whole of *Galathea* may well proceed in a single spot, on the edge of a wood, before a tree sacred to Neptune, and in Lincolnshire (I. iv. 12). The sea is hard by, but need not be seen. The action of *Love's Metamorphosis* is rather more diffuse, but an all-over pastoral setting, such as we see in Serlio's *scena satirica*, with scattered *domus* in different glades, would serve it. Or, as the management of the Hôtel de Bourgogne would have put it, the stage is *tout en pastoralle*. There are a tree of Ceres and a temple of Cupid. These are used successively in the same scene (II. i). Somewhat apart, on the sea-shore, but close to the wood, dwells Erisichthon. There is a rock for the Siren, and Erisichthon's house may also have been shown.[2] Finally, *Mother Bombie* is an extreme

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[1] Action is continuous between II. i, at the cave, and II. ii, in which Sapho will 'crosse the Ferrie'. Phao told Sibylla (II. i. 14) that he was out of his way and benighted, but this was a mere excuse for addressing her.

[2] The palace itself was not necessarily staged. If it was, it was used with the lunary bank, after visiting which Cynthia goes 'in' (IV. iii. 171). She comes 'out' and goes 'in' again (V. iii. 17, 285), but these terms

may only refer to a stage door. Nor do I think that the ‘solitarie cell’ spoken of by Endymion (II. i. 41) was staged.

[1] Yet Eumenides, who was sent to Thessaly in III. i, has only reached the fountain twenty years later (III. iii. 17), although he is believed at Court to be dead (IV. iii. 54). The time of the play cannot be reduced to consistency; cf. Bond, iii. 14.

[2] In IV. ii. 96 Protea, in a scene before the rock, says to Petulius, ‘Follow me at this doore, and out at the other’. During the transit she is metamorphosed, but the device is rather clumsy. The doors do not prove that a *domus* of Erisichthon was visible; they may be merely stage-doors.

example of the traditional Italian comic manner. The action comes and goes, rapidly for Lyly, in an open place, surrounded by no less than seven houses, the doors of which are freely used.

Two other Chapel plays furnish sufficient evidence that the type of staging just described was not Lyly's and Lyly's alone.[1] Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* is *tout en pastoralle.* A poplar-tree dominates the stage throughout, and the only house is a bower of Diana, large enough to hold the council of gods (381, 915). A trap is required for the rising and sinking of a golden tree (489) and the ascent of Pluto (902). Marlowe's *Dido* has proved rather a puzzle to editors who have not fully appreciated the principles on which the Chapel plays were produced. I think that one side of the stage was arranged *en pastoralle*, and represented the wood between the sea-shore and Carthage, where the shipwrecked Trojans land and where later Aeneas and Dido hunt. Here was the cave where they take shelter from the storm.[2] Here too must have been the curtained-off *domus* of Jupiter.[3] This is only used in a kind of prelude. Of course it ought to have been in heaven, but the Gods are omnipresent, and it is quite clear that when the curtain is drawn on Jupiter, Venus, who has been discoursing with him, is left in the wood, where she then meets

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[1] Possibly *The Cobler's Prophecy* is also a Chapel or Paul's play; it was given before an audience who 'sit and see', and to whom the presenters 'cast comfets' (39). The *domus* required for a background are (*a*) Ralph's, (*b*) Mars's court, (*c*) Venus's court, (*d*) the Duke's court, (*e*) the cabin of Contempt. From (*a*) to (*b*) is 'not farre hence' (138) and 'a flight shoot vp the hill' (578); between are a wood and a spot near Charon's ferry. From (*b*) to (*c*) leads 'Adowne the hill' (776). At the end (*e*) is burnt, and foreshortening of space is suggested by the s.d. (1564), 'Enter the Duke . . . then compasse the stage, from one part let a smoke arise: at which place they all stay'. At the beginning (3) 'on the stage Mercurie from one end Ceres from another meete'. *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, which cannot be definitely assigned either to the Chapel or to Paul's, continues the manner of the old interlude; it has a stage (1570), but the abstract action requires no setting beyond the tiled hall (205, 359, 932, 974) in which the performance was given. *The Wars of Cyrus* is a Chapel play, but must be classed, from the point of view of staging, with the plays given in public theatres (cf. p. 48).

[2] Act III has the s.d., '*The storme. Enter Æneas and Dido in the Caue at seuerall times*' (996). . . . '*Exeunt to the Caue*' (1059). They are supposed to remain in the cave during the interval between Acts III and IV, after which, '*Anna.* Behold where both of them come forth the Caue' (1075).

[3] '*Here the Curtaines draw, there is discouered Iupiter dandling Ganimed vpon his knee*' (1). . . . '*Exeunt Iupiter cum Ganimed*' (120). But as Jupiter first says, 'Come Ganimed, we must about this gear', it may be that they walk off. If so, perhaps they are merely 'discouered' in the wood, and the curtains are front curtains.

Aeneas (134, 139, 173). The other side of the stage represents Carthage. Possibly a wall with a gate in it was built across the stage, dividing off the two regions. In the opening line of Act II, Aeneas says,

> Where am I now? these should be Carthage walles,

and we must think of him as advancing through the wood to the gate.[1] He is amazed at a carved or printed representation of Troy, which Virgil placed in a temple of Juno, but which Marlowe probably thought of as at the gate. He meets other Trojans who have already reached the city, and they call his attention to Dido's servitors, who 'passe through the hall' bearing a banquet. Evidently he is now within the city and has approached a *domus* representing the palace. The so-called 'hall' is probably an open *loggia*. Here Dido entertains him, and in a later scene (773) points out to him the pictures of her suitors. There is perhaps an altar in front of the palace, where Iarbas does his sacrifice (1095), and somewhere close by a pyre is made for Dido (1692). Either within or without the walls may be the grove in which Ascanius is hidden while Cupid takes his place.[2] If, as is more probable, it is without, action passes through the gate when Venus beguiles him away. It certainly does at the beginning (912, 960) and end (1085) of the hunt, and again when Aeneas first attempts flight and Anna brings him back from the sea-shore (1151, 1207).

The plays of the Lylyan school, if one may so call it, seem to me to illustrate very precisely, on the side of staging, that blend of the classical and the romantic tempers which is characteristic of the later Renaissance. The mediaeval instinct for a story, which the Elizabethans fully shared, is with difficulty accommodated to the form of an action coherent in place and time, which the Italians had established on the basis of Latin comedy. The Shakespearian romantic drama is on the point of being born. Lyly and his fellow University wits deal with the problem to the best of their ability. They widen the conception of locality, to a city and its environs instead of a street; and even then the narrative sometimes proves unmanageable, and the distance from one end of the stage to the other must represent a foreshortening of leagues, or even of the crossing of an ocean. In the hands of less skilful workmen the tendency was naturally accentuated, and plays had been written, long before Lyly was sent down from Magdalen, in which the episodes of breathless adventure altogether overstepped the most elastic confines of locality. A glance at the titles of the plays presented at Court during the second decade of Elizabeth's reign will show the extent to which themes drawn from narrative literature were already beginning to oust those of the old interlude type.[1] The new development is apparent in the contributions both of men and of boys; with this distinction, that the boys find their sources mainly in the storehouse of classical history and legend, while the men turn either to contemporary events at home and abroad, or more often to the belated and somewhat jaded versions, still dear to the Elizabethan laity, of mediaeval romance. The break-down of the Italian staging must therefore be regarded from the beginning, as in part at least a result of the reaction of popular taste upon that of the Court. The noblemen's players came to London when the winter set in, and brought with them the pieces which had delighted *bourgeois* and village audiences up and down the land throughout the summer; and on the whole it proved easier for the Revels officers to adapt the stage to the plays than the plays to the stage. Nor need it be doubted that, even in so cultivated a Court as that of Elizabeth, the popular taste was not without its echoes.

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[1] So too (897),

> This day they both a hunting forth will ride
> Into these woods, adioyning to these walles.

[2] At the end of the banquet scene (598), '*Exeunt omnes*' towards the interior of the palace, when '*Enter Venus at another doore, and takes Ascanius by the sleeue*'. She carries him to the grove, and here he presumably remains until the next Act (III), when '*Enter Iuno to Ascanius asleepe*' (811). He is then removed again, perhaps to make room for the hunting party. I suppose the '*another doore*' of 598 to mean a stage-door.

Of all this wealth of forgotten play-making, only five examples survive; but they are sufficient to indicate the scenic trend.[2] Their affiliation with the earlier interludes is direct. The 'vice' and other moral abstractions still mingle with the concrete personages, and the proscenium is still the 'place'.[3] The simplest setting is that of *Cambyses*. All is at or within sight of the Persian Court. If any *domus* was represented, it was the palace, to which there are departures (567, 929). Cambyses consults his council (1–125) and there is a banquet (965–1042) with a 'boorde', at the end of which order is given to 'take all these things away'.[1] In other episodes the Court is 'yonder' (732, 938); it is only necessary to suppose that they were played well away from the *domus*. One is in a 'feeld so green' (843–937), and a stage-direction tells us 'Heere trace up and downe playing'. In another (754–842) clowns are on their way to market.[2] The only other noteworthy point is that, not for the first nor for the last time, a post upon the stage is utilized in the action.[3] *Patient Grissell*, on the other hand, requires two localities. The more important is Salucia (Saluzzo), where are Gautier's mansion, Janickell's cottage, and the house of Mother Apleyarde, a midwife (1306). The other is Bullin Lagras (Bologna), where there are two short episodes (1235–92, 1877–1900) at the house of the Countess of Pango. There can be little doubt that all the *domus* were staged at once. There is direct transfer of action from Gautier's to the cottage and back again (612–34; cf. 1719, 2042, 2090). Yet there is some little distance between, for when a messenger is sent, the foreshortening of space is indicated by the stage-direction (1835), 'Go once or twise about the Staige'.[4] Similarly, unless an 'Exiunt' has dropped out, there is direct transfer (1900) from Bullin Lagras to Salucia. In *Orestes* the problem of discrete localities is quite differently handled. The play falls into five quasi-acts of unequal length, which are situated successively at Mycenae, Crete, Mycenae, Athens, Mycenae. For all, as in *Gorboduc*, the same sketchy palace background might serve, with one interesting and prophetic exception. The middle episodes (538–925), at Mycenae, afford the first example of those siege scenes which the Shakespearian stage came to love. A messenger brings warning to Aegisthus and Clytemnestra of the purpose of Orestes 'to inuade this Mycoene Citie stronge'. Aegisthus goes into the 'realme', to take up men, and Clytemnestra will defend the city. There is a quarrel between a soldier and a woman and the Vice sings a martial song. Then 'Horestes entrith with his bande and marcheth about the stage'. He instructs a Herald, who advances with his trumpeter. ‘Let y^e trumpet go towarde the Citie and blowe.’ Clytemnestra answers. ‘Let y^e trumpet leaue soundyng and let Harrauld speake and Clytemnestra speake ouer y^e wal.’ Summons and defiance follow, and Orestes calls on his men for an assault. ‘Go and make your liuely battel and let it be longe, eare you can win y^e Citie, and when you haue won it, let Horestes bringe out his mother by the armes, and let y^e droum sease playing and the trumpet also, when she is taken.’ But now Aegisthus is at hand. ‘Let Egistus enter and set hys men in a raye, and let the drom play tyll Horestes speaketh.’ There is more fighting, which ends with the capture and hanging of Aegisthus. ‘Fling him of y^e lader, and then let on bringe in his mother Clytemnestra; but let her loke wher Egistus hangeth’. Finally Orestes announces that ‘Enter now we wyll the citie gate’. In the two other plays the changes of locality come thick and fast. The action of *Clyomon and Clamydes* begins in Denmark, and passes successively to Swabia, to the Forest of Marvels on the borders of Macedonia, to the Isle of Strange Marshes twenty days' sail from Macedonia, to the Forest again, to the Isle again, to Norway, to the Forest, to the Isle, to the Forest, to a road near Denmark, to the Isle, to Denmark. Only two *domus* are needed, a palace (733) in the Isle, and Bryan Sans Foy's Castle in the Forest. This is a prison, with a practicable door and a window, from which Clamydes speaks (872). At one point Providence descends and ascends (1550–64). In one of the Forest scenes a hearse is brought in and it is still there in the next (1450, 1534), although a short Isle scene has intervened. This looks as though the two ends of the stage may have been assigned throughout to the two principal localities, the Forest and the Isle. Some care is taken to let the speakers give the audience a clue when a new locality is made use of for the first time. Afterwards the recurrence of characters whom they had already seen would help them. The Norway episode (1121) is the only one which need have much puzzled them. But *Clyomon and Clamydes* may have made use of a peculiar device, which becomes apparent in the stage-directions of *Common Conditions*. The play opens in Arabia, where first a spot near the Court and then a wood are indicated; but the latter part alternates between Phrygia, near the sea-shore, and the Isle of Marofus. No *domus* is necessary, and it must remain uncertain whether the wood was represented by visualized trees. It is introduced (295) with the stage-direction, ‘Here enter Sedmond with Clarisia and Condicions out of the wood’. Similarly Phrygia is introduced (478) with ‘Here entreth Galiarbus out of Phrygia’, and a few lines later (510) we get ‘ Here enter Lamphedon out of Phrygia ’. Now it is to be noted that the episodes which follow these directions are not away from, but in the wood and Phrygia respectively; and the inference has been drawn that there were labelled doors, entrance through one of which warned the spectators that action was about to take place in the locality whose title the label bore.[1] This theory obtains some plausibility from the use of the gates Homoloydes and Electrae in *Jocasta*; and perhaps also from the inscribed house of the *ruffiana* in Serlio's *scena comica*, from the early Terence engravings, and from certain examples of lettered *mansions* in French miracle-plays.[2] But of course these analogies do not go the whole way in support of a practice of using differently lettered entrances to help out an imagined conversion of the same ‘ place ’ into different localities. More direct confirmation may perhaps be derived from Sidney's criticism of the contemporary drama in his *Defence of Poesie* (*c.* 1583). There are two passages to be cited.[3] The first forms part of an argument that poets are not liars. Their feigning is a convention, and is accepted as such by their hearers. ‘ What Childe is there ’, says Sidney, ‘ that, comming to a Play, and seeing *Thebes* written in great letters vpon an olde doore, doth beleeue that it is *Thebes*? ’ Later on he deals more formally with the stage, as a classicist, writing after the unity of place had hardened into a doctrine. Even *Gorboduc* is no perfect tragedy.

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[1] Cf. ch. xxii.

[2] Direct evidence pointing to performance at Court is only available for two of the five, *Cambyses* and *Orestes*.

[3] *Cambyses*, 75, 303, 380, 968, 1041, 1055; *Patient Grissell*, 212, 338, 966, 1048, 1185, 1291, 1972, 1984, 2069; *Orestes*, 221, 1108; *Clyomon and Clamydes*, 1421, 1717, 1776, 1901, 1907, 1931, 1951, 2008, 2058, 2078; *Common Conditions*, 2, 110, 544, 838, 1397, 1570; &c. Of course, the technical meaning of 'place' shades into the ordinary one.

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[1] A similar instruction clears the stage at the end (1197) of a corpse, as in many later plays; cf. p. 80.

[2] The s.d. 'one of their wives come out' (813) does not necessarily imply a clown's *domus*. *Cambyses* fluctuates between the actor's notion that personages come 'out' from the tiring-house, and the earlier notion of play-makers and audience that they go 'out' from the stage. Thus 'Enter Venus leading out her son' (843), but 'goe out Venus and Cupid' at the end of the same episode (880).

[3] 'Come, let us run his arse against the poste' (186); cf. pp. 27, 75.

[4] For later examples cf. p. 99.

> ‘ For it is faulty both in place and time, the two necessary companions of all corporall actions. For where the stage should alwaies represent but one place, and the vttermost time presupposed in it should be, both by *Aristotles* precept and common reason, but one day, there is both many dayes, and many places, inartificially imagined. But if it be so in *Gorboduck*, how much more in al the rest? where you shal haue *Asia* of the one side, and *Affrick* of the other, and so many other vnder-kingdoms, that the Player, when he commeth in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or els the tale wil not be conceiued. Now ye shal haue three ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we must beleeue the stage to be a Garden. By and by, we heare

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[1] Lawrence (i. 41), *Title and Locality Boards on the Pre-Restoration Stage.*

[2] Lawrence, i. 55. No English example of an inscribed miracle-play *domus* has come to light.

[3] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, i. 185, 197 (cf. App. C, No. xxxiv). Sidney's main argument is foreshadowed in Whetstone's Epistle to *Promos and Cassandra* (1578; cf. App. C, No. xix), ‘ The Englishman in this quallitie, is most vaine, indiscreete, and out of order; he fyrst groundes his worke on impossibilities: then in three howers ronnes he throwe the worlde: marryes, gets children, makes children men, men to conquer kingdomes, murder monsters, and bringeth Gods from Heaven, and fetcheth Divels from Hel ’.

newes of shipwracke in the same place, and then wee are to blame if we accept it not for a Rock. Vpon the backe of that, comes out a hidious Monster, with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bounde to take it for a Caue. While in the meantime two Armies flye in, represented with foure swords and bucklers, and then what harde heart will not receiue it for a pitched fielde ?'

It is evident that the plays which Sidney has mostly in mind, the 'al the rest' of his antithesis with *Gorboduc*, are precisely those romantic histories which the noblemen's players in particular were bringing to Court in his day, and of which *Clyomon and Clamydes* and *Common Conditions* may reasonably be taken as the characteristic débris. He hints at what we might have guessed that, where changes of scene were numerous, the actual visualization of the different scenes left much to the imagination. He lays his finger upon the foreshortening, which permits the two ends of the stage to stand for localities separated by a considerable distance, and upon the obligation which the players were under to let the opening phrases of their dialogue make it clear where they were supposed to be situated. And it certainly seems from the shorter passage, as if he was also familiar with an alternative or supplementary device of indicating locality by great letters on a door. The whole business remains rather obscure. What happened if the distinct localities were more numerous than the doors? Were the labels shifted, or were the players then driven, as Sidney seems to suggest, to rely entirely upon the method of spoken hints? The labelling of special doors with great letters must be distinguished from the analogous use of great letters, as at the *Phormio* of 1528, to publish the title of a play.[1] That this practice also survived in Court drama may be inferred from Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, in which Hieronimo gives a Court play, and bids his assistant (IV. iii. 17) 'hang up the Title: Our scene is Rhodes'. Even if the 'scene' formed part of the title in such cases, it would only name a generalized locality or localities for the play, and would not serve as a clue to the localization of individual episodes.[2]

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[1] Cf. p. 20.

[2] Gibson had used written titles to name his pageant buildings; cf. Brewer, ii. 1501; Halle, i. 40, 54. The Westminster accounts *c.* 1566 (cf. ch. xii) include an item for 'drawing the tytle of the comedee'. The Revels officers paid 'for the garnyshinge of xiiij titles' in 1579–80, and for the 'painting of ix. titles with copartmentes' in 1580–1 (Feuillerat, *Eliz.* 328, 338). The latter number agrees with that of the plays and tilt challenges for the year; the former is above that of the nine plays recorded, and Lawrence thinks that the balance was for locality-titles. But titles were also sometimes used in the course of action. Thus *Tide Tarrieth*

A retrospect over this discussion of Tudor staging, which is mainly Court staging, up to a point well subsequent to the establishment of the first regular theatres, seems to offer the following results. The earliest interludes, other than revivals of Plautus and Terence or elements in spectacular disguisings, limited themselves to the setting of the hall in which they were performed, with its doors, hearth, and furniture. In such conditions either exterior or interior action could be indifferently represented. This arrangement, however, soon ceased to satisfy, in the Court at any rate, the sixteenth-century love of decoration; and one or more houses were introduced into the background, probably on a Renaissance rather than a mediaeval suggestion, through which, as well as the undifferentiated doors, the personages could come and go. The addition of an elevated stage enabled traps to be used (*All for Money*, *Gorboduc*, *Jocasta*, *Gismond of Salerne*, *Arraignment of Paris*); but here, as in the corresponding device of a descent from above (*Gismond of Salerne*, *Clyomon and Clamydes*), it is the mediaeval grading for heaven and hell which lies behind the Renaissance usage. With houses in the background, the normal action becomes uniformly exterior. If a visit is paid to a house, conversation takes place at its door rather than within. The exceptions are rare and tentative, amounting to little more than the provision of a shallow recess within a house, from which personages, usually one or two only, can speak. This may be a window (*Two Italian Gentlemen*, *Promos and Cassandra*), a prison (*Wit and Wisdom*, *Promos and Cassandra*, *Clyomon and Clamydes*), a bower (*Misogonus*, *Endymion*, *Dido*, *Arraignment of Paris*), a tub (*Campaspe*), a shrine or tomb (*Two Italian Gentlemen*, *Promos and Cassandra*), a shop (*Thersites*, *Promos and Cassandra*, *Campaspe*, *Sapho and Phao*), a bed-chamber (*Gismund of Salerne*, *Tom Tyler*, *Sapho and Phao*). Somewhat more difficulty is afforded by episodes in which there is a banquet (*Mary Magdalene*, *Dido*, *Cambyses*), or a law court (*Conflict of Conscience*), or a king confers with his councillors (*Midas*, *Cambyses*). These, according to modern notions, require the setting of a hall; but my impression is that the Italianized imagination of the Elizabethans was content

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for No Man has the s.d. (1439), 'Christianity must enter with a sword, with a title of pollicy, but on the other syde of the tytle, must be written gods word, also a shield, wheron must be written riches, but on the other syde of the shield must be Fayth'. Later on (1501) Faithful 'turneth the titles'. Prologues, such as those of *Damon and Pythias*, *Respublica*, and *Conflict of Conscience*, which announce the names of the plays, tell rather against the use of title-boards for those plays. For the possible use of both title- and scene-boards at a later date, cf. pp. 126, 154.

to accept them as taking place more or less out of doors, on the steps or in the cortile of a palace, with perhaps some arcaded *loggia*, such as Serlio suggests, in the background, which would be employed when the action was supposed to be withdrawn from the public market-place or street. And this convention I believe to have lasted well into the Shakespearian period.[1]

The simplicity of this scheme of staging is broken into, when a mediaeval survival or the popular instinct for story-telling faces the producer with a plot incapable of continuous presentation in a single locality. A mere foreshortening of the distance between houses conceived as surrounding one and the same open *platea*, or as dispersed in the same wood, is hardly felt as a breach of unity. But the principle is endangered, when action within a city is diversified by one or more 'approach' episodes, in which the edge of the stage or the steps leading up to it must stand for a road or a wood in the environs (*Promos and Cassandra*, *Sapho and Phao*, *Dido*). It is on the point of abandonment, when the foreshortening is carried so far that one end of the stage represents one locality and the other end another at a distance (*Disobedient Child*, *Mary Magdalene*, *Endymion*, *Midas*, *Patient Grissell*). And it has been abandoned altogether, when the same background or a part of it is taken to represent different localities in different episodes, and ingenuity has to be taxed to find means of informing the audience where any particular bit of action is proceeding (*Gorboduc*, *Orestes*, *Clyomon and Clamydes*, *Common Conditions*).[2]

After considering the classicist group of comedies and tragedies, I suggested that these, taken by themselves, would point to a method of staging at the Elizabethan Court not unlike that recommended by Serlio. The more comprehensive survey now completed points to some revision of that judgement. Two localities at opposite ends of the stage could not, obviously, be worked into a continuous architectural façade. They call for something more on the lines of the multiple setting of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, although the width of the Elizabethan palace halls may perhaps have accommodated a longer stage than that of the Hôtel, and permitted of a less crude juxtaposition of the houses belonging to distinct localities than Mahelot offers us. Any use of perspective, for which there is some Elizabethan evidence, was presumably within the limits of one locality.[1]

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[1] Cf. pp. 60, 63.

[2] In the Latin academic drama the transition between classical and romantic staging is represented by Legge's *Richardus Tertius* (1580). This is Senecan in general character, but unity of place is not strictly observed. A s.d. to the first *Actio* (iii. 64) is explicit for the use of a curtain to discover a recessed interior, 'A curtaine being drawne, let the queene appeare in y^e^ sanctuary, her 5 daughters and maydes about her, sittinge on packs, fardells, chests, cofers. The queene sitting on y^e^ ground with fardells about her'.

The indications of the Revels Accounts, scanty as they are, are not inconsistent with those yielded by the plays.[2] If the *Orestes* of 1567–8, as may reasonably be supposed, was Pikeryng's, his ' howse ' must have been the common structure used successively for Mycenae, Crete, and Athens. The ' Scotland and a gret Castell on thothere side ' give us the familiar arrangement for two localities. I think that the ' city ' of the later accounts may stand for a group of houses on one street or market-place, and a ' mountain ' or ' wood ' for a setting *tout en pastoralle.* There were tents for *A Game of the Cards* in 1582–3, as in *Jacob and Esau*, a prison for *The Four Sons of Fabius* in 1579–80, as in several extant plays. I cannot parallel from any early survival the senate house for the *Quintus Fabius* of 1573–4, but this became a common type of scene at a later date. These are recessed houses, and curtains, quite distinct from the front curtain, if any, were provided by the Revels officers to open and close them, as the needs of the action required. Smaller structures, to which the accounts refer, are also needed by the plays; a well by *Endymion*, a gibbet by *Orestes*, a tree by *The Arraignment of Paris*, and inferentially by all pastoral, and many other plays. The brief record of 1567–8 does not specify the battlement or gated wall, solid enough for Clytemnestra to speak ' ouer y^{e} wal ', which was a feature in the siege episode of *Orestes.* Presumably it was part of the ' howse ', which is mentioned, and indeed it would by itself furnish sufficient background for the scenes alike at Mycenae, Crete, and Athens. If it stood alone, it probably extended along the back of the stage, where it would interfere least with the arrays of Orestes and of Aegisthus. But in the accounts of 1579–85, the plays, of which there are many, with battlements also, as a rule, have cities, and here we must suppose some situation for the battlement which will not interfere with the city. If it stood for the gate and wall of some other city, it may have been reared at an opposite end of the stage. In *Dido*, where the gate of Troy seems to have been shown, although there is no action ' ouer ' it, I can visualize it best as extending across the middle of the stage from back to front. With an unchanging setting it need not always have occupied the same place. The large number of plays between 1579 and 1585 which required battlements, no less than fourteen out of twenty-eight in all, is rather striking. No doubt the assault motive was beloved in the popular type of drama, of which *Orestes* was an early representative. A castle in a wood, where a knight is imprisoned, is assaulted in *Clyomon and Clamydes*, and the Shakespearian stage never wearied of the device. I have sometimes thought that with the Revels officers 'battlement' was a technical term for any platform provided for action at a higher level than the floor of the stage. Certainly a battlement was provided in 1585 for an entertainment which was not a play at all, but a performance of feats of activities.[1] But as a matter of fact raised action, so common in the Shakespearian period, is extremely rare in these early plays. With the exceptions of Clytemnestra peering over her wall, and the descents from heaven in *Gismond of Salerne* and *Clyomon and Clamydes*, which may of course have been through the roof rather than from a platform, the seventy or so plays just discussed contain nothing of the kind. There are, however, two plays still to be mentioned, in which use is made of a platform, and one of these gives some colour to my suggestion. In 1582 Derby's men played *Love and Fortune* at Court, and a city and a battlement, together with some other structure of canvas, the name of which is left blank, were provided. This may reasonably be identified with the *Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, which claims on its title-page of 1589 to have been played before the Queen. It is a piece of the romantic type. The action is divided between a court and a cave in a wood, which account for the city and the unnamed structure of the Revels record. They were evidently shown together, at opposite ends of the stage, for action passes directly from one to the other. There is no assault scene. But there is an induction, in which the gods are in assembly, and Tisiphone arises from hell. At the end of it Jupiter says to Venus and Fortune:

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[1] Cf. p. 21

[2] Cf. ch. vii.

> Take up your places here, to work your will,

and Vulcan comments:

> They are set sunning like a crow in a gutter.

They remain as spectators of the play until they 'shew themselves' and intervene in the *dénouement*. Evidently they are in a raised place or balcony. And this balcony must be the battlement. An exact analogy is furnished by the one of Lyly's plays to which I have not as yet referred. This is *The Woman in the Moon*, Lyly's only verse play, and possibly of later date than his group of productions with the Paul's boys. The first act has the character of an induction. Nature and the seven Planets are on the stage and 'They draw the curtins from before Natures shop'. During the other four there is a human action in a pastoral setting with a cave, beneath which is a trap, a grove on the bank of Enipeus, and a spot near the sea-shore. And throughout one or other of the Planets is watching the play from a 'seate' (II. 176; III. i. 1) above, between which and the stage they 'ascend' and 'descend' (I. 138, 230; II. 174, 236; III. ii. 35; IV. 3).

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[1] Feuillerat, *Eliz.* 365.

XX

STAGING IN THE THEATRES: SIXTEENTH CENTURY

[For *Bibliographical Note, vide* ch. xviii.]

In dealing with the groups of plays brought under review in the last chapter, the main problem considered has been that of their adaptability to the conditions of a Court stage. In the present chapter the point of view must be shifted to that of the common theatres. Obviously no hard and fast line is to be drawn. There had been regular public performances in London since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign or earlier, and there is no reason to suppose that the adult companies at least did not draw upon the same repertory both for popular and for private representation. But there is not much profit in attempting to investigate the methods of staging in the inns, of which we know nothing more than that quasi-permanent structures of carpenter's work came in time to supplement the doors, windows, and galleries which surrounded the yards; and so far as the published plays go, it is fairly apparent that, up to the date of the suppression of Paul's, the Court, or at any rate the private, interest was the dominating one. A turning-point may be discerned in 1576, at the establishment, on the one hand of the Theatre and the Curtain, and on the other of Farrant's house in the Blackfriars. It is not likely that the Blackfriars did more than reproduce the conditions of a courtly hall. But the investment of capital in the Theatre and the Curtain was an incident in the history of the companies, the economic importance of which has already been emphasized in an earlier discussion.[1] It was followed by the formation of strong theatrical organizations in the Queen's men, the Admiral's, Strange's, the Chamberlain's. For a time the economic changes are masked by the continued vogue of the boy companies; but when these dropped out at the beginning of the 'nineties, it is clear that the English stage had become a public stage, and that the eyes of its controllers were fixed primarily upon the pence gathered by the box-holders, and only secondarily upon the rewards of the Treasurer of the Chamber.

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[1] Cf. ch. xi.

The first play published 'as it was publikely acted' is the *Troublesome Raigne of John* of 1591, and henceforward I think it is true to say that the staging suggested by the public texts and their directions in the main represents the arrangements of the public theatres. There is no sudden breach of continuity with the earlier period, but that continuity is far greater with the small group of popular plays typified by *Clyomon and Clamydes* and *Common Conditions*, than with anything which Lyly and his friends produced at Paul's or the Blackfriars. Again it is necessary to beware of any exaggeration of antithesis. There is one Chapel play, *The Wars of Cyrus*, the date of which is obscure, and the setting of which certainly falls on the theatre rather than the Court side of any border-line. On the other hand, the Queen's men and their successors continued to serve the Court, and one of the published Queen's plays, *The Old Wive's Tale*, was evidently staged in a way exactly analogous to that adopted by Lyly, or by Peele himself in *The Arraignment of Paris*. It is *tout en pastoralle*, and about the stage are dispersed a hut with a door, at the threshold of which presenters sit to watch the main action (71, 128, 1163), a little hill or mound with a practicable turf (512, 734, 1034), a cross (173, 521), a 'well of life' (743, 773), an inn before which a table is set (904, 916), and a 'cell' or 'studie' for the conjurer, before which 'he draweth a curten' (411, 773, 1060).[1] Of one other play by Peele it is difficult to take any account in estimating evidence as to staging. This is *David and Bethsabe*, of which the extant text apparently represents an attempt to bring within the compass of a single performance a piece or fragments of a piece originally written in three 'discourses'. I mention it here, because somewhat undue use has been made of its opening direction in speculations as to the configuration of the back wall of the public stage.[2] It uses the favourite assault motive, and has many changes of locality. The title-page suggests that in its present form it was meant for public performance. But almost anything may lie behind that present form, possibly a Chapel play, possibly a University play, or even a neo-miracle in the tradition of Bale; and the staging of any particular scene may contain original elements, imperfectly adapted to later conditions.

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[1] There are four presenters, but, in order to avoid crowding the stage, they are reduced to two by the sending of the others to bed within the hut (128).

[2] Albright, 66; Reynolds, i. 11.

Counting in *The Wars of Cyrus* then, and counting out *The Old Wive's Tale* and *David and Bethsabe*, there are about seventy-four plays which may reasonably be taken to have been presented upon common stages, between the establishment of the Queen's men in 1583 and the building of the Globe for the Chamberlain's men in 1599 and of the Fortune for the Admiral's men in 1600. With a few exceptions they were also published during the same period, and the scenic arrangements implied by their texts and stage-directions may therefore be looked upon as those of the sixteenth-century theatres. These form the next group for our consideration. Of the seventy-four plays, the original production of nine may with certainty or fair probability be assigned to the Queen's men, of two to Sussex's, five to Pembroke's, fourteen to Strange's or the Admiral's or the two in combination, thirteen to the Admiral's after the combination broke up, seventeen to the Chamberlain's, three to Derby's, one to Oxford's, and one to the Chapel; nine must remained unassigned.[1] It is far less easy to make a guess at the individual theatre whose staging each play represents. The migrations of the companies before 1594 in the main elude us. Thereafter the Admiral's were settled at the Rose until 1600. The Chamberlain's may have passed from the Theatre to the Curtain about 1597. The habitations of the other later com panies are very conjectural. Moreover, plays were carried from theatre to theatre, and even transferred from company to company. *Titus Andronicus*, successively presented by Pembroke's, Strange's, Sussex's, and the Chamberlain's, is an extreme case in point. The ideal method would have been to study the staging of each theatre separately, before coming to any conclusion as to the similarity or diversity of their arrangements. This is impracticable, and I propose therefore to proceed on the assumption that the stages of the Theatre, the Curtain, and the Rose were in their main features similar. For this there is an *a priori* argument in the convenience of what Mr. Archer calls a 'standardisation of effects', especially at a time when the bonds between companies and theatres were so loose.[1] Moreover, the Theatre and the Curtain were built at much the same date, and although there was room for development in the art of theatrical architecture before the addition of the Rose, I am unable, after a careful examination of the relevant plays, to lay my finger upon any definite new feature which Henslowe can be supposed to have introduced. It is exceedingly provoking that the sixteenth-century repertory of the Swan has yielded nothing which can serve as a *point de liaison* between De Witt's drawing and the mass of extant texts.

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[1] Queen's, *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, *1*, *2 Troublesome Reign of King John*, *Selimus*, *Looking-Glass for London and England*, *Famous Victories of Henry V*, *James IV*, *King Leir*, *True Tragedy of Richard III*; Sussex's, *George a Greene*, *Titus Andronicus*; Pembroke's, *Edward II*, *Taming of a Shrew*, *2*, *3 Henry VI*, *Richard III*; Strange's or Admiral's, *1*, *2 Tamburlaine*, *Spanish Tragedy*, *Orlando Furioso*, *Fair Em*, *Battle of Alcazar*, *Knack to Know a Knave*, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *1 Henry VI*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Jew of Malta*, *Wounds of Civil War*, *Dr. Faustus*, *Four Prentices of London*; Admiral's, *Knack to Know an Honest Man*, *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Humorous Day's Mirth*, *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, *Look About You*, *Shoemaker's Holiday*, *Old Fortunatus*, *Patient Grissell*, *1 Sir John Oldcastle*, *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, *1*, *2 Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, *Englishmen for my Money*; Chamberlain's, *Edward III*, *1 Richard II*, *Sir Thomas More*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *King John*, *Merchant of Venice*, *1*, *2 Henry IV*, *Every Man in his Humour*, *Warning for Fair Women*, *A Larum for London*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (the last two possibly Globe plays); Derby's, *1*, *2 Edward IV*, *Trial of Chivalry*; Oxford's, *Weakest Goeth to the Wall*; Chapel, *Wars of Cyrus*; Unknown, *Arden of Feversham*, *Soliman and Perseda*, *Edward I*, *Jack Straw*, *Locrine*, *Mucedorus*, *Alphonsus*, *1*, *2 Contention of York and Lancaster*.

It will be well to begin with some analysis of the various types of scene which the sixteenth-century managers were called upon to produce; and these may with advantage be arranged according to the degree of use which they make of a structural background.[2] There are, of course, a certain number of scenes which make no use of a background at all, and may in a sense be called unlocated scenes—mere bits of conversation which might be carried on between the speakers wherever they happened to meet, and which give no indication of where that meeting is supposed to be. Perhaps these scenes are not so numerous as is sometimes suggested.[3] At any rate it must be borne in mind that they were located to the audience, who saw them against a background, although, if they were kept well to the front or side of the stage, their relation to that background would be minimized.

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[1] *Quarterly Review*, ccviii. 446.

[2] I here use 'scene' in the sense of a continuous section of action in an unchanged locality, and do not follow either the usage of the playwrights, which tends to be based upon the neo-classical principle that the entrance or exit of a speaker of importance constitutes a fresh scene, or the divisions of the editors, who often assume a change of locality where none has taken place; cf. ch. xxii. I do not regard a scene as broken by a momentary clearance of the stage, or by the opening of a recess in the background while speakers remain on the stage, or by the transference of action from one point to another of the background if this transference merely represents a journey over a foreshortened distance between neighbouring houses.

[3] Albright, 114; Thorndike, 102.

A great many scenes are in what may be called open country —in a road, a meadow, a grove, a forest, a desert, a mountain, a sea-shore. The personages are travelling, or hunting, or in outlawry, or merely taking the air. The background does not generally include a house in the stricter sense; but there may be a cottage,[1] a hermit's or friar's cell,[2] a rustic bower,[3] a cave,[4] a beacon.[5] Even where there is no evidence, in dialogue or stage-directions, for a dwelling, a table or board may be suddenly forthcoming for a banquet.[6] There may be a fountain or well,[7] and a few scenes seem to imply the presence of a river.[8] But often there is no suggestion of any surroundings but rocks or trees, and the references to the landscape, which are frequently put in the mouths of speakers, have been interpreted as intended to stimulate the imagination of spectators before whose eyes no representation, or a very imperfect representation, of wilderness or woodland had been placed.[1] But it is not likely that this literary artifice was alone relied upon, and in some cases practicable trees or rocks are certainly required by the action and must have been represented.[2] There are plays which are set continuously in the open country throughout, or during a succession of scenes, and are thus analogous to Court plays *tout en pastoralle*. But there are others in which the open-country scenes are only interspersed among scenes of a different type.[3]

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[1] *Downfall of R. Hood*, V. i.

[2] *Alphonsus*, 163; *K. to K. Honest Man*, 71. The friar's cell of *T. G.* V. i may be in an urban setting, as Silvia bids Eglamour go 'out at the postern by the abbey wall'; that of *R. J.* II. iii, vi; III. iii; IV. i; V. 2 seems to be in rural environs. How far there is interior action is not clear. None is suggested by II or V. In III. iii (Q_2) the Friar bids Romeo 'come forth' (1), and Romeo falls 'upon the ground' (69). Then 'Enter Nurse and knocke' (71). After discussing the knock, which is twice repeated, the Friar bids Romeo 'Run to my study' and calls 'I come'. Then 'Enter Nurse' (79) with 'Let me come in'. Romeo has not gone, but is still 'There on the ground' (83). Q_1 is in the main consistent with this, but the first s.d. is merely 'Nurse knockes', and after talking to Romeo, 'Nurse offers to goe in and turnes againe' (163). In IV. i (Q_1 and Q_2) the Friar observes Juliet coming 'towards my Cell' (17), and later Juliet says 'Shut the door' (44); cf. p. 83.

[3] *Downfall of R. Hood*, III. ii, 'Curtaines open, Robin Hoode sleepes on a greene banke and Marian strewing flowers on him' . . . 'yonder is the bower'; *Death of R. Hood*, I. v; cf. I. iv, 'Let us to thy bower'.

[4] *B. B. of Alexandria*, scc. i, iv; *Battle of Alcazar*, ii. 325, where the presenter describes Nemesis as awaking the Furies, 'In caue as dark as hell, and beds of steele', and the corresponding s.d. in the plot (*H. P.* 139) is 'Enter aboue Nemesis . . . to them lying behinde the Curtaines 3 Furies'.

[5] *K. Leir*, scc. xxvii–xxxii.

[6] *K. Leir*, sc. xxiv, 'Enter the Gallian King and Queene, and Mumford, with a basket, disguised like Countrey folke'. Leir meets them, complaining of 'this vnfruitfull soyle', and (2178) 'She bringe[illegible] him to the table'; *B. B. of Alexandria*, sc. iii.

[7] *B. B. of Alexandria*, sc. iii.

[8] *Locrine*, III. i (d.s.), 'A Crocadile sitting on a riuers banke, and a little snake stinging it. Then let both of them fall into the water'; IV. v. 1756 (a desert scene), 'Fling himselfe into the riuer'; V. vi. 2248 (a battle-field scene), 'She drowneth her selfe'; *Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, I. i (d.s.), 'The Dutches of Burgundie . . . leaps into a Riuer, leauing the child vpon the banke'; *Trial of Chivalry*, C_4^v, 'yon fayre Riuer side, which parts our Camps'; E_2, 'This is our meeting place; here runs the streame That parts our camps'; cf. p. 90. *A. of Feversham*, IV. ii and iii are, like part of *Sapho and Phao* (cf. p. 33), near a ferry, and 'Shakebag falles into a ditch', but the river is not necessarily shown.

Nothing was more beloved by a popular audience, especially in an historical play or one of the *Tamburlaine* order, than an episode of war. A war scene was often only a variety of the open-country scene. Armies come and go on the road, and a battle naturally takes place in more or less open ground. It may be in a wood, or a tree or river may be introduced.[4] Obviously large forces could not be shown on the stage.

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[1] Two late testimonies may be held to support the theory. In *T. N. K.* (King's, *c. 1613*), III. i. 31, 'Enter Palamon as out of a Bush', but cf. III. vi. 1, 'Enter Palamon from the Bush'. The Prologue to *Woman Killed with Kindness* (Worcester's, *1603*) says:

> I come but like a harbinger, being sent
> To tell you what these preparations mean:
> Look for no glorious state; our Muse is bent
> Upon a barren subject, a bare scene.
> We could afford this twig a timber tree,
> Whose strength might boldly on your favours build;
> Our russet, tissue; drone, a honey bee;
> Our barren plot, a large and spacious field.

These rhetorical antitheses are an apology for meanness of theme, rather than, like the prologues to *Henry V*, for scenic imperfections, and I hesitate to believe that, when the actor said 'twig', he pointed to a branch which served as sole symbol on the stage for a woodland.

[2] *Looking-Glass*, v. iii. 2059, 2075, 'Lo, a pleasant shade, a spreading vine . . . *A Serpent deuoureth the vine*'; *O. Furioso*, 572, 'Sacrepant hangs vp the Roundelayes on the trees' (cf. *A. Y. L.* III. ii. 1, 'Hang there, my verse, in witness of my love'); *B. B. of Alexandria*, sc. vi, 'Here 's a branch, forsooth, of your little son turned to a mandrake tree'; *Old Fortunatus*, 1–357, where Fortunatus dreams under a tree, 1861–2128, where there are apple- and nut-trees in a wilderness; &c., &c. Simon Forman in 1611 saw Macbeth and Banquo 'ridinge thorowe a wod' (*N. S. S. Trans.* 1875–6, 417), although from the extant text we could have inferred no trees in I. iii.

[3] *M. N. D.* II–IV. i; *Mucedorus*, I; II. iii; III. iii–v; IV. ii, iii; V. i; *T. A. Women of Abingdon*, scc. vii, ix–xii.

[4] *Edw. I*, 2391, 'I must hang vp my weapon vppon this tree'; *Alphon-*

> We shall much disgrace,
> With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
> Right ill disposed in brawl ridiculous,
> The name of Agincourt.[1]

The actual fighting tended to be sketchy and symbolical. There were alarums and excursions, much beating of drums and blowing of trumpets. But the stage was often only on the outskirts of the main battle.[2] It served for a duel of protagonists, or for a flight and pursuit of stragglers; and when all was over a triumphant train marched across it. There may be a succession of 'excursions' of this kind, in which the stage may be supposed, if you like, to stand for different parts of a battle-field.[3] Battle scenes have little need for background; the inn at St. Albans in *Henry VI* is an exception due to the fulfilment of an oracular prophecy.[4] A more natural indication of *milieu* is a tent, and battle scenes merge into camp scenes, in which the tents are sometimes elaborate pavilions, with doors and even locks to the doors. Seats and tables may be available, and the action is clearly sometimes within an opened tent.[5] Two opposing

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sus, II. i. 417, 'this wood; where in ambushment lie'. For a river cf. p. 51, n. 8 (*Locrine*).

[1] *Hen. V*, IV, prol. 49.

[2] *1 Tamb.* 705, 'Sound trumpets to the battell, and he runs in'; 1286, 'They sound the battell within, and stay'; *2 Tamb.* 2922, 'Sound to the battell, and Sigismond comes out wounded'; *1 Contention*, sc. xii. 1, 'Alarmes within, and the Chambers be discharged, like as it were a fight at sea'.

[3] *Alphonsus*, II. i, ii; *1 Hen. IV*, V. i–iv. The whole of *Edw. III*, III, IV, V, is spread over Creçy and other vaguely located battle-fields in France.

[4] *1 Contention*, sc. xxii. 1, 'Alarmes to the battaile, and then enter the Duke of *Somerset* and *Richard* fighting, and *Richard* kils him vnder the signe of the Castle in saint *Albones*'. The s.d. of *2 Hen. VI*, V. ii. 66, is only 'Enter Richard, and Somerset to fight', but the dialogue shows that the 'alehouse paltry sign' was represented.

[5] *1 Contention*, sc. xxii, 62 (with the alehouse), 'Alarmes againe, and then enter three or foure, bearing the Duke of *Buckingham* wounded to his Tent'; *2 Tamb.* IV. i. 3674, 'Amyras and Celebinus issues from the tent where Caliphas sits a sleepe' . . . 3764 (after Caliphas has spoken from within the tent), 'He goes in and brings him out'; *Locrine*, 1423, 'mee thinkes I heare some shriking noise, That draweth near to our pauillion'; *James IV*, 2272, 'Lords, troop about my tent'; *Edw. I*, 1595, 'King Edward . . . goes into the Queenes Chamber, the Queenes Tent opens, shee is discouered in her bed' . . . 1674, 'They close the Tent' . . . 1750, 'The Queenes Tent opens' . . . 1867, 'The Nurse closeth the Tent' . . . 1898, 'Enter . . . to giue the Queene Musicke at her Tent', and in a later scene, 2141, 'They all passe . . . to the Kings pavilion, the King sits in his Tent with his pages about him' . . . 2152, 'they all march to the Chamber. Bishop speakes to her [the Queen] in her bed'; *1 Troilus*

camps can be concurrently represented, and action may alternate between them.[1] Another kind of background is furnished, as in *Orestes*, by the walls of a besieged city. On these walls the defenders can appear and parley with the besieging host. They can descend and open the gates.[2] They can shoot, and be shot at from below.[3] The walls can be taken by assault and the defenders can leap from them.[4] Such scenes had an unfailing appeal, and are sometimes repeated, before different cities; in the same play.[5]

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and Cressida, plot (*Henslowe Papers*, 142), ‘Enter . . . to them Achillis in his Tent’; *Trial of Chivalry*, C_4^v, ‘this is the Pauilion of the Princesse . . . Here is the key that opens to the Tent’ . . . D, ‘Discouer her sitting in a chayre asleepe’, and a dialogue in the tent follows. The presence of a tent, not mentioned in dialogue or s.ds., can often be inferred in camp scenes, in which personages sit, or in those which end with a ‘Come, let us in’; e.g. *Locrine*, 564, 1147.

[1] *Richard III*, v. iii, iv, v (a continuous scene); *1 Hen. IV*, v. i, ii, iii, iv (probably similar); cf. p. 51, n. 8 (*Trial of Chivalry*).

[2] *Edw. I*, 900, 1082, 2303 (after a battle), ‘Then make the proclamation vpon the walles’ (s.d.); *James IV*, 2003 (after parley), ‘They descend downe, open the gates, and humble them’; *Soliman and Perseda*, III. iv; v. iv. 16, ‘The Drum sounds a parle. *Perseda* comes vpon the walls in mans apparell. *Basilisco* and *Piston*, vpon the walles. . . . Then *Perseda* comes down to *Soliman*, and *Basilisco* and *Piston*’; *2 Contention*, sc. xviii, ‘Enter the Lord Maire of *Yorke* vpon the wals’ . . . (after parley) ‘Exit Maire’ . . . ‘The Maire opens the dore, and brings the keies in his hand’; *K. John*, II. i. 201, ‘Enter a Citizen vpon the walles’ . . . ‘Heere after excursions, Enter the Herald of France with Trumpets to the gates’ . . . ‘Enter the two kings with their powers at seuerall doores’ . . . (after parley) ‘Now, citizens of Angiers, ope your gates’; cf. *1 Troublesome Raigne*, scc. ii–x; *2 Contention*, sc. xxi; *George a Greene*, sc. v; *Orlando Furioso*, I. ii; *2 Tamburlaine*, III. iii; *Selimus*, scc. xii, xxvii–xxxi; *Wounds of Civil War*, v. ii–iv; *Edw. III*, I. ii; *Death of R. Hood*, v. ii; *Stukeley*, II; *Frederick and Basilea* and *1 Troilus and Cressida* plots (*Henslowe Papers*, 137, 142), &c. Wall scenes are not always siege scenes. Thus in *2 Troub. Raigne*, sc. i, ‘Enter yong Arthur on the walls. . . . He leapes’ (cf. *K. J.* IV. iii); in *1 Contention*, sc. xvi, ‘Enter the Lord Skayles vpon the Tower walles walking. Enter three or four Citizens below’ (cf. *2 Hen. VI*, IV. v). Analogous is *2 Hen. VI*, IV. ix (Kenilworth), ‘Enter King, Queene, and Somerset on the Tarras. . . . Enter Multitudes with Halters about their neckes’.

[3] In *Alarum for London*, 203, a gun is fired at Antwerp from the walls of the castle; cf. *1 Hen. VI* below.

[4] *2 Tamburlaine*, v. i, ‘Enter the Gouernour of Babylon vpon the walles’ . . . (after parley) ‘Alarme, and they scale the walles’, after which the governor is hung in chains from the walls and shot at; *Selimus*, 1200, ‘Alarum, Scale the walles’, 2391, ‘Allarum, beats them off the walles; cf. *1 Hen. VI* below. *Hen. V*, III. i–iii (a continuous scene) opens with ‘Alarum: Scaling Ladders at Harflew’. Henry says ‘Once more vnto the breach’, but later a parley is sounded from the town, and ‘Enter the King and all his Traine before the Gates’, where submission is made, and they ‘enter the Towne’. Sometimes an assault appears to be on the gates rather than the walls; e.g. *1 Edw. IV*, I. iv–vi; *1 Hen. VI*, I. iii.

[5] Cf. p. 106, n. 6. The fullest use of walls is made in *1 Hen. VI*,

Several scenes, analogous in some ways to those in the open country, are set in a garden, an orchard, a park. These also sometimes utilize tents.[1] Alternative shelter may be afforded by an arbour or bower, which facilitates eaves-

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a sixteenth-century play, although the extant text was first printed in 1623. An analysis is necessary. The walls are those of Orleans in I, II, of Rouen in III, of Bordeaux in IV, of Angiers in V. In I. iv, 'Enter the Master Gunner of Orleance, and his Boy'. They tell how

> the English, in the suburbs close entrencht,
> Wont through a secret grate of iron barres,
> In yonder tower, to ouer-peere the citie.

The Gunner bids the Boy watch, and tell him if he sees any English. Then 'Enter Salisbury and Talbot on the turrets, with others', and later 'Enter the Boy with a Linstock'. The English talk of attacking 'heere, at the bulwarke of the bridge', and 'Here they shot, and Salisbury falls downe'. After an *Exeunt* which clears the stage, there is fighting in the open, during which a French relieving party 'enter the Towne with souldiers', and later 'Enter on the Walls, Puzel, Dolphin, Reigneir, Alanson, and Souldiers'. In II. i, which follows, a French watch is set, lest English come 'neere to the walles'. Then 'Enter Talbot, Bedford, and Burgundy, with scaling Ladders'; Bedford will go 'to yond corner', Burgundy 'to this', and Talbot mount 'heere'. They assault, and 'The French leape ore the walles in their shirts. Enter seuerall wayes, Bastard, Alanson, Reignier, halfe ready, and halfe unready'. They discourse and are pursued by the English, who then 'retreat', and in turn discourse 'here . . . in the market-place', rejoicing at how the French did 'Leape o're the Walls for refuge in the field'. Then, after a clearance, comes a scene at the Countess of Auvergne's castle. In III. ii the Pucell enters before the gates of Rouen, obtains access by a trick, and then 'Enter Pucell on the top, thrusting out a torch burning'. Other French watch without for the signal from 'yonder tower' or 'turret', and then follow into the town and expel the English, after which, 'Enter Talbot and Burgonie without: within, Pucell, Charles, Bastard, and Reigneir on the walls'. After parley, 'Exeunt from the walls', and fighting in front leaves the English victorious, and again able to enter the town. In IV. ii 'Enter Talbot . . . before Burdeaux', summons the French general 'vnto the Wall', and 'Enter Generall aloft'. In V. iii the English are victorious before Angiers, sound for a parley before the castle, and 'Enter Reignier on the walles'. After parley, Reignier says 'I descend', and then 'Enter Reignier' to welcome the English.

[1] In *Looking-Glass*, II. i, 'Enters Remilia' and after discourse bids her ladies 'Shut close these curtaines straight and shadow me'; whereupon 'They draw the Curtaines and Musicke plaies'. Then enter the Magi, and 'The Magi with their rods beate the ground, and from vnder the same riseth a braue Arbour'. Rasni enters and will 'drawe neare Remilias royall tent'. Then 'He drawes the Curtaines, and findes her stroken with thunder, blacke'. She is borne out. Presumably the same arbour is used in IV. iii, where Alvida's ladies 'enter the bowers'. Both scenes are apparently near the palace at Nineveh and not in a camp. The earlier action of *L. L. L.* is in a park, near a manor house, which is not necessarily represented. But at IV. iii. 373 the King wishes to devise entertainment 'in their tents' for the 'girls of France', and Biron says, 'First, from the park let us conduct them thither'. Presumably therefore V. ii passes near the tents.

dropping.[1] The presence of trees, banks, or herbs is often required or suggested.[2] As a rule, the neighbourhood of a dwelling is implied, and from this personages may issue, or may hold discourse with those outside. Juliet's balcony, overlooking Capulet's orchard, is a typical instance.[3] A banquet may be brought out and served in the open.[4]

The next great group of scenes consists of those which pass in some public spot in a city—in a street, a market-place, or a churchyard. Especially if the play is located in or near London, this may be a definite and familiar spot—Cheapside, Lombard Street, Paul's Churchyard, Westminster.[1] Often the action is self-sufficient and the background merely suggestive or decorative. A procession passes; a watch is set; friends meet and converse; a stranger asks his way. But sometimes a structure comes into use. There is a scaffold for an execution.[2] Lists are set, and there must be at least a raised place for the judge, and probably a barrier.[3] One street scene in *Soliman and Perseda* is outside a tiltyard; another close to an accessible tower.[4] Bills may be set up.[5] In *Lord Cromwell* this is apparently done on a bridge, and twice in this play it is difficult to resist the conclusion, already pointed to in certain open-country scenes, that some kind of representation of a river-side was feasible.[1] In Rome there are scenes in which the dialogue is partly amongst senators in the capitol and partly amongst citizens within ear-shot outside.[2] A street may provide a corner, again, whence passers-by can be overheard or waylaid.[3] And in it, just as well as in a garden, a lover may hold an assignation, or bring a serenade before the window of his mistress.[4] A churchyard, or in a Roman play a market-place, may hold a tomb.[1] Finally one or more shops may be visible, and action may take place within them as well as before them.[2] Such a shop would, of course, be nothing more than a shallow stall, with an open front for the display of wares, which may be closed by a shutter or flap from above.[3] It may also, like the inn in *Henry VI*, have a sign.[4]

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[1] *Looking-Glass*, II. i ; IV. iii (*supra*) ; *Edw. III*, II. i. 61, at Roxborough Castle, ' Then in the sommer arber sit by me ' ; *2 Hen. IV*, V. iii (*infra*). In *Sp. Trag.* II. ii. 42 Horatio and Belimperia agree to meet in ' thy father's pleasant bower '. In II. iv they enter with 'let us to the bower' and set an attendant to ' watch without the gate '. While they sit ' within these leauy bowers ' they are betrayed, and (s.d.) ' They hang him in the Arbor '. In II. v (not really a new scene) Hieronimo emerges from his house, where a woman's cry ' within this garden ' has plucked him from his ' naked bed ', finds Horatio hanging ' in my bower ', and (s.d.) ' He cuts him downe '. In III. xii (an addition of the 1602 text) Hieronimo ranges ' this hidious orchard ', where Horatio was murdered before ' this the very tree '. Finally, in IV. ii Isabella enters ' this garden plot ', and (s.d.) ' She cuts downe the Arbour '.

[2] *Sp. Trag.* III. xii^a (*supra*) ; *Shoemaker's Holiday*, sc. ii, ' this flowry banke ', sc. iv, ' these meddowes ' ; *1 Hen. VI*, II. iv, ' From off this brier pluck a white rose with me ', &c. In *R. J.* II. i (Q_1, but Q_2 has apparently the same setting) Romeo enters, followed by friends, who say, ' He came this way, and leapt this orchard wall ', and refer to ' those trees '. They go, and in II. ii (presumably the same scene) Romeo speaks under Juliet's window ' ouer my head '. She says ' The Orchard walles are high and hard to climb ', and he, ' By loues light winges did I oreperch these wals ', and later swears by the blessed moon, ' That tips with siluer all these fruit trees tops '.

[3] *R. J.* II. ii (*supra*) ; *Sp. Trag.* II. v (*supra*) ; *Look About You*, sc. v (a bowling green under Gloucester's chamber in the Fleet ; *1 Oldcastle*, I. iii, II. i (a grove before Cobham's gate and an inn) ; &c. In *1 Contention*, sc. ii. 64, Elinor sends for a conjurer to do a spell ' on the backside of my orchard heere '. In sc. iv she enters with the conjurer, says ' I will stand upon this Tower here ', and (s.d.) ' She goes vp to the Tower '. Then the conjurer will ' frame a cirkle here vpon the earth '. A spirit ascends ; spies enter ; and ' Exet Elnor aboue '. York calls ' Who's within there ? ' The setting of *2 Hen. VI*, I. ii, is much the same, except that the references to the tower are replaced by the s.d. ' Enter Elianor aloft '. In *2 Hen. VI*, II. ii, the scene is ' this close walke ' at the Duke of York's. Similarly, scc. i, iv of *Humourous Day's Mirth* are before Labervele's house in a ' green ', which is his wife's ' close walk ', which is kept locked, and into which a visitor intrudes. But in sc. vii, also before Labervele's, the ' close walk ' is referred to as distinct from the place of the scene.

[4] *2 Troublesome Raigne*, sc. viii, ' Enter two Friars laying a Cloth '. One says, ' I meruaile why they dine heere in the Orchard '. We need not marvel ; it was to avoid interior action. In *2 Hen. IV*, V. iii, the scene is Shallow's orchard, ' where, in an arbour, we will eat a last year's pippin of mine own graffing, with a dish of caraways, and so forth '.

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[1] *Famous Victories*, sc. ii, 5, 'we will watch here at Billingsgate ward'; *Jack Straw*, iii (Smithfield); *W. for Fair Women*, II. 115, 'here at a friends of mine in Lumberd Street'; IV. 1511, 'Enter two Carpenters vnder Newgate'; *Shoemaker's Holiday*, sc. xi (Tower Street, *vide infra*); *Cromwell*, V. ii, iii (Westminster and Lambeth, *vide infra*); *Arden of F.* II. ii (Paul's Churchyard, *vide infra*); *2 Hen. VI*, IV. vi, 'Enter Iacke Cade and the rest, and strikes his staffe on London stone'; &c.

[2] *Span. Tragedy*, III. vi. 104, 'He turnes him off' (s.d.); *Sir T. More*, sc. xvii. More is brought in by the Lieutenant of the Tower and delivered to the sheriff. He says (1911), 'Oh, is this the place? I promise ye it is a goodly scaffolde', and 'your stayre is somewhat weake'. Lords enter 'As he is going vp the stayres' (s.d.), and he jests with 'this straunge woodden horsse' and 'Truely heers a moste sweet Gallerie' (where the marginal s.d. is 'walking'). Apparently the block is not visible; he is told it is 'to the Easte side' and 'exit' in that direction.

[3] *Rich. II*, I. iii, 'The trumpets sound and the King enters with his nobles; when they are set, enter the Duke of Norfolke in armes defendent'. No one is 'to touch the listes' (43), and when the duel is stopped the combatants 'returne backe to their chaires againe' (120).

[4] *S. and P.* I. iii. There is an open place in Rhodes which a mule and ass can enter. Knights and ladies are welcomed and go 'forwards to the tilt' with an 'Exeunt' (126). Action continues in the same place. Piston bids Basilisco 'stay with me and looke vpon the tilters', and 'Will you vp the ladder, sir, and see the tilting?' The s.d. follows (180), 'Then they go vp the ladders and they sound within to the first course'. Piston and Basilisco then describe the courses as these proceed, evidently out of sight of the audience. The tiltyard may be supposed to run like that at Westminster, parallel to the public road and divided from it by a wall, up which ladders can be placed for the commoner spectators. In V. ii Erastus is arrested in public and tried on the spot before the Marshal. He is bound to 'that post' (83) and strangled. The witnesses are to be killed. Soliman says (118),

> Lord Marshall, hale them to the towers top,
> And throw them headlong downe into the valley;

and we get the s.ds. 'Then the Marshall beares them to the tower top' (122), and 'Then they are both tumbled downe' (130). Presumably they disappear behind.

[5] *James IV*, I. ii. 1, 'Enter *Slipper*, *Nano*, and *Andrew*, with their billes, readie written, in their hands'. They dispute as to whose bill shall stand highest, and then post the bills.

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[1] *Lord Cromwell*, III. i. 41 (in Italy):

Content thee, man; here set vp these two billes,
And let us keep our standing on the bridge,

followed by s.ds., 'One standes at one end, and one at tother', and 'Enter Friskiball, the Marchant, and reades the billes'. In V. ii. 1 (Westminster) Cromwell says, 'Is the Barge readie?' and (12) 'Set on before there, and away to Lambeth'. After an 'Exeunt', V. iii begins 'Halberts, stand close vnto the water-side', and (16) 'Enter Cromwell'.

[2] Cf. ch. xix, p. 44. *Wounds of Civil War* has several such scenes. In I. i. 1, 'Enter on the Capitoll Sulpitius Tribune . . . whom placed, and their Lictors before them with their Rods and Axes, Sulpitius beginneth' . . . (146) 'Here enter Scilla with Captaines and Souldiers'. Scilla's party are not in the Capitol; they 'braue the Capitoll' (149), are 'before the Capitoll' (218), but Scilla talks to the senators, and Marius trusts to see Scilla's head 'on highest top of all this Capitoll'. Presently Scilla bids (249) 'all that loue Scilla come downe to him', and (258) 'Here let them goe downe'. In II. i the action is in the open, but (417) 'yond Capitoll' is named; III. i seems to be in 'this Capitoll' (841). In IV. i Marius and his troops enter before the seated Senate. Octavius, the consul, 'sits commanding in his throne' (1390). From Marius' company, 'Cynna presseth vp' (s.d.) to 'yonder emptie seate' (1408), and presently Marius is called up and (1484) 'He takes his seate'. In V. v. 2231 'Scilla seated in his roabes of state is saluted by the Citizens'. Similarly in *T. A.* I. i, 'Enter the Tribunes and Senatours aloft: and then enter Saturninus and his followers at one doore, and Bassianus and his followers'. Saturninus bids the tribunes 'open the gates and let me in' (63) and 'They goe vp into the Senate house'. Titus enters and buries his sons in his family tomb, and (299) 'Enter aloft the Emperour' and speaks to Titus. There is a Venetian senate house in *K. to K. an Honest Man*, scc. iii, xvii, but I do not find a similar interplay with the outside citizens here.

[3] *W. for Fair Women*, II. 93 (Lombard Street), 'While Master Sanders and he are in busy talk one to the other, Browne steps to a corner. . . . Enter a Gentleman with a man with a torch before. Browne draws to strike'; *Arden of F.* II. ii. 41, 'Stand close, and take you fittest standing, And at his comming foorth speed him'.

[4] *T. G.* IV. ii (cf. IV. iii. 16, 'Now must we to her window', and III. i. 35, 114, where Valentine has a rope-ladder to scale Silvia's window 'in an upper tower' and 'aloft, far from the ground'); IV. iv. 91, 'That 's her chamber'; *R. J.* (orchard scenes), II. ii; III. v, 'Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window' (Q_1, where Q_2 has 'aloft'; on the difficulty presented by Juliet's chamber, cf. p. 94); *M. V.* II. vi. 1, 'This is the penthouse vnder which Lorenzo Desired us to make a stand' . . . 'Jessica aboue' (s.d.) . . . 'Descend, for you must be my torch-bearer' . . . 'Enter Jessica' (having come down within from the casement forbidden her by Shylock and advised by Lancelot in II. v); *Englishmen for my Money*, sc. ix

Where there is a window, there can of course be a door, and street scenes very readily become threshold scenes. I do not think that it has been fully realized how large a proportion

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(where Vandalle, come to woo Pisaro's daughter in the dark, is drawn up in a basket and left dangling in mid-air, while later (1999) Pisaro is heard ' at the window ' and ' Enter Pisaro aboue ') ; *Two A. Women*, 1495, ' Enter Mall in the window ' ; *Sp. Trag.* II. ii, where spies ' in secret ' and ' aboue ' overhear the loves of Horatio and Belimperia below. Lovers are not concerned in *Sp. Trag.* III. ii, ' Enter Hieronimo . . . A Letter falleth ' ; III. ix, ' Belimperia, at a window ' ; *The Shrew*, V. i. 17, ' Pedant lookes out of the window '.

[1] In *T. A.* I. i a coffin is brought in, apparently in the market-place, while the Senators are visible in the Capitol (cf. p. 58, n. 2), and (90) ' They open the Tombe ' and (150) ' Sound trumpets, and lay the coffin in the Tombe '. *R. J.* V. iii is in a churchyard with ' yond yew trees ' (3). A torch ' burneth in the Capels monument ' (127), also called a ' vault ' (86, &c.) and ' the tomb ' (262). Romeo will ' descend into this bed of death ' (28), and Q_1 adds the s.d. ' Romeo opens the tombe ' (45). He kills Paris, whose blood ' stains The stony entrance of this sepulchre ' (141). Juliet awakes and speaks, and must of course be visible. The Admiral's inventories of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 116) include ' j tombe ', ' j tome of Guido, j tome of Dido '.

[2] *George a Greene*, sc. xi, ' Enter a Shoemaker sitting vpon the Stage at worke ', where a shop is not essential ; but may be implied by ' Stay till I lay in my tooles ' (1005) ; *Locrine*, II. ii, ' Enter Strumbo, Dorothy, Trompart cobling shooes and singing ' (569) . . . ' Come sirrha shut vp ' (660) ; *R. and J.* V. i. 55, ' This should be the house. Being holiday, the beggar's shop is shut. What, ho ! apothecary ! ' where the elaborate description of the shop which precedes leaves some doubt how far it was represented ; *Shoemaker's Holiday*, scc. iii, ' Open my shop windows ' ; v, ' Ile goe in ' ; viii, ' Shut vp the shop ' ; xi, ' Enter Hodge at his shop-board, Rafe, Friske, Hans, and a boy at worke ' (all before or in Eyre's shop) ; x, ' Enter Iane in a Semsters shop working, and Hammon muffled at another doore, he stands aloofe ' (another shop) ; *1 Edw. IV*, IV. iii, ' Enter two prentizes, preparing the Goldsmiths shop with plate. . . . Enter mistris Shoare, with her worke in her hand. . . . The boy departs, and she sits sowing in her shop. Enter the King disguised '.

[3] *Arden of F.* II. ii. 52, ' *Here enters* a prentise.

Tis very late ; I were best shute vp my stall,
For heere will be ould filching, when the presse
Comes foorth of Paules.

Then lettes he downe his window, and it breaks Black Wils *head* '.

[4] *Shoemaker's Holiday*, sc. xi, ' the signe of the Last in Tower-street, mas yonders the house ' ; *1 Edw. IV*, IV. iii, ' Heres Lombard Streete, and heres the Pelican '. The Admiral's inventories of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 117) include ' j syne for Mother Redcap '.

of the action of Elizabethan plays passes at the doors of houses; and as a result the problem of staging, difficult enough anyhow, has been rendered unnecessarily difficult. Here we have probably to thank the editors of plays, who have freely interspersed their texts with notes of locality, which are not in the original stage-directions, and, with eighteenth-century models before them, have tended to assume that action at a house is action in some room within that house. The playwrights, on the other hand, followed the neo-classic Italian tradition, and for them action at a house was most naturally action before the door of that house. If a man visited his friend he was almost certain to meet him on the doorstep; and here domestic discussions, even on matters of delicacy, commonly took place. Here too, of course, meals might be served.[1] A clue to this convention is afforded by the numerous passages in which a servant or other personage is brought on to the stage by a 'Who 's within?' or a call to 'Come forth!' or in which an episode is wound up by some such invitation as 'Let us in!' No doubt such phrases remain appropriate when it is merely a question of transference between an outer room and an inner; and no doubt also the point of view of the personages is sometimes deflected by that of the actors, to whom 'in' means 'in the tiring-room' and 'out' means 'on the stage'.[2] But, broadly speaking, the frequency of their use points to a corresponding frequency of threshold scenes; and, where there is a doubt, they should, I think, be interpreted in the light of that economy of interior action which was very evident in the mid-sixteenth-century plays, and in my opinion continued to prevail after the opening of the theatres. The use of a house door was so frequent that the stage-directions do not, as a rule, trouble to specify it.[3] Two complications are, however, to be observed.

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[1] Cf. ch. xix, p. 11. The introduction of a meal goes rather beyond the neo-classic analogy, but presents no great difficulty. If a banquet can be brought into a garden or orchard, it can be brought into a porch or courtyard. It is not always possible to determine whether a meal is in a threshold scene or a hall scene (cf. p. 64), but in *1 Edw. IV*, III. ii, 'Enter Nell and Dudgeon, with a table couered' is pretty clearly at the door of the Tanner's cottage.

[2] In the theatre usage personages go 'in', even where they merely go 'off' without entering a house (cf. e.g. p. 53, n. 2). The interlude usage is less regular, and sometimes personages go 'out', as they would appear to the audience to do.

[3] *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i. 227, 'Sound vp the Drum to Lucinaes doore' (s.d.). Doors are conspicuous in *K. to K. Honest Man*; thus sc. ii. 82, 'Enter Lelio with his sword drawen, hee knockes at his doore'; sc. v. 395, 'tis time to knocke vp Lelios householde traine. *He knockes*' . . . 'What mean this troup of armed men about my dore?'; sc. v. 519

Sometimes, in a scene which employs the 'Let us in!' formula, or on other ground looks like a threshold scene, we are suddenly pulled up either by a suggestion of the host that we are 'in' his house or under his roof, or by an indication that persons outside are to be brought 'in'.[1] The first answer is, I think, that the threshold is not always a mere doorstep opening from the street; it may be something of the nature of a porch or even a lobby, and that you may fairly be said to be under a man's roof when you are in his porch.[2] The second is that in some threshold scenes the stage was certainly regarded as representing a courtyard, shut off from the street or road by an outer gate, through which strangers could quite properly be supposed to come 'in'.[3] Such courtyard scenes are not out of place, even

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(Bristeo's), 'Come breake vp the doore'; sc. vii. 662, '*Enter Annetta and Lucida with their worke in their handes.* . . . Here let vs sit awhile' . . . (738) 'Get you in . . . *Here put them in at doore*'; sc. vii. 894 (Lelio's), 'Underneath this wall, watch all this night: If any man shall attempt to breake your sisters doore, Be stout, assaile him'; sc. vii. 828 (a Senator's), 'What make you lingering here about my doores?'; sc. ix. 1034 (Lelio's), 'Heaue me the doores from of the hinges straight'; sc. xv. 1385 (Lelio's), 'my door doth ope' (cf. p. 62, on the courtyard scene in the same play).

[1] Thus *Humorous Day's Mirth*, sc. v (Moren's), 111, 'We'll draw thee out of the house by the heels' . . . 143, 'Thrust this ass out of the doors' . . . 188, 'Get you out of my house!', but 190, 'Well, come in, sweet bird'; *Shoemaker's Holiday*, sc. xii (Lord Mayor's), 'Get you in', but 'The Earl of Lincoln at the gate is newly lighted'.

[2] *James IV*, II. i, '*Enter the Countesse of Arrain, with Ida, her daughter, in theyr porch, sitting at worke*' . . . (753) 'Come, will it please you enter, gentle sir? *Offer to Exeunt*'; cf. *Arden of F.* (*vide infra*) and the pent-house in *M. V.* II. vi. 1 (p. 58).

[3] Perhaps the best example is in *Arden of Feversham.* Arden's house at Aldersgate is described by Michael to the murderers in II. ii. 189:

The dores Ile leaue unlockt against you come,
No sooner shall ye enter through the latch,
Ouer the thresholde to the inner court,
But on your left hand shall you see the staires
That leads directly to my M. Chamber.

Here, then, is III. i. Arden and Francklin talk and go to bed. Michael, in remorse, alarms them with an outcry, and when they appear, explains that he 'fell asleepe, Vpon the thresholde leaning to the staires' and had a bad dream. Arden then finds that 'the dores were all unlockt'. Later (III. iv. 8) Michael lies about this to the murderers:

Francklin and my master
Were very late conferring in the porch,
And Francklin left his napkin where he sat
With certain gold knit in it, as he said.
Being in bed, he did bethinke himselfe,
And comming down he found the dores vnshut:
He lockt the gates, and brought away the keyes.

When the murderers come in III. ii, Will bids Shakebag 'show me to this before an ordinary private house; still less, of course, when the house is a castle, and in a castle courtyard scene we get very near the scenes with 'walls' already described.[1] Some prison scenes, in the Tower or elsewhere, are apparently of this type, although others seem to require interior action in a close chamber or even a dungeon.[2] Threshold scenes may also be before the outer gate of a palace or castle, where another analogy to assault scenes presents itself;[3] or before a church or temple, a friar's cell, an inn, a stable, or the like.[4] Nor are shop scenes, since a shop may be a mere adjunct to a house, really different in kind.

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house', and Shakebag says 'This is the doore; but soft, me thinks tis shut'. They are therefore at the outer door of the courtyard; cf. p. 69, n. 2. Similarly *1 Rich. II*, III. ii, which begins with 'Enter Woodstock, Lancaster, and Yorke, at Plashey', and 'heere at Plasshy house I'le bid you wellcome', is clearly in a courtyard. A servant says (114), 'Ther's a horse-man at the gate. . . . He will not off an's horse-backe till the inner gate be open'. Gloucester bids 'open the inner gate . . . lett hime in', and (s.d.) 'Enter a spruce Courtier a horse-backe'. It is also before the house, for the Courtier says, 'Is he within', and 'I'le in and speake with the duke'. Rather more difficult is *Englishmen for my Money*, sc. iv, 'Enter Pisaro' with others, and says, 'Proud am I that my roofe containes such friends' (748), also 'I would not haue you fall out in my house' (895). He sends his daughters 'in' (827, 851), so must be in the porch, and a 'knock within' (s.d.) and 'Stirre and see who knocks!' (796) suggest a courtyard gate. But later in the play (cf. p. 58, n. 4) the street seems to be directly before the same house.

[1] In *K. to K. Honest Man*, scc. x–xii (continuous scene at Servio's), Phillida is called 'forth' (1058) and bidden keep certain prisoners 'in the vpper loft'. Presently she enters 'with the keyes' and after the s.d. 'Here open the doore' calls them out and gives them a signet to pass 'the Porter of the gates', which Servio (1143) calls 'my castell gates'. In *1 Hen. VI*, II. iii, the Countess of Auvergne, to entrap Talbot, bids her porter 'bring the keyes to me'; presumably Talbot's men are supposed to break in the gates at the s.d. 'a Peale of Ordnance'. *Rich. III*, III. vii, is at Baynard's Castle. Buckingham bids Gloucester (55) 'get you vp to the leads' to receive the Mayor, who enters with citizens, and (95) 'Enter Richard with two bishops a lofte'. Similarly in *Rich. II*, III. iii. 62, 'Richard appeareth on the walls' of Flint Castle, and then comes down (178) to the 'base court'. *B. Beggar of Alexandria*, sc. ii, is before the house of Elimine's father and 'Enter Elimine above on the walls'. She is in a 'tower' and comes down, but there is nothing to suggest a courtyard.

[2] *1 Sir John Oldcastle*, IV. iv, v (a continuous scene), is partly 'neare vnto the entrance of the Tower', beyond the porter's lodge, partly in Oldcastle's chamber there, with a 'window that goes out into the leads'; cf. p. 67.

[3] *Famous Victories*, sc. vi, 60, 'What a rapping keep you at the Kings Court gate!'; *Jack Straw*, II. ii (a City gate).

[4] *A Shrew*, ind. I, 'Enter a Tapster, beating out of his doores Slie Droonken'; *1 Oldcastle*, V. iii–vii (inn and barn); *True Tragedy of Rich. III*, sc. viii, 'Earle Riuers speakes out of his chamber' in an inn

The threshold theory must not be pushed to a disregard of the clear evidence for a certain amount of interior action. We have already come across examples of shallow recesses, such as a tent, a cave, a bower, a tomb, a shop, a window, within which, or from within which, personages can speak. There are also scenes which must be supposed to take place within a room. In dealing with these, I propose to distinguish between spacious hall scenes and limited chamber scenes. Hall scenes are especially appropriate to palaces. Full value should no doubt be given to the extension in a palace of a porch to a portico, and to the convention, which kings as well as private men follow in Elizabethan plays, especially those located in Italian or Oriental surroundings, of transacting much important business more or less out of doors.[1] The characteristic Roman 'senate house', already described, is a case in point.[2] But some scenes must be in a closed presence chamber.[3] Others are in a formal council room or parliament house. The conception of a hall, often with a numerous company, cannot therefore be altogether excluded. Nor are halls confined to palaces. They must be assumed for law courts.[4] There are scenes in such buildings as the

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yard, where he has been locked up; *James IV*, III. ii (stable); *Looking Glass*, V. ii. 2037, 'Enter the temple Omnes'. *Selimus*, sc. xxi. 2019, has

> Thy bodie in this auntient monument,
> Where our great predecessours sleep in rest:
> Suppose the Temple of *Mahomet*,
> Thy wofull son *Selimus* thus doth place.

Is the third line really a s.d., in which case it does not suggest realistic staging, or a misunderstood line of the speech, really meant to run, 'Supposed the Temple of great Mahomet'?

[1] *Patient Grissell*, 755–1652, reads like a threshold scene, and 'Get you in!' is repeated (848, 1065, 1481), but Grissell's russet gown and pitcher are hung up and several times referred to (817, 828, 1018, 1582). *Old Fortunatus*, 733–855, at the palace of Babylon, must be a threshold scene as the Soldan points to 'yon towre' (769), but this is not inconsistent with the revealing of a casket, with the s.d. (799) 'Draw a Curtaine'. We need not therefore assume that *M. V.* II. vii, ix, in which Portia bids 'Draw aside the Curtaines' and 'Draw the Curtain', or III. ii are hall scenes, and all the Belmont scenes may be, like V. i, in a garden backed by a portico; or rather the hall referred to in V. i. 89, 'That light we see is burning in my hall', may take the form of a portico.

[2] Cf. p. 58, n. 2.

[3] Thus in *Rich. II*, V. iii, iv (a continuous scene), Aumerle has leave to 'turne the key' (36). Then '*The Duke of Yorke knokes at the doore and crieth*, My leige . . . Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there'. Cf. *1 Troublesome Raigne*, sc. xiii. 81:

> He stayes my Lord but at the Presence door:
> Pleaseth your Highnes, I will call him in.

[4] *Famous Victories*, scc. iv, v (a continuous scene), 'Jayler, bring the prisoner to the barre' (iv. 1). . . . 'Thou shalt be my Lord chiefe Justice,

London Exchange, Leadenhall, the Regent House at Oxford.[1] There are scenes in churches or heathen temples and in monasteries.[2] There are certainly also hall scenes in castles or private houses, and it is sometimes a matter of taste whether you assume a hall scene or a threshold scene.[3] Certain features of hall scenes may be enumerated. Personages can go into, or come forth from, an inner room. They can be brought in from without.[4] Seats are available, and a chair or 'state' for a sovereign.[5] A law court has its 'bar'. Banquets can be served.[6] Masks

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and thou shalt sit in the chaire' (v. 10); *Sir T. More*, sc. ii. 104, 'An Arras is drawne, and behinde it (as in sessions) sit the L. Maior. . . . Lifter the prisoner at the barre'; *Warning for Fair Women*, II. 1180, 'Enter some to prepare the judgement seat to the Lord Mayor. . . . (1193) Browne is brought in', and the Clerk says, 'To the barre, George Browne'; *M. V.* IV. i; *1 Sir John Oldcastle*, V. x; &c.

[1] *Bacon and Bungay*, scc. vii, ix (Regent House), where visitors 'sit to heare and see this strange dispute' (1207), and later, 'Enter Miles, with a cloth and trenchers and salt' (1295); *Shoemaker's Holiday*, sc. xv (Leadenhall); *Englishmen for my Money*, sc. iii (Exchange).

[2] *1 Troublesome Raigne*, sc. xi, in a convent, entails the opening of a coffer large enough to hold a nun and a press large enough to hold a priest; *2 Troublesome Raigne*, sc. iii, before St. Edmund's shrine, has a numerous company who swear on an altar. *Alphonsus*, IV. i, begins 'Let there be a brazen Head set in the middle of the place behind the Stage, out of the which cast flames of fire'. It is in the 'sacred seate' of Mahomet, who speaks from the head, and bids the priests 'call in' visitors 'which now are drawing to my Temple ward'.

[3] *T. of a Shrew*, scc. ix, xi, xiii; *Sir T. More*, scc. ix, 'Enter S^{r} *Thomas Moore*, M^{r} *Roper*, and Seruing men setting stooles'; xiii, 'Enter . . . Moore . . . as in his house at Chelsey' . . . (1413) 'Sit good Madame [*in margin*, 'lowe stooles'] . . . (1521) 'Entreate their Lordships come into the hall'. *E. M. I.* III. i, ii (a continuous scene), is at Thorello's house, and in III. iii. 1592 it is described with 'I saw no body to be kist, vnlesse they would haue kist the post, in the middle of the warehouse; for there I left them all . . . How? were they not gone in then?' But I. iv. 570, also at Thorello's, has 'Within sir, in the warehouse'. Probably the warehouse was represented as an open portico.

[4] Cf. p. 63, nn. 3, 4.

[5] *Sir T. More*, scc. ix, xiii (stools, *vide supra*); x, where the Council 'sit' to 'this little borde' (1176); *R. J.* I. v (stools, *vide supra*); *James IV*, I. i. 141, 'Enstall and crowne her'; *Sp. Tragedy*, I. iii. 8, 'Wherefore sit I in a regall throne'; *1 Rich. II*, II. ii. 81, 'Please you, assend your throne'; *1 Tamburlaine*, IV. ii. 1474, 'He [Tamburlaine] gets vp vpon him [Bajazet] to his chaire'; *Dr. Faustus*, 1010 (addition of 1616 text), 'His Maiesty is comming to the Hall; Go backe, and see the State in readinesse'; *Look About You*, sc. xix, 'Enter young Henry Crowned . . . Henry the elder places his Sonne, the two Queenes on eyther hand, himselfe at his feete, Leyster and Lancaster below him'; this must have involved an elaborate 'state'.

[6] *Bacon and Bungay*, sc. ix (*vide supra*); *T. of a Shrew*, sc. ix. 32, 'They couer the bord and fetch in the meate'; *1 Edw. IV*, IV. ii, 'They bring forth a table and serue in the banquet'; *Patient Grissell*, 1899,

may come dancing in.[1] Even a play 'within a play' can be presented; that of Bottom and his fellows in 'the great chamber' of Theseus' palace is an example.[2]

My final group is formed by the chamber scenes, in which the action is clearly regarded as within the limits of an ordinary room. They are far from numerous, in proportion to the total number of scenes in the seventy-three plays, and in view of their importance in relation to staging all for which there is clear evidence must be put upon record. Most of them fall under two or three sub-types, which tend to repeat themselves. The commonest are perhaps bed-chamber scenes.[3] These, like prison scenes, which are also frequent,

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'A Table is set'; *Humorous Day's Mirth*, scc. viii, x–xii (Verone's ordinary), on which cf. p. 70.

[1] *1 Rich. II*, IV. ii; *Death of R. Hood*, II. ii; *R. J.* I. v, where a servant says, 'Away with the joint-stools, remove the court-cupboard', and Capulet 'turn the tables up'; cf. ch. vi.

[2] *M. N. D.* v (cf. III. i. 58); *Sir T. More*, sc. ix; *Sp. Tragedy*, IV. iii, iv (a continuous scene), on which cf. p. 93, n. 1.

[3] *2 Tamburlaine*, III. iii. 2969, 'The Arras is drawen, and Zenocrate lies in her bed of state, Tamburlaine sitting by her: three Phisitians about her bed, tempering potions. Theridamas, Techelles, Vsumcasane, and the three sonnes'. . . . (3110, at end of sc.) 'The Arras is drawen'; *Selimus*, sc. x. 861, 'I needs must sleepe. *Bassaes* withdraw your selues from me awhile'. . . . 'They stand aside while the curtins are drawne' (s.d.) . . . (952) 'A Messenger enters, *Baiazet* awaketh'; *Battle of Alcazar*, d.s. 24, 'Enter Muly Mahamet and his sonne, and his two young brethren, the Moore sheweth them the bed, and then takes his leaue of them, and they betake them to their rest' . . . (36) 'Enter the Moore and two murdrers bringing in his unkle Abdelmunen, then they draw the curtains and smoother the yong princes in the bed. Which done in sight of the vnkle they strangle him in his Chaire, and then goe forth'; *Edw. I*, sc. xxv. 2668, 'Elinor in child-bed with her daughter Ione, and other Ladies'; *True Tragedy of Rich. III*, sc. i, 'Now Nobles, draw the Curtaines and depart . . . (s.d.) The King dies in his bed'; sc. xiii, where murderers are called 'vp', and murder of princes in bed is visible; *Famous Victories*, sc. viii. 1, 'Enter the King with his Lords' . . . (10), 'Draw the Curtaines and depart my chamber a while' . . . 'He sleepeth . . . Enter the Prince' (s.d.) . . . 'I wil goe, nay but why doo I not go to the Chamber of my sick father?' . . . (23) 'Exit' [having presumably taken the crown] . . . (25) '*King*. Now my Lords . . . Remoue my chaire a little backe, and set me right' . . . (47) '*Prince* [who has re-entered]. I came into your Chamber . . . And after that, seeing the Crowne, I tooke it' . . . (87) 'Draw the Curtaines, depart my Chamber, . . . Exeunt omnes, The King dieth'. In the analogous *2 Hen. IV*, IV. iv, v (a continuous scene divided, with unanimity in ill-doing, by modern editors in the middle of a speech), the King says (IV. iv. 131), 'Beare me hence Into some other chamber', Warwick (IV. v. 4), 'Call for the Musick in the other Roome', and the King 'Set me the Crowne vpon my Pillow here'. The Prince enters and the Lords go to 'the other roome'; he takes the crown and 'Exit'. Later (56) the Lords say, 'This doore is open, he is gone this way', and 'He came not through the chamber where we staide'. The Prince returns and the Lords are bidden 'Depart the chamber'. Later

give opportunity for tragic episodes of death and sickness.[1]

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(233) the King asks the name of 'the lodging where I first did swound', and bids 'beare me to that Chamber'. Then the scene, and in F_1 the act, ends. In *1 Contention*, sc. x. 1, 'Then the Curtaines being drawne, Duke *Humphrey* is discouered in his bed, and two men lying on his brest and smothering him in his bed. And then enter the Duke of *Suffolke* to them'. He bids 'draw the Curtaines againe and get you gone'. The King enters and bids him call Gloucester. He goes out, and returns to say that Gloucester is dead. Warwick says, 'Enter his priuie chamber my Lord and view the bodie', and (50), '*Warwicke* drawes the curtaines and showes Duke *Humphrey* in his bed'. The analogous *2 Hen. VI*, III. ii, omits the murder *coram populo* and begins 'Enter two or three running ouer the Stage, from the Murther of Duke Humfrey'. It then follows the earlier model until (132) the King bids Warwick 'Enter his Chamber' and we get the brief s.d. (146) 'Bed put forth', and Warwick speaks again. The next scene is another death scene, which begins in *1 Contention*, sc. xi, 'Enter King and *Salsbury*, and then the Curtaines be drawne, and the Cardinal is discouered in his bed, rauing and staring as if he were madde', and in *2 Hen. VI*, III. iii, 'Enter the King . . . to the Cardinal in bed', ending (32) 'Close vp his eyes, and draw the Curtaine close'. In *1 Rich. II*, v. i, Lapoole enters 'with a light' and murderers, whom he bids 'stay in the next with-draweing chamber ther'. Then (48), 'He drawes the curtayne', says of Gloucester 'He sleepes vppon his bed', and Exit. Gloucester, awaked by ghosts, says (110), 'The doores are all made fast . . . and nothing heere appeeres, But the vast circute of this emptie roome'. Lapoole, returning, says, 'Hee's ryssen from his bed'. Gloucester bids him 'shutt to the doores' and 'sits to wright'. The murderers enter and kill him. Lapoole bids 'lay hime in his bed' and 'shutt the doore, as if he ther had dyd', and they (247) 'Exeunt with the bodye'. In *Death of R. Hood*, ii, ind., the presenter says 'Draw but that vaile, And there King John sits sleeping in his chaire', and the s.d. follows, 'Drawe the curten: the King sits sleeping . . . Enter Queene . . . She ascends, and seeing no motion, she fetcheth her children one by one; but seeing yet no motion, she descendeth, wringing her hands, and departeth'. In *R. J.* IV. iii, iv, v (continuous action), Juliet drinks her potion and Q_1 has the s.d. (IV. iii. 58) 'She fals vpon her bed within the Curtaines'. Action follows before the house, until the Nurse, bidden to call Juliet, finds her dead. Then successively 'Enter' Lady Capulet, Capulet, the Friar, and Paris, to all of whom Juliet is visible. After lament, the Friar, in Q_2 (IV. v. 91), bids them all 'go you in', but in Q_1, 'They all but the Nurse goe foorth, casting Rosemary on her and shutting the Curtens'. The Nurse, then, in both texts, addresses the musicians, who came with Paris. On the difficulty of this scene, in relation to II. ii and III. v, cf. p. 94.

[1] *Wounds of Civil War*, III. ii. 913, 'Enter old *Marius* with his keeper, and two souldiers'. There is (965) 'this homely bed', on which (972) 'He lies downe' (s.d.), and when freed (1066) 'from walls to woods I wend'. In *Edw. II*, 2448–2568 (at Kenilworth), keepers say that the King is 'in a vault vp to the knees in water', of which (2455) 'I opened but the doore'. Then (2474) 'Heere is the keyes, this is the lake' and (2486), 'Heeres a light to go into the dungeon'. Then (2490) Edward speaks and, presumably having been brought out, is bid (2520) 'lie on this bed'. He is murdered with a table and featherbed brought from 'the next roome' (2478), and the body borne out. In *1 Tr. Raigne*, sc. xii, Hubert enters, bids his men (8) 'stay within that entry' and

There are scenes in living-rooms, often called 'studies'.[1]

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when called set Arthur 'in this chayre'. He then bids Arthur (13) 'take the benefice of the faire evening', and 'Enter Arthur', who is later (131) bid 'Goe in with me'. *K. J.* IV. i has precisely analogous indications, except that the attendants stand (2) 'within the arras', until Hubert stamps 'Vpon the bosome of the ground'. In *Rich. III*, I. iv, Clarence talks with his keeper, and sleeps. Murderers enter, to whom the keeper says (97), 'Here are the keies, there sits the Duke a sleepe'. They stab him, threaten to 'chop him in the malmsey but in the next roome' (161, 277), and bear the body out. In *Rich. II*, V. v (at Pontefract) Richard muses on 'this prison where I liue'. He is visited by a groom of his stable (70), 'where no man neuer comes, but that sad dog, That brings me foode'. Then (95) 'Enter one to Richard with meate' and (105) 'The murderers rush in', and (119) the bodies are cleared away. *Sir T. More*, sc. xvi, 'Enter *Sir Thomas Moore*, the Lieutenant, and a seruant attending as in his chamber in the Tower'; *Lord Cromwell*, V. v, 'Enter Cromwell in the Tower. . . . Enter the Lieutenant of the Tower and officers. . . . Enter all the Nobles'; *Dead Man's Fortune*, plot (*Henslowe Papers*, 134), 'Here the laydes speakes in prysoun'; *Death of R. Hood*, IV. i:

> *Brand.* Come, come, here is the door.
> *Lady Bruce.* O God, how dark it is.
> *Brand.* Go in, go in; it 's higher up the stairs. . . .
> *He seems to lock a door.*

In *Old Fortunatus*, 2572, Montrose says of Ampedo, 'Drag him to yonder towre, there shackle him'. Later (2608) Andelocia is brought to join him in 'this prison' and the attendants bid 'lift in his legs'. The brothers converse in 'fetters'. In *1 Oldcastle*, IV. iv, v (a continuous scene), 'Enter the Bishop of Rochester with his men, in liuerie coates'. They have brought him 'heere into the Tower' (1965) and may 'go backe vnto the Porters Lodge' or attend him 'here without'. But they slip away. The Bishop calls the Lieutenant and demands to see Oldcastle. A message is sent to Oldcastle by Harpoole. Then (1995), 'Enter sir Iohn Oldcastle', and while the Bishop dismisses the Lieutenant, Harpoole communicates a plot 'aside' to Oldcastle. Then the Bishop addresses Oldcastle, and as they talk Oldcastle and Harpoole lay hands upon him. They take his upper garments, which Oldcastle puts on. Harpoole says (2016) 'the window that goes out into the leads is sure enough' and he will 'conuay him after, and bind him surely in the inner room'. Then (2023) 'Enter seruing men againe'. Oldcastle, disguised as the Bishop, comes towards them, saying, 'The inner roomes be very hot and close'. Harpoole tells him that he will 'downe vpon them'. He then pretends to attack him. The serving-men join in, and (2049) 'Sir John escapes'. The Lieutenant enters and asks who is brawling 'so neare vnto the entrance of the Tower'. Then (2057) 'Rochester calls within', and as they go in and bring him out bound, Harpoole gets away; cf. p. 62, n. 2. *Look About You*, sc. v, is a similar scene in the Fleet, partly in Gloucester's chamber (811), the door of which can be shut, partly (865) on a bowling green. Analogous to some of the prison scenes is *Alarum for London*, sc. xii, in which a Burgher's Wife shows Van End a vault where her wealth is hid, and (1310) 'She pushes him downe', and he is stoned there.

[1] *Bacon and Bungay*, I. ii. 172, 'Enter frier *Bacon*', with others, says 'Why flocke you thus to Bacon's secret cell?', and conjures; II. ii is in a street, but Bacon says (603) 'weele to my studie straight', and II. iii begins (616), '*Bacon* and *Edward* goes into the study', where Edward

A lady's bower,[1] a counting-house,[2] an inn parlour,[3] a buttery,[4] a gallery,[5] may also be represented.

sits and looks in 'this glasse prospectiue' (620), but his vision is represented on some part of the stage; in IV. i. 1530, 'Enter Frier *Bacon* drawing the courtaines, with a white sticke, a booke in his hand, and a lampe lighted by him, and the brazen head and *Miles*, with weapons by him'. Miles is bid watch the head, and 'Draw closse the courtaines' and 'Here he [Bacon] falleth asleepe' (1568). Miles 'will set me downe by a post' (1577). Presently (1604), 'Heere the Head speakes and a lightning flasheth forth, and a hand appeares that breaketh down the Head with a hammer'. Miles calls to Bacon (1607) 'Out of your bed'; IV. iii. 1744 begins 'Enter frier *Bacon* with frier *Bungay* to his cell'. A woodcut in Q_2 of 1630, after the revival by the Palsgrave's men, seems to illustrate II. iii; the back-wall has a window to the left and the head on a bracket in the centre; before it is the glass on a table, with Edward gazing in it; Bacon sits to the right, Miles stands to the left; no side-walls are visible. In *Locrine*, I. iii. 309, 'Enter Strumbo aboue in a gowne, with inke and paper in his hand'; *Dr. Faustus*, ind. 28, 'And this the man that in his study sits', followed by s.d. 'Enter Faustus in his Study', 433, 'Enter Faustus in his Study . . . (514) Enter [Mephastophilis] with diuels, giuing crownes and rich apparell to Faustus, and daunce, and then depart', with probably other scenes. In *T. A.* V. ii. 1, 'Enter Tamora, and her two sonnes disguised' . . . (9) 'They knocke and Titus opens his studie doore'. Tamora twice (33, 43) bids him 'come downe', and (80) says, 'See heere he comes'. The killing of Tamora's sons follows, after which Titus bids (205) 'bring them in'. In *Sir T. More*, sc. viii. 735, 'A table beeing couered with a greene Carpet, a state Cushion on it, and the Pursse and Mace lying thereon Enter Sir Thomas Moore'. . . . (765) 'Enter Surrey, Erasmus and attendants'. Erasmus says (779), 'Is yond Sir Thomas?' and Surrey (784), 'That Studie is the generall watche of England'. The original text is imperfect, but in the revision Erasmus is bid 'sitt', and later More bids him in' (ed. Greg, pp. 84, 86). *Lord Cromwell* has three studies; in II. i, ii (continuous action at Antwerp), 'Cromwell in his study with bagges of money before him casting of account', while Bagot enters in front, soliloquizes, and then (II. ii. 23) with 'See where he is' addresses Cromwell; in III. ii (Bologna), the action begins as a hall scene, for (15) 'They haue begirt you round about the house' and (47) 'Cromwell shuts the dore' (s.d.), but there is an inner room, for (115) 'Hodge [disguised as the Earl of Bedford] sits in the study, and Cromwell calls in the States', and (126) 'Goe draw the curtaines, let vs see the Earle'; in IV. v (London), 'Enter Gardiner in his studie, and his man'. *E. M. I.* I. iii, is before Cob's house, and Tib is bid show Matheo 'vp to Signior Bobadilla' (Q_1 392). In I. iv 'Bobadilla discouers himselfe on a bench; to him, Tib'. She announces 'a gentleman below'; Matheo is bid 'come vp', enters from 'within', and admires the 'lodging'. In *1 Oldcastle*, V. i. 2086, 'Enter Cambridge, Scroope, and Gray, as in a chamber, and set downe at a table, consulting about their treason: King Harry and Suffolke listning at the doore' . . . (2114) 'They rise from the table, and the King steps in to them, with his Lordes'. *Stukeley*, i. 121, begins with Old Stukeley leaving his host's door to visit his son. He says (149), 'I'll to the Temple to see my son', and presumably crosses the stage during his speech of 171–86, which ends 'But soft this is his chamber as I take it'. Then 'He knocks', and after parley with a page, says, 'Give me the key of his study' and 'methinks the door stands open', enters, criticizes the contents of the study, emerges, and (237)

This then is the practical problem, which the manager of an Elizabethan theatre had to solve—the provision of settings,

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'Old Stukeley goes again to the study'. Then (244) 'Enter *Stukeley* at the further end of the stage' and joins his father. Finally the boy is bid (335) 'lock the door'. In *Downfall of R. Hood*, ind., 'Enter Sir John Eltham and knocke at Skeltons doore'. He says, 'Howe, maister Skelton, what at studie hard?' and (s.d.) 'Opens the doore'. In *2 Edw. IV*, IV. ii, 'Enter D. Shaw, pensiuely reading on his booke'. He is visited by a Ghost, who gives him a task, and adds, 'That done, return; and in thy study end Thy loathed life'.

[1] *Old Fortunatus*, 1315–1860, is before or in the hall of a court; at 1701, 'A curtaine being drawne, where Andelocia lies sleeping in Agripines lap'. In *Downfall of R. Hood*, ind., is a d.s. of a court scene, presumably in a hall, and 'presently Ely ascends the chaire . . . Enter Robert Earl of Huntingdon, leading Marian: . . . they infolde each other, and sit downe within the curteines . . . drawing the curteins, all (but the Prior) enter, and are kindely receiued by Robin Hood. The curteins are again shut'.

[2] *Jew of Malta*, i. 36, 'Enter Barabas in his Counting-house, with heapes of gold before him'. Later his house is taken for a nunnery; he has hid treasure (536) 'underneath the plancke That runs along the vpper chamber floore', and Abigail becomes a nun, and (658) throws the treasure from 'aboue'. He gets another house, and Pilia-Borza describes (iii. 1167) how 'I chanc'd to cast mine eye vp to the Iewes counting-house', saw money-bags, and climbed up and stole by night. *Arden of Feversham*, I, III. v, IV. i, V. i are at Arden's house at Feversham. From I I should assume a porch before the house, where Arden and his wife breakfast and (369) 'Then she throwes down the broth on the grounde'; cf. 55, 'Call her foorth', and 637, 'Lets in'. It can hardly be a hall scene, as part of the continuous action is 'neare' the house (318) and at 245 we get 'This is the painters [Clarke's] house', who is called out. There is no difficulty in III. v or IV. i; cf. III. v. 164, 'let vs in'. But V. i, taken by itself, reads like a hall scene with a counting-house behind. Black Will and Shakebag are hidden in a 'counting house', which has a 'door' and a 'key' (113, 145, 153). A chair and stool are to be ready for Mosbie and Arden (130). Alice bids Michael (169) 'Fetch in the tables, And when thou hast done, stand before the countinghouse doore', and (179) 'When my husband is come in, lock the streete doore'. When Arden comes with Mosbie, they are (229) 'in my house'. They play at tables and the murderers creep out and kill Arden, and (261), 'Then they lay the body in the Countinghouse'. Susan says (267), 'The blood cleaueth to the ground', and Mosbie bids (275) 'strew rushes on it'. Presently, when guests have come and gone, (342) 'Then they open the countinghouse doore and looke vppon Arden', and (363) 'Then they beare the body into the fields'. Francklin enters, having found the body, with rushes in its shoe, 'Which argueth he was murthred in this roome', and looking about 'this chamber', they find blood 'in the place where he was wont to sit' (411–15).

[3] In *1 Hen. IV*, II. iv, Henry calls Poins (1) 'out of that fat roome' and bids him (32) 'Stand in some by-roome' while the Prince talks to the Drawer. The Vintner (91) bids the Drawer look to guests 'within', and says Falstaff is 'at the doore'. He enters and later goes out to dismiss a court messenger who is (317) 'at doore' and returns. He has a chair and cushion (416). When the Sheriff comes, Henry bids Falstaff (549) 'hide thee behind the Arras, the rest walke vp aboue'. Later (578)

not necessarily so elaborate or decorative as those of the Court, but at least intelligible, for open country scenes, battle and siege scenes, garden scenes, street and threshold scenes, hall scenes, chamber scenes. Like the Master of the Revels, he made far less use of interior action than the modern or even the Restoration producer of plays; but he could not altogether avoid it, either on the larger scale of a hall scene, in which a considerable number of persons had occasionally to be staged for a parliament or a council or the like, or on the smaller scale when only a few persons had to be shown in a chamber, or in the still shallower enclosure which might stand as part of a mainly out-of-doors setting for a cell, a bower, a cave, a tent, a senate house, a window, a tomb, a shop, a porch, a shrine, a niche.[6] Even more than the Master of the Revels, he had to face the complication due to the taste of an English audience for romantic or historical drama, and the changes of locality which a narrative theme inevitably involved. Not for him, except here and there in a comedy, that blessed unity of place upon which the whole dramatic art of the Italian neo-classic school had been built up. Our corresponding antiquarian problem is to reconstruct, so far as the evidence permits, the structural resources which were

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Falstaff is found 'a sleepe behind the Arras'. This looks like a hall scene, and with it III. iii, where Mrs. Quickly is miscalled (72) 'in mine owne house' and Falstaff says (112) 'I fell a sleepe here, behind the Arras', is consistent. But in *2 Hen. IV*, II. iv, Falstaff and Doll come out of their supper room. The Drawer announces (75) 'Antient Pistol's belowe', and is bid (109) 'call him vp' and (202) 'thrust him downe staires'. Later (381) 'Peyto knockes at doore'; so does Bardolph (397), to announce that 'a dozen captaines stay at doore'. This is clearly an upper parlour. In *Look About You*, scc. ix, x (continuous action), Gloucester, disguised as Faukenbridge, and a Pursuivant have stepped into the Salutation tavern (1470), and are in 'the Bel, our roome next the Barre' (1639), with a stool (1504) and fire (1520). But at 1525 the action shifts. Skink enters, apparently in a room called the Crown, and asks whether Faukenbridge was 'below' (1533). Presumably he descends, for (1578) he sends the sheriff's party 'vp them stayres' to the Crown. This part of the action is before the inn, rather than in the Bell. *Humorous Day's Mirth*, scc. viii, x–xii, in Verone's ordinary, with tables and a court cupboard, seems to be a hall scene; at viii. 254 'convey them into the inward parlour by the inward room' does not entail any action within the supposed inward room.

[4] *W. for Fair Women*, II. 601. The scene does not itself prove interior action, but cf. the later reference (800), 'Was he so suted when you dranke with him, Here in the buttery'.

[5] In *Jew of Malta*, v. 2316, Barabas has 'made a dainty Gallery, The floore whereof, this Cable being cut, Doth fall asunder; so that it doth sinke Into a deepe pit past recouery', and at 2345 is s.d. 'A charge, the cable cut, A Caldron discouered'.

[6] Cf. pp. 51, 53, 55–6, 58–9, 62.

at the Elizabethan manager's disposal for the accomplishment of his task. As material we have the numerous indications in dialogue and stage-directions with which the footnotes to this chapter are groaning; we have such contemporary allusions as those of Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*; we have the débris of Philip Henslowe's business memoranda; we have the tradition inherited from the earlier Elizabethan period, for all the types of scene usual in the theatres had already made their appearance before the theatres came into existence; to a much less degree, owing to the interposition of the roofed and rectangular Caroline theatre, we have also the tradition bequeathed to the Restoration; and as almost sole graphic presentment we have that drawing of the Swan theatre by Johannes de Witt, which has already claimed a good deal of our consideration, and to which we shall have to return from time to time, as a *point de repère*, in the course of the forthcoming discussion. It is peculiarly unfortunate that of all the seventy-three plays, now under review, not one can be shown to have been performed at the Swan, and that the only relics of the productions at that house, the plot of *England's Joy* of 1602 and Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside* of 1611, stand at such a distance of time from De Witt's drawing as not to exclude the hypothesis of an intermediate reconstruction of its stage. One other source of information, which throws a sidelight or two upon the questions at issue, I will here deal with at more length, because it has been a good deal overlooked. The so-called 'English Wagner Book' of 1594, which contains the adventures of Wagner after the death of his master Faustus, although based upon a German original, is largely an independent work by an author who shows more than one sign of familiarity with the English theatre.[1] The most important of these is in chapter viii, which is headed 'The Tragedy of Doctor Faustus seene in the Ayre, and acted in the presence of a thousand people of Wittenberg. An. 1540'. It describes, not an actual performance, but an aerial vision produced by Wagner's magic arts for the bewilderment of an imperial pursuivant. The architecture has therefore, no doubt, its elements of fantasy. Nevertheless, it is our nearest approach to a pen picture of an Elizabethan stage, whereby to eke out that of De Witt's pencil.

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[1] A. E. Richards, *Studies in English Faust Literature: i. The English Wagner Book of 1594* (1907). The book was entered in S. R. on 16 Nov. 1593 (Arber, ii. 640). A later edition of 1680 is reprinted as *The Second Report of Dr. John Faustus* by W. J. Thoms, *Early Prose Romances* (1828), iii. Richards gives the date of the first edition of the German book by Fridericus Schotus of Toledo as 1593. An edition of 1714 is reprinted by J. Scheible, *Das Kloster*, iii. 1. This has nothing corresponding to the stage-play of the English version.

> 'They might distinctly perceiue a goodlye Stage to be reard (shining to sight like the bright burnish golde) uppon many a faire Pillar of clearest Cristall, whose feete rested uppon the Arch of the broad Raynebow, therein was the high Throne wherein the King should sit, and that prowdly placed with two and twenty degrees to the top, and round about curious wrought chaires for diverse other Potentates, there might you see the ground-worke at the one end of the Stage whereout the personated divels should enter in their fiery ornaments, made like the broad wide mouth of an huge Dragon . . . the teeth of this Hels-mouth far out stretching. . . . At the other end in opposition was seene the place where in the bloudlesse skirmishes are so often perfourmed on the Stage, the Wals . . . of . . . Iron attempered with the most firme steele . . . environed with high and stately Turrets of the like metall and beautye, and hereat many in-gates and out-gates: out of each side lay the bended Ordinaunces, showing at their wide hollowes the crueltye of death: out of sundry loopes many large Banners and Streamers were pendant, brieflye nothing was there wanting that might make it a faire Castle. There might you see to be short the Gibbet, the Posts, the Ladders, the tiring house, there everything which in the like houses either use or necessity makes common. Now above all was there the gay Clowdes *Vsque quaque* adorned with the heavenly firmament, and often spotted with golden teares which men callen Stars. There was lively portrayed the whole Imperiall Army of the faire heavenly inhabitaunts. . . . This excellent faire Theator erected, immediatly after the third sound of the Trumpets, there entreth in the Prologue attired in a blacke vesture, and making his three obeysances, began to shew the argument of that Scenicall Tragedy, but because it was so far off they could not understand the wordes, and having thrice bowed himselfe to the high Throne, presently vanished.'

The action of the play is then described. Devils issue from hell mouth and besiege the castle. Faustus appears on the battlements and defies them. Angels descend from heaven to the tower and are dismissed by Faustus. The devils assault the castle, capture Faustus and raze the tower. The great devil and all the imperial rulers of hell occupy the throne and chairs and dispute with Faustus. Finally,

> 'Faustus . . . leapt down headlong of the stage, the whole company immediatly vanishing, but the stage with a most monstrous thundering crack followed Faustus hastely, the people verily thinking that they would have fallen uppon them ran all away.'

The three salient features of the Swan stage, as depicted by De Witt, are, firstly the two pairs of folding doors in the back wall; secondly, the 'heavens' supported on posts, which give the effect of a division of the space into a covered rear and an uncovered front; and thirdly, the gallery or row of boxes, which occupies the upper part of the back wall. Each of these lends itself to a good deal of comment. The two doors find abundant confirmation from numerous stage-directions, which lead up to the favourite dramatic device of bringing in personages from different points to meet in the centre of the stage. The formula which agrees most closely with the drawing is that which directs entrance 'at one door' and 'at the other door', and is of very common use.[1] But there are a great many variants, which are used, as for example in the plot of *2 Seven Deadly Sins*, with such indifference as to suggest that no variation of structure is necessarily involved.[2] Thus an equally common antithesis is that between 'one door' and, not 'the other door', but 'an other door'.[3] Other analogous expressions are 'one way' and 'at an other door', 'one way' and 'another way', 'at two sundry doors', 'at diverse doors', 'two ways', 'met by'; [4] or again, 'at several doors', 'several ways', 'severally'.[5] There is a divergence, however, from De Witt's indications, when we come upon terminology which suggests that more than two doors may have been available for entrances, a possibility with which the references to 'one door' and 'an other' are themselves not inconsistent. Thus in one of the *2 Seven Deadly Sins* variants, after other personages have entered 'seuerall waies', we find 'Gorboduk entreing in the midst between'. There are other examples of triple entrance in *Fair Em*, in *Patient Grissell*, and in *The*

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[1] *1 Contention*, sc. i. 1 (court scene), sc. xx. 1 (garden scene); *Locrine*, III. vi. 1278 (battle scene); &c., &c.

[2] *Henslowe Papers*, 130, 'To them Pride, Gluttony Wrath and Couetousness at one dore, at an other dore Enuie, Sloth and Lechery' (l. 6) . . . 'Enter Ferrex . . . with . . . soldiers one way . . . to them At a nother dore, Porrex . . . and soldiers' (26) . . . 'Enter Queene, with 2 Counsailors . . . to them Ferrex and Porrex seuerall waies . . . Gorboduk entreing in The midst between' (30) . . . 'Enter Ferrex and Porrex seuerally' (36). I suppose that, strictly, 'seuerally' might also mean successively by the same door, and perhaps does mean this in *Isle of Gulls*, ind. 1 (Blackfriars), 'Enter seuerally 3 Gentlemen as to see a play'.

[3] e.g. *Alphonsus*, II. i. 1 (battle scene); *Selimus*, 2430 (battle scene); *Locrine*, V. v. 2022, 2061 (battle scene); *Old Fortunatus*, 2675 (threshold scene); &c., &c. Archer, 469, calculates that of 43 examples (sixteenth and seventeenth century) taken at random, 11 use 'one . . . the other', 21 'one . . . an other', and 11 'several'.

[4] *Selimus*, 658, 'at diuerse doores'; *Fair Em*, sc. ix, 'at two sundry doors'; *James IV*, II. ii. 1, 'one way . . . another way'; *Look About You*, 464, 'two waies'; *Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, 3, 'one way . . . another way'; *Jew of Malta*, 230, 'Enter Gouernor . . . met by'. Further variants are the seventeenth-century *Lear* (Q_1), II. i. 1, 'meeting', and *Custom of Country*, IV. iv, 'at both doors'.

[5] *1 Rich. II*, I. i, 'at seuerall doores'.

Trial of Chivalry, although it is not until the seventeenth century that three doors are in so many words enumerated.[1] We get entrance 'at every door', however, in *The Downfall of Robin Hood*, and this, with other more disputable phrases, might perhaps be pressed into an argument that even three points of entrance did not exhaust the limits of practicability.[2] It should be added that, while doors are most commonly indicated as the avenue of entrance, this is not always the case. Sometimes personages are said to enter from one or other 'end', or 'side', or 'part' of the stage.[3] I take it that the three terms have the same meaning, and that the 'end' of a stage wider than its depth is what we should call its 'side'. A few minor points about doors may be noted, and the discussion of a difficulty may be deferred.[1] Some entrances were of considerable size; an animal could be ridden on and off.[2] There were practicable and fairly solid doors; in *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, a door is taken off its hinges.[3] And as the doors give admittance indifferently to hall scenes and to out-of-door scenes, it is obvious that the term, as used in the stage directions, often indicates a part of the theatrical structure rather than a feature properly belonging to a garden or woodland background.[4]

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[1] *Fair Em*, sc. iv, 'Enter Manvile . . . Enter Valingford at another door . . . Enter Mountney at another door'; *Patient Grissell*, 1105, 'Enter Vrcenze and Onophrio at seuerall doores, and Farneze in the mid'st'; *Trial of Chivalry*, sign. I_3^v, 'Enter at one dore . . . at the other dore . . . Enter in the middest'. Examples from seventeenth-century public theatres are *Four Prentices of London*, prol., 'Enter three in blacke clokes, at three doores'; *Travels of 3 English Brothers*, p. 90, 'Enter three seuerall waies the three Brothers'; *Nobody and Somebody*, 1322, 'Enter at one doore . . . at another doore . . . at another doore'; *Silver Age*, v. ii, 'Exeunt three wayes'. It may be accident that these are all plays of Queen Anne's men, at the Curtain or Red Bull. For the middle entrance in private theatres, cf. p. 132.

[2] *Downfall of R. Hood*, I. i (ind.), after Eltham has knocked at Skelton's study door (cf. p. 69), 'At euery doore all the players runne out'; *Englishmen for my Money*, 393, 'Enter Pisaro, Delion the Frenchman, Vandalle the Dutchman, Aluaro the Italian, and other Marchants, at seuerall doores'; cf. the seventeenth-century *1 Honest Whore*, sc. xiii (Fortune), 'Enter . . . the Duke, Castruchio, Pioratto, and Sinezi from severall doores muffled'.

[3] *Locrine*, IV. ii. 1460 (not an entry), 'Locrine at one side of the stage'; *Sir T. More*, sc. i. 1, 'Enter at one end John Lincolne . . . at the other end enters Fraunces'; *Stukeley*, 245, 'Enter Stukeley at the further end of the stage', 2382, 'Two trumpets sound at either end'; *Look About You*, sc. ii. 76, 'Enter . . . on the one side . . . on the other part'. Very elaborate are the s.ds. of *John a Kent*, III. i. The scene is before a Castle. A speaker says, 'See, he [John a Cumber] sets the Castell gate wide ope'. Then follows dialogue, interspersed with the s.ds. 'Musique whyle he opens the door'. . . . 'From one end of the Stage enter an antique . . . Into the Castell . . . Exit'. . . . 'From the other end of the Stage enter another Antique . . . Exit into the Castell'. . . . 'From under the Stage the third antique . . . Exit into the Castell'. . . . 'The fourth out of a tree, if possible it may be . . . Exit into the Castell'. Then John a Cumber 'Exit into the Castell, and makes fast the dore'. John a Kent enters, and 'He tryes the dore'. John a Cumber and others enter 'on the walles' and later 'They discend'. For an earlier example of 'end', cf. *Cobler's Prophecy* (p. 35, n. 1), and for a later *The Dumb Knight* (Whitefriars), i, iv. In *2 Return from Parnassus* (Univ. play), IV. i begins 'Sir *Radericke* and *Prodigo*, at one corner of the Stage, Recorder and *Amoretto* at the other'.

Some observations upon the heavens have already been made in an earlier chapter.[5] I feel little doubt that, while the supporting posts had primarily a structural object, and probably formed some obstacle to the free vision of the spectators, they were occasionally worked by the ingenuity of the dramatists and actors into the 'business' of the plays. The hints for such business are not very numerous, but they are sufficient to confirm the view that the Swan was not the only sixteenth-century theatre in which the posts existed. Thus in a street scene of *Englishmen for my Money* and in an open country scene of *Two Angry Women of Abingdon* we get episodes in which personages groping in the darkness stumble up against posts, and the second of these is particularly illuminating, because the victim utters a malediction upon the carpenter who set the post up, which a carpenter may have done upon the stage, but certainly did not do in a coney burrow.[6] In *Englishmen for my Money* the posts are taken for maypoles, and there are two of them. There are two of them also in *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, a post and 'the contrarie post', and to one of them a character is bound, just as Kempe tells us that pickpockets taken in a theatre were bound.[1] The binding to a post occurs also in *Soliman and Perseda.*[2] In *James IV* and in *Lord Cromwell* bills are set up on the stage, and for this purpose the posts would conveniently serve.[3] All these are out-of-door scenes, but there was a post in the middle of a warehouse in *Every Man In his Humour*, and Miles sits down by a post during one of the scenes in the conjurer's cell in *Bacon and Bungay.*[4] I am not oblivious of the fact that there were doubtless other structural posts on the stage besides those of the heavens, but I do not see how they can have been so conspicuous or so well adapted to serve in the action.[5] Posts may have supported the gallery, but I find it difficult to visualize the back of the stage without supposing these to have been veiled by the hangings. But two of them may have become visible when the hangings were drawn, or some porch-like projection from the back wall may have had its posts, and one of these may be in question, at any rate in the indoor scenes.

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[1] Cf. p. 98.

[2] *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iv. 47, 'Enter *Basilisco* riding of a mule' . . . (71) '*Piston* getteth vp on his Asse, and rideth with him to the doore'; cf. *1 Rich. II* (quoted p. 61, n. 3), and for the private stage, *Liberality and Prodigality*, *passim*, and *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, 968. W. J. Lawrence, *Horses upon the Elizabethan Stage* (*T. L. S.* 5 June 1919), deprecates a literal acceptance of Forman's notice of Macbeth and Banquo 'riding through a wood', attempts to explain away the third example here given, and neglects the rest. I think some kind of 'hobby' more likely than a trained animal. In the *Mask of Flowers*, Silenus is 'mounted upon an artificiall asse, which sometimes being taken with strains of musicke, did bow down his eares and listen with great attention'; cf. T. S. Graves, *The Ass as Actor* (1916, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, xv. 175).

[3] *Knack to Know an Honest Man*, sc. ix. 1034 (cf. p. 60, n. 3).

[4] *Leir*, 2625 (open country scene near a beacon), 'Mumford followes him to the dore'; cf. p. 60, *supra*.

[5] Cf. ch. xviii, p. 544.

[6] *2 Angry Women*, sc. x. 2250, 'A plague on this poast, I would the Carpenter had bin hangd that set it vp for me. Where are yee now?'; *Englishmen for my Money*, scc. vii–ix (continuous scene), 1406, 'Take heede, sir! hers a post' . . . (1654) 'Watt be dis Post? . . . This Post; why tis the May-pole on Iuie-bridge going to Westminster. . . . Soft,

The roof of the heavens was presumably used to facilitate certain spectacular effects, the tradition of which the public theatres inherited from the miracle plays and the Court stage.[6] Startling atmospheric phenomena were not infrequently represented.[7] These came most naturally in out-of-door scenes, but I have noted one example in a scene which on general grounds one would classify as a hall scene.[8] The

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heere's an other: Oh now I know in deede where I am; wee are now at the fardest end of Shoredich, for this is the May-pole'. . . . (1701) 'Ic weit neit waer dat ic be, ic goe and hit my nose op dit post, and ic goe and hit my nose op danden post'.

[1] *3 Lords and 3 Ladies*, sign. I_3v.

[2] Cf. p. 57, n. 4, and for Kempe, ch. xviii, p. 545.

[3] Cf. p. 57, n. 5; p. 58, n. 1.

[4] Cf. p. 64, n. 3; p. 67, n. 1.

[5] Graves, 88.

[6] Cf. ch. xix, p. 42; *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 86, 142. Heywood, *Apology* (*1608*), thinks that the theatre of Julius Caesar at Rome had 'the covering of the stage, which we call the heavens (where upon any occasion their gods descended)'.

[7] *Battle of Alcazar*, 1263 (d.s.), 'Lightning and thunder . . . Heere the blazing Starre . . . Fire workes'; *Looking Glass*, 1556 (s.d.), 'A hand from out a cloud, threatneth a burning sword'; *2 Contention*, sc. v. 9 (s.d.), 'Three sunnes appeare in the aire' (cf. *3 Hen. VI*, II. i. 25); *Stukeley*, 2272 (d.s.), 'With a sudden thunderclap the sky is on fire and the blazing star appears'.

[8] *1 Troublesome Raign*, sc. xiii. 131 (s.d.), 'There the fiue Moones appeare'. The Bastard casts up his eyes 'to heauen' (130) at the sight, and the moons are in 'the skie' (163), but the episode follows immediately

illusion may not have gone much beyond a painted cloth drawn under the roof of the heavens.[1] More elaborate machinery may have been entailed by aerial ascents and descents, which were also not uncommon. Many Elizabethan actors were half acrobats, and could no doubt fly upon a wire; but there is also clear evidence for the use of a chair let down from above.[2] And was the arrangement of cords and pulleys required for this purpose also that by which the chair of state, which figures in so many hall scenes and even a few out-of-door scenes, was put into position?[3] Henslowe had a throne made in the heavens of the Rose in 1595.[4] Jonson sneered at the jubilation of boyhood over the descent of the creaking chair.[5] The device would lighten the labours of the tire-man, for a state would be an awkward thing to carry on and off. It would avoid the presence of a large incongruous property on the stage during action to which it was inappropriate. And it would often serve as a convenient

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after the coronation which is certainly in 'the presence' (81). Perhaps this is why in *K. J.*, IV. ii. 181, the appearance of the moons is only narrated.

[1] The Admiral's inventories of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 117) include 'the clothe of the Sone and Moone'.

[2] *Alphonsus*, prol. (1), 'After you haue sounded thrise, let *Venus* be let downe from the top of the stage'; epil. (1916), 'Enter *Venus* with the Muses' . . . (1937), 'Exit *Venus*; or if you can conueniently, let a chaire come down from the top of the Stage and draw her vp'. In *Old Fortunatus*, 840, Fortunatus, at the Soldan's court, gets a magic hat, wishes he were in Cyprus, and 'Exit'. The bystanders speak of him as going 'through the ayre' and 'through the clouds'. Angels descend from heaven to a tower in the *Wagner Book* play (cf. p. 72).

[3] One of the 1616 additions to the text of *Dr. Faustus* (sc. xiv) has the s.d. 'Musicke while the Throne descends' before the vision of heaven, and 'Hell is discouered' before that of hell. On the other hand, in *Death of R. Hood*, ii, ind. (cf. p. 66), the king is in a chair behind a curtain, and the fact that the queen 'ascends' and 'descends' may suggest that this chair is the 'state'. However this may be, I do not see how any space behind the curtain can have been high enough to allow any dignity to the elaborate states required by some court scenes; cf. p. 64, n. 5. The throne imagined in the *Wagner Book* (cf. p. 72) had 22 steps. Out-of-door scenes, in which the 'state' appears to be used, are *Alphonsus*, II. i. 461 (battle scene), 'Alphonsus sit in the Chaire' (s.d.); II. i (a crowning on the field); *Locrine*, IV. ii. 1490 (camp scene), 'Let him go into his chaire' (s.d.); *Old Fortunatus*, sc. i. 72 (dream scene in wood), 'Fortune takes her Chaire, the Kings lying at her feete, shee treading on them as shee goes vp' . . . (148), 'She comes downe'.

[4] Henslowe, i. 4, 'Itm pd for carpenters worke & mackinge the throne in the heuenes the 4 of Iune 1595 . . . vij^{ll} ij^{s}'.

[5] *E. M. I.* (F_1), prol. 14,

> One such to-day, as other plays should be;
> Where neither chorus wafts you o'er the seas,
> Nor creaking throne comes down the boys to please.

signal for the beginning or ending of a hall scene. But to this aspect of the matter I must return.[1] Whatever the machinery, it must have been worked in some way from the upper part of the tire-house; possibly from the somewhat obscure third floor, which De Witt's drawing leaves to conjecture; possibly from the superstructure known as the hut, if that really stood further forward than De Witt's drawing suggests. Perhaps the late reference to Jove leaning on his elbows in the garret, or employed to make squibs and crackers to grace the play, rather points to the former hypothesis.[2] In favour of the latter, for what it is worth, is the description, also late, of a theatre set up by the English actors under John Spencer at Regensburg in 1613. This had a lower stage for music, over that a main stage thirty feet high with a roof supported by six great pillars, and under the roof a quadrangular aperture, through which beautiful effects were contrived.[3]

There has been a general abandonment of the hypothesis, which found favour when De Witt's drawing was first discovered, of a division of the stage into an inner and an outer part by a 'traverse' curtain running between the two posts, perhaps supplemented by two other curtains running from the posts back to the tire-house.[4] Certainly I do not wish to revive it. Any such arrangement would be inconsistent with the use of the tire-house doors and gallery in out-of-door scenes; for, on the hypothesis, these were played with the traverse closed. And it would entail a serious interference with the vision of such scenes by spectators sitting far round in the galleries or 'above the stage'. It does not, of course, follow that no use at all was made of curtains upon the stage. It is true that no hangings of any kind are shown by De Witt. Either there were none visible when he drew the Swan in 1596, or, if they were visible, he failed to draw them; it is impossible to say which. We know that even the Swan was not altogether undraped in 1602, for during the riot which followed the 'cousening prancke' of *England's Joy* in that year the audience are said to have

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[1] Cf. p. 89.

[2] Cf. vol. ii, p. 546.

[3] Mettenleiter, *Musikgeschichte von Regensburg*, 256; Herz, 46, 'ein Theater darinnen er mit allerley musikalischen Instrumenten auf mehr denn zehnerley Weise gespielt, und über der Theaterbühne noch eine Bühne 30 Schuh hoch auf 6 grosse Säulen, über welche ein Dach gemacht worden, darunter ein viereckiger Spund, wodurch die sie schöne Actiones verrichtet haben'; cf. ch. xiv and C. H. Kaulfuss-Diesch, *Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1905).

[4] Prölss, 73; Brodmeier, 5, 43, 57; cf. Reynolds, i. 7, and in *M. P.* ix. 59; Albright, 151; Lawrence, i. 40.

'revenged themselves upon the hangings, curtains, chairs, stooles, walles, and whatsoever came in their way'.[1] It is not, indeed, stated that these hangings and curtains were upon the stage, and possibly, although not very probably, they may have been in the auditorium. Apart, however, from the Swan, there is abundant evidence for the use of some kind of stage hangings in the public theatres of the sixteenth century generally. To the references in dialogue and stage-directions quoted in the foot-notes to this chapter may be added the testimony of Florio in 1598, of Ben Jonson in 1601, of Heywood in 1608, and of Flecknoe after the Restoration.[2] We can go further, and point to several passages which attest a well-defined practice, clearly going back to the sixteenth century, of using black hangings for the special purpose of providing an appropriate setting for a tragedy.[3] Where then were these hangings? For a front curtain, on the public stage, as distinct from the Court stage, there is no evidence whatever, and the precautions taken to remove dead bodies in the course of action enable us quite safely to leave it out of account.[1] There may have been hangings of a decorative kind in various places, of course; round the base of the stage, for example, or dependent, as Malone thought, from the heavens. But the only place where we can be sure that there were hangings was what Heywood calls the 'fore-front' of the stage, by which it seems clear from Florio that he means the fore-front of the tiring-house, which was at the same time the back wall of the stage. It is, I believe, exclusively to hangings in this region that our stage-directions refer. Their terminology is not quite uniform. 'Traverse' I do not find in a sixteenth-century public play.[2] By far the most common term is 'curtain', but I do not think that there is any technical difference between 'curtain' and the not infrequent 'arras' or the unique 'veil' of *The Death of Robin Hood*.[3] 'Arras' is the ordinary Elizabethan name for a hang-

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[1] Cf. ch. xxiii, s.v. Vennor. The only extant Swan play is Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside* of 1611. Chamber scenes are III. i, ii, iii; IV. i; V. ii. Some of these would probably have been treated in a sixteenth-century play as threshold scenes. But III. ii, a child-bed scene, would have called for curtains. In *Chaste Maid*, however, the opening s.d. is 'A bed thrust out upon the stage; Allwit's wife in it'. We cannot therefore assume curtains; cf. p. 113. The room is above (ll. 102, 124) and is set with stools and rushes. In V. iv, two funeral processions meet in the street, and 'while all the company seem to weep and mourn, there is a sad song in the music room'.

[2] Florio, *Dictionary*, '*Scena* . . . forepart of a theatre where players make them readie, being trimmed with hangings' (cf. vol. ii, p. 539); Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, ind. 151, 'I am none of your fresh Pictures, that use to beautifie the decay'd dead Arras, in a publique Theater'; Heywood, *Apology*, 18 (Melpomene *loq.*), 'Then did I tread on arras; cloth of tissue Hung round the forefront of my stage'; Flecknoe (cf. App. I), 'Theaters . . . of former times . . . were but plain and simple, with no other scenes, nor decorations of the stage, but onely old tapestry, and the stage strew'd with rushes'.

[3] *1 Hen. VI*, I. i. 1, 'Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night!'; *Lucr.* 766 (of night), 'Black stage for tragedies and murders fell'; *Warning for Fair Women*, ind. 74, 'The stage is hung with blacke, and I perceive The auditors prepar'd for tragedie'; II. 6, 'But now we come unto the dismal act, And in these sable curtains shut we up The comic entrance to our direful play'; Daniel, *Civil Wars* (*Works*, ii. 231), 'Let her be made the sable stage, whereon Shall first be acted bloody tragedies'; *2 Antonio and Mellida* (Paul's, 1599), prol. 20, 'Hurry amain from our black-visaged shows'; *Northward Hoe*, IV. i (of court play), 'the stage hung all with black velvet'; Dekker (iii. 296), *Lanthorne and Candle-light* (1608), 'But now, when the stage of the world was hung with blacke, they jetted vppe and downe like proud tragedians'; *Insatiate Countess*, IV. v. 4 'The stage of heaven is hung with solemn black, A time best fitting to act tragedies'; Anon., *Elegy on Burbage* (Collier, *Actors*, 53), 'Since thou art gone, dear Dick, a tragic night Will wrap our black-hung stage'; cf. Malone in *Variorum*, iii. 103; Graves, *Night Scenes in the Elizabethan Theatres* (*E. S.* xlvii. 63); Lawrence, *Night Performances in the Elizabethan*

Theatres (*E. S.* xlviii. 213). In several of the passages quoted above, the black-hung stage is a metaphor for night, but I agree with Lawrence that black hangings cannot well have been used in the theatre to indicate night scenes as well as tragedy. I do not know why he suggests that a 'prevalent idea that the stage was hung with blue for comedies', for which, if it exists, there is certainly no evidence, is 'due to a curious surmise of Malone's'. Malone (*Var.* iii. 108) only suggests that 'pieces of drapery tinged with blue' may have been 'suspended across the stage to represent the heavens'—quite a different thing. But, of course, there is no evidence for that either. According to Reich, *Der Mimus*, I. ii. 705, the colour of the *siparium* in the Indian theatre is varied according to the character of the play.

[1] Cf. p. 30; vol. i, p. 231. On the removal of bodies W. Archer (*Quarterly Review*, ccviii. 454) says, 'In over a hundred plays which we have minutely examined (including all Shakespeare's tragedies) there is only a small minority of cases in which explicit provision is not made, either by stage-direction or by a line in the text, for the removal of bodies. The few exceptions to this rule are clearly mere inadvertences, or else are due to the fact that there is a crowd of people on the stage in whose exit a body can be dragged or carried off almost unobserved'. In *Old Fortunatus*, 1206, after his sons have lamented over their dead father, 'They both fall asleepe: Fortune and a companie of Satyres enter with Musicke, and playing about Fortunatus body, take him away'. Of course, a body left dead in the alcove need not be removed; the closing curtains cover it.

[2] Cf. p. 26.

[3] Cf. p. 51, n. 3 (*Downfall of R. Hood*, 'curtaines' of bower 'open'); p. 51, n. 4 (*Battle of Alcazar*, cave behind 'curtaines'); p. 53, n. 5 (*Edw. I*, tent 'opens' and is closed, and Queen is 'discouered'); p. 55, n. 1 (*Looking-Glass*, 'curtaines' of tent drawn to shut and open); p. 63, n. 1 (*Old Fortunatus, M. V.*, 'curtaines' drawn to reveal caskets); p. 63, n. 4 (*Sir T. More*, 'arras' drawn); p. 65, n. 3 (*2 Tamburlaine*, 'arras' drawn; *Selimus*, 'curtins' drawn; *Battle of Alcazar*, 'curtains'

ing of tapestry used as a wall decoration, and often projected from a frame so as to leave a narrow space, valuable to eavesdroppers and other persons in need of seclusion, between itself and the wall. The stage arras serves precisely this purpose as a background to interior scenes. Here stand the murderers in *King John*; here Falstaff goes to sleep in *1 Henry IV*; and here too he proposes to 'ensconce' himself, in order to avoid being confronted with both his lady-loves together in *The Merry Wives*.[1]

The stage-directions, however, make it quite clear that the curtains were not merely an immovable decoration of the back wall. They could be 'opened' and 'shut' or 'closed'; and either operation could indifferently be expressed by the term 'drawn'. This drawing was presumably effected by sliding the curtain laterally along a straight rod to which it was affixed by rings sewn on to its upper edge; there is no sign of any rise or fall of the curtain. The operator may be an actor upon the stage; in *Bacon and Bungay* Friar Bacon draws the curtains 'with a white sticke'. He may be the speaker of a prologue.[2] Whether the 'servitours' of a theatre ever came upon the stage, undisguised, to draw the curtains, I am uncertain; but obviously it would be quite easy to work the transformation from behind, by a cord and pulley, without any visible intervention.[3] The object of the drawing is to introduce interior action, either in a mere recess, or in a larger space, such as a chamber; and this, not only where curtains are dramatically appropriate, as within a house, or at the door of a tent, but also where they are less so, as before a cave or a forest bower. One may further accept the term 'discovered' as indicating the unveiling of an interior by the play of a curtain, even when the curtain is not specifically mentioned;[4] and may recognize that the stage-directions sometimes use 'Enter' and 'Exit'

drawn; *Famous Victories*, 'curtains' drawn; *1 Contention*, 'curtains' drawn and bodies 'discouered'; *1 Rich. II*, 'curtayne' drawn; *Death of R. Hood*, 'vaile' or 'curten' drawn; *R. J.*, 'curtens' shut); p. 67, n. 1 (*Friar Bacon*, 'courtaines' drawn by actor with stick; *Lord Cromwell*, 'curtaines' drawn); p. 68, n. 1 (*Old Fortunatus*, 'curtaine' drawn; *Downfall of R. Hood*, 'curteines' drawn and 'shut').

[1] *M. W.* III. iii. 97; cf. p. 66, n. 1 (*K. J.*), p. 68, n. 3 (*1 Hen. IV*).

[2] So probably in *Dr. Faustus*, 28, where the prol. ends 'And this the man that in his study sits', and the s.d. follows, 'Enter Faustus in his study'.

[3] The 'groom' of the seventeenth-century *Devil's Charter* (cf. p. 110) might be a servitor.

[4] Cf. p. 53, n. 5 (*Edw. I*; *Trial of Chivalry*); p. 65, n. 3 (*1 Contention*); p. 67, n. 1 (*E. M. I.*). In *James IV*, v. vi. 2346, 'He discouereth her' only describes the removal of a disguise.

in a loose sense of persons, who do not actually move in or out, but are ' discovered ', or covered, by a curtain.[1]

Of what nature, then, was the space so disclosed? There was ordinarily, as already stated, a narrow space behind an arras; and if the gallery above the stage jutted forward, or had, as the Swan drawing perhaps indicates, a projecting weather-board, this might be widened into a six- or seven-foot corridor, still in front of the back wall.[2] Such a corridor would, however, hardly give the effect of a chamber, although it might that of a portico. Nor would it be adequate in size to hold all the scenes which it is natural to class as chamber scenes; such, for example, as that in *Tamburlaine*, where no less than ten persons are discovered grouped around Zenocrate's bed.[3] The stage-directions themselves do not help us much; that in *Alphonsus* alone names ' the place behind the stage ', and as this is only required to contain the head of Mahomet, a corridor, in this particular scene, would have sufficed.[4] There is, however, no reason why the opening curtains should not have revealed a quite considerable aperture in the back wall, and an alcove or recess of quite considerable size lying behind this aperture. With a 43-foot stage, as at the Fortune, and doors placed rather nearer the ends of it than De Witt shows them, it would be possible to get a 15-foot aperture, and still leave room for the drawn curtains to hang between the aperture and the doors. Allow 3 feet for the strip of stage between arras and wall, and a back-run of 10 feet behind the wall, and you get an adequate chamber of 15 feet × 13 feet. My actual measurements are, of course, merely illustrative. There would be advantages, as regards vision, in not making the alcove too deep. The height, if the gallery over the stage ran in a line with the middle gallery for spectators, would be about 8 feet or 9 feet; rather low, I admit.[5] A critic may point out that behind the back wall of the outer stage lay the tire-house, and that the 14-foot deep framework of a theatre no greater in dimensions than the Fortune does not leave room for an inner stage in addition to the tire-house. I think the answer is that the ' place behind the stage ' was in fact nothing but an *enclave* within the tire-house, that its walls consisted of nothing but screens covered with some more arras, that these were only put up when they were needed for some particular scene, and that when they were up, although they extended to nearly the full depth of the tire-house, they did not occupy its full width, but left room on either side for the actors to crowd into, and for the stairs leading to the upper floors. When no interior scene had to be set, there was nothing between the tire-house and the outer stage but the curtains; and this renders quite intelligible the references quoted in an earlier chapter to actors peeping through a curtain at the audience, and to the audience 'banding tile and pear' against the curtains, to allure the actors forth.[1] I do not think it is necessary to assume that there was a third pair of folding doors permanently fixed in the aperture.[2] They would be big and clumsy, although no doubt they would help to keep out noise. In any case, there is not much evidence on the point. If Tarlton's head was seen 'the Tire-House doore and tapistrie betweene', he may very well have gone to the end of the narrow passage behind the arras, and looked out where that was broken by one of the side doors. No doubt, however, the aperture is the third place of entrance 'in the midst', which the stage-directions or action of some plays require, and which, as such, came to be regarded as a third door.[3]

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[1] Prölss, 85; Albright, 140; Reynolds, i. 26; cf. p. 65, n. 3 (*Battle of Alcazar*); p. 67, n. 1 (*Dr. Faustus*).

[2] W. Archer in *Quarterly Review*, ccviii. 470; Reynolds, i. 9; Graves, 88; cf. Brereton in *Sh. Homage*, 204.

[3] Cf. p. 65, n. 3 (*2 Tamburlaine*).

[4] Cf. p. 64, n. 2 (*Alphonsus*).

[5] Cf. p. 85.

I conceive, therefore, of the alcove as a space which the tire-man, behind the curtains and in close proximity to the screens and properties stored in the tire-house, can arrange as he likes, without any interruption to continuous action proceeding on the outer stage. He can put up a house-front with a door, and if needed, a porch. He can put up a shop, or for that matter, a couple of adjacent shops. He can put up the arched gates of a city or castle. These are comparatively shallow structures. But he can also take advantage of the whole depth of the space, and arrange a chamber, a cave, or a bower, furnishing it as he pleases, and adding doors at the back or side, or a back window, which would enable him to give more light, even if only borrowed light from the tire-house, to an interior scene.[4] One point, however, is rather puzzling. There are some scenes which imply entrance to a chamber, not from behind, but from the open stage in front, and by a visible door which can be knocked at or locked. Thus in *Romeo and Juliet*, of which all the staging is rather difficult on any hypothesis, the Friar observes Juliet coming towards his cell, and after they have discoursed

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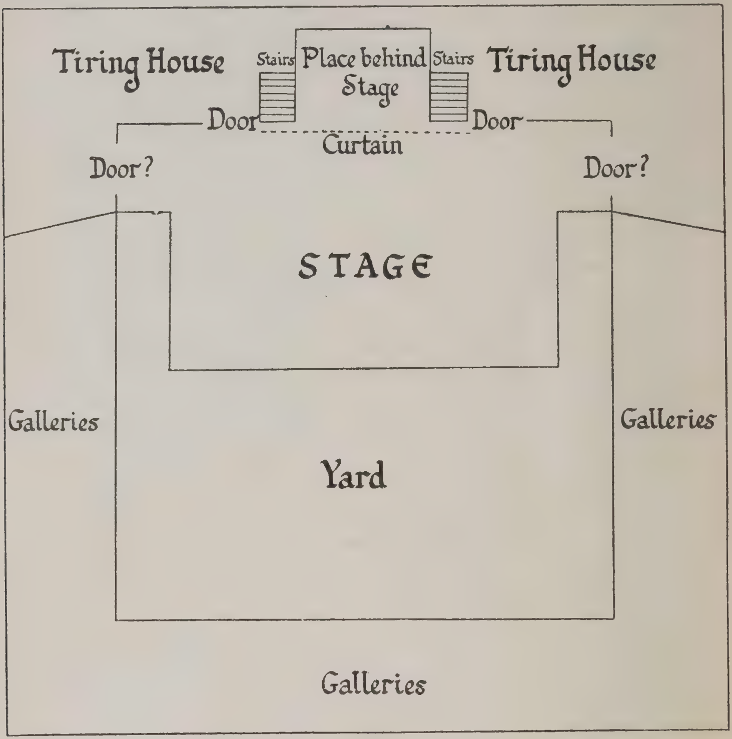
[1] Cf. vol. ii, p. 539.

[2] W. Archer in *Quarterly Review*, ccviii. 470; Graves, 13.

[3] Cf. p. 73. T. Holyoke, *Latin Dict.* (1677), has '*Scena*—the middle door of the stage'.

[4] Lawrence, ii. 50. A window could also be shown in front, if needed, but I know of no clear example; cf. Wegener, 82, 95.

Juliet bids him shut the door. Here, no doubt, the Friar may have looked out and seen Juliet through a back window, and she may have entered by a back door. But in an earlier scene, where we get the stage-direction 'Enter Nurse and knockes', and the knocking is repeated until the Nurse is admitted to the cell, we are, I think, bound to suppose that the entry is in front, in the sight of the audience, and antecedent to the knocking.[1] Perhaps an even clearer case is in *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, where Stukeley's chamber in the Temple is certainly approached from the open stage by a door at which Stukeley's father knocks, and which is unlocked and locked again.[2] Yet how can a door be inserted in that side of a chamber which is open to the stage and the audience. Possibly it was a very conventional door set across the narrow space between the arras and the back wall



A. SQUARE THEATRE (Proportions of Fortune) of the main stage, at the corner of the aperture and at right angles to its plane. The accompanying diagrams will perhaps make my notion of the inner stage clearer.

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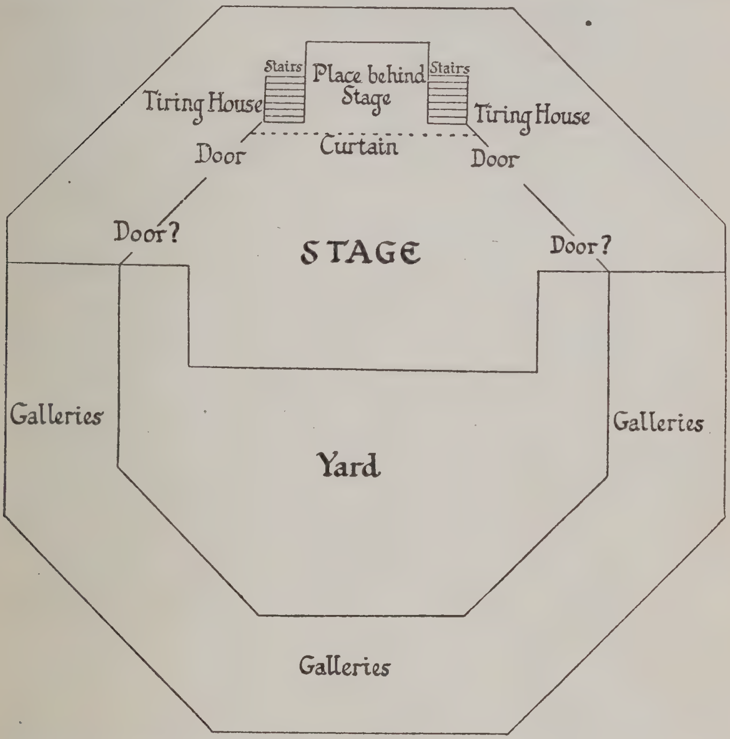
[1] Cf. p. 51, n. 2 (*R. J.*).

[2] Cf. p. 67, n. 1 (*Stukeley*).

It has been suggested, by me as well as by others, that the inner stage may have been raised by a step or two above the outer stage.[1] On reflection, I now think this unlikely. There would be none too much height to spare, at any rate if the height of the alcove was determined by that of the spectators' galleries. The only stage-direction which suggests any such arrangement is in the *Death of Robin Hood*, where the King sits in a chair behind the curtains, and the Queen ascends to him and descends again.[2] But even if the tire-man put up an exalted seat in this case, there need have been no permanent elevation. The missing woodcut of the Anglo-German stage at Frankfort in 1597 is said to have shown a raised inner stage;



B. OCTAGONAL THEATRE (e.g. Globe; size of Fortune) but until it is recovered, it is difficult to estimate its value as testimony upon the structure of the London theatres.[1]

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[1] *Stratford Town Shakespeare*, x. 360; cf. Wegener, 56, 73; Neuendorff, 124; Reynolds, i. 25.

[2] Cf. p. 65, n. 3.

It must not, of course, be taken for granted that every curtain, referred to in text or stage-directions as ' drawn ', was necessarily a back-curtain disclosing an alcove. In some, although not all, of the bedchamber scenes the indications do not of themselves exclude the hypothesis of a bed standing on the open stage and the revealing of the occupant by the mere drawing of bed curtains.[2] I do not think there is any certain example of such an arrangement in a sixteenth-century play.[3] But tents also could be closed by curtains, and the plot of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* requires Henry VI to lie asleep in ' A tent being plast one the stage ', while dumb shows enter ' at one dore ' and ' at an other dore '.[4] However it may have been with other theatres, we cannot, on the evidence before us, assert that the Swan had an alcove at all; and if it had not, it was probably driven to provide for chamber scenes by means of some curtained structure on the stage itself.

On the other hand, it must not be supposed that every case, in which a back curtain was drawn, will have found record in the printed book of the play concerned; and when the existence of an alcove has once been established, it becomes legitimate to infer its use for various chamber and analogous scenes, to the presentation of which it would have been well adapted. But this inference, again, must not be twisted into a theory that the stage in front of the back wall served only for out-of-door scenes, and that all interior action was housed, wholly or in part, in the alcove. This is, I think, demonstrably untrue, as regards the large group of indoor scenes which I have called hall scenes. In the first place, the alcove would not have been spacious enough to be of any value for a great many of the hall scenes. You could not stage spectacular action, such as that of a coronation, a sitting of parliament, or a trial at the bar, in a box of 15 by 13 feet and only 9 feet high. A group of even so many as ten persons clustered round a bed is quite another thing. I admit the device of the so-called ' split ' scene, by which action beginning in the alcove is gradually extended so as to take the whole of the stage into its ambit.[1] This might perhaps serve for a court of justice, with the judges in the alcove, the 'bar' drawn across the aperture, and the prisoners brought in before it. A scene in which the arras is drawn in *Sir Thomas More* points to such a setting.[2] But a scene in which a royal 'state' is the dominating feature would be singularly ineffective if the state were wedged in under the low roof of the alcove; and if I am right in thinking that the 'state' normally creaked down into its position from the heavens, it would clearly land, not within the alcove, but upon the open stage in front of it. Indeed, if it could be placed into position behind a curtain, there would be no reason for bringing it from the heavens at all. Then, again, hall scenes are regularly served by two or more doors, which one certainly would not suppose from the stage-directions to be any other than the doors similarly used to approach out-of-door scenes; and they frequently end with injunctions to 'come in', which would be superfluous if the personages on the stage could be withdrawn from sight by the closing of the curtain. Occasionally, moreover, the gallery over the stage comes into play in a hall scene, in a way which would not be possible if the personages were disposed in the alcove, over which, of course, this gallery projected.[3] Some of these considerations tell more directly against the exclusive use of the alcove for hall scenes, than against its use in combination with the outer stage; and this combined use, where suitable, I am quite prepared to allow. But ordinarily, I think, the hall scenes were wholly on the outer stage; and this must necessarily have been the case where two rooms were employed, of which one opens out behind the other.[4]

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[1] Cf. vol. ii, p. 520.

[2] Of the examples cited on p. 80, n. 3, bed curtains could only suffice for *Selimus*, *Battle of Alcazar*, *1 Rich. II*, and possibly *R. J.* and *Bacon and Bungay*; in the others either there is no bed, or there is a clear indication of a discovered chamber. The curtains in *Sp. Trag.* need separate consideration; cf. p. 93, n. 1.

[3] The s.ds. of *2 Hen. VI*, in so far as they vary from *1 Contention*, may date from the seventeenth century; cf. ch. xxi, p. 113.

[4] *Henslowe Papers*, 130.

It may be said that the main object of the curtain is to allow of the furniture and decorations of a 'set' scene, which is usually an interior scene, being put in place behind it, without any interruption to the continuous progress of an act; and that hall scenes cannot be set properly, unless they also are behind the curtain line. I do not think that there is much in this argument. A hall scene does not require so much setting as a chamber scene. It is sufficiently furnished, at any rate over the greater part of its area, with the state and such lesser seats as can very readily be carried on during the opening speeches or during the procession by which the action is often introduced. A bar can be set up, or a banquet spread, or a sick man brought in on his chair, as part of the action itself.[1] Even an out-of-door scene, such as an execution or a duel in the lists, sometimes demands a similar adjustment;[2] it need no more give pause than the analogous devices entailed by the removal of dead bodies from where they have fallen.

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[1] Prölss, 96; Reynolds, i. 24, 31; Albright, 111.

[2] Cf. p. 63, n. 4.

[3] *Dr. Faustus*, 1007 sqq., is apparently a hall scene, but in 1030 (an addition of 1616 text), 'Enter Benuolio aboue at a window', whence he views the scene with a state. On the play scene, with a gallery for the court, in *Sp. Trag.* IV. ii, cf. p. 93.

[4] *Famous Victories*, sc. viii; *2 Hen. IV*, IV. iv, v; *1 Contention*, scc. x, xi; *2 Hen. VI*, III. ii, iii (cf. p. 65, n. 3); *Edw. II*, 2448–2565; *1 Tr. Raigne*, xii; *K. J.* IV. i (cf. p. 66, n. 1); *Lord Cromwell*, III. ii (cf. p. 67, n. 1); *Downfall of R. Hood*, ind. (cf. p. 68, n. 1); *Arden of Feversham*, V. i (cf. p. 68, n. 2); *1 Hen. IV*, II. iv; *Humorous Day's Mirth*, viii (cf. p. 68, n. 3).

I must not be taken to give any countenance to the doctrine that properties, incongruous to the particular scene that was being played, were allowed to stand on the public Elizabethan stage, and that the audience, actually or through a convention, was not disturbed by them.[3] This doctrine appears to me to rest upon misunderstandings of the evidence produced in its support, and in particular upon a failure to distinguish between the transitional methods of setting employed by Lyly and his clan, and those of the permanent theatres with which we are now concerned. The former certainly permitted of incongruities in the sense that, as the neo-classic stage strove to adapt itself to a romantic subject-matter, separate localities, with inconsistent properties, came to be set at one and the same time in different regions of the stage. But the system proved inadequate to the needs of romanticism, as popular audiences understood it; and, apart from some apparent rejuvenescence in the 'private' houses, with which I must deal later, it gave way, about the time of the building of the permanent theatres, to the alternative system, by which different localities were represented, not synchronously but successively, and each in its turn had full occupation of the whole field of the stage. This full occupation was not, I venture to think, qualified by the presence in any scene of a property inappropriate to that scene, but retained there because it had been used for some previous, or was to be used for some coming, scene. I do not mean to say that some colourless or insignificant property, such as a bench, may not have served, without being moved, first in an indoors and then in an out-of-doors scene. But that the management of the Theatre or the Rose was so bankrupt in ingenuity that the audience had to watch a coronation through a fringe of trees or to pretend unconsciousness while the strayed lovers in a forest dodged each other round the corners of a derelict 'state', I, for one, see no adequate reason to believe. It is chiefly the state and the trees which have caused the trouble. But, after all, a state which has creaked down can creak up again, just as a banquet or a gallows which has been carried on can be carried off. Trees are perhaps a little more difficult. A procession of porters, each with a tree in his arms, would be a legitimate subject for the raillery of *The Admirable Bashville*. A special back curtain painted *en pastoralle* would hardly be adequate, even if there were any evidence for changes of curtain; trees were certainly sometimes practicable and therefore quasi-solid.[1] The alcove, filled with shrubs, would by itself give the illusion of a greenhouse rather than a forest; moreover, the alcove was available in forest scenes to serve as a rustic bower or cottage.[2] Probably the number of trees dispersed over the body of the stage was not great; they were a symbolical rather than a realistic setting. On the whole, I am inclined to think that, at need, trees ascended and descended through traps; and that this is not a mere conjecture is suggested by a few cases in which the ascent and descent, being part of a conjuring action, are recorded in the stage-directions.[3] One of these shows that the traps would carry not merely a tree but an arbour. The traps had, of course, other functions. Through them apparitions arose and sank;[1] Jonah was spewed up from the whale's belly;[2] and the old device of hell-mouth still kept alive a mediaeval tradition.[3] Only primitive hydraulics would have been required to make a fountain flow or a fog arise;[4] although it may perhaps be supposed that the episodes, in which personages pass to and from boats or fling themselves into a river, were performed upon the extreme edge of the stage rather than over a trap.[5] I do not find any clear case, in the public sixteenth-century theatres, of the convention apparently traceable in Lyly and Whetstone, by which the extreme edge of the stage is used for 'approach' scenes, as when a traveller arrives from afar, or when some episode has to be represented in the environs of a city which furnishes the principal setting.[6] And I think it would certainly be wrong to regard the main stage, apart from the alcove, as divided into an inner area covered by the heavens and an outer area, not so covered and appropriate to open-country scenes. Indeed, the notion that any substantial section of the stage appeared to the audience not to lie under the heavens is in my view an illusion due to the unskilful draughtsmanship of De Witt or his copyist. Skyey phenomena belong most naturally to open-country scenes, nor are these wholly debarred from the use of the state; and the machinery employed in both cases seems to imply the existence of a superincumbent heavens.[7]

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[1] Cf. p. 64, n. 6. W. Archer (*Quarterly Review*, ccviii. 457) suggests that convention allowed properties, but not dead or drunken men, to be moved in the sight of the audience by servitors. But as a rule the moving could be treated as part of the action, and need not take place between scenes.

[2] *Rich. II*, I. iii; *2 Edw. IV*, II. iv, 'This while the hangman prepares, Shore at this speech mounts vp the ladder . . . Shoare comes downe'. The Admiral's inventories of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 116) include 'j payer of stayers for Fayeton'.

[3] The dissertations of Reynolds (cf. *Bibl. Note* to ch. xviii) are largely devoted to the exposition of this theory.

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[1] Cf. p. 52, n. 2. The Admiral's inventories of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 116) include 'j baye tree', 'j tree of gowlden apelles', 'Tantelouse tre', as well as 'ij mose banckes'.

[2] Cf. p. 51, n. 3.

[3] *Looking Glass*, II. i. 495, 'The Magi with their rods beate the ground, and from vnder the same riseth a braue Arbour'; *Bacon and Bungay*, sc. ix. 1171, 'Heere Bungay coniures and the tree appeares with the dragon shooting fire'; *W. for Fair Women*, ii. 411, 'Suddenly riseth vp a great tree betweene them'. On the other hand, in *Old Fortunatus*, 609 (ind.), the presenters bring trees on and 'set the trees into the earth'. The t.p. of the 1615 *Spanish Tragedy* shows the arbour of the play as a small trellissed pergola with an arched top, not too large, I should say, to come up and down through a commodious trap.

I come finally to the interesting question of the gallery above the stage. This, in the Swan drawing, may project very slightly over the scenic wall, and is divided by short vertical columns into six small compartments, in each of which one or two occupants are sitting. They might, of course, be personages in the play; but, if so, they seem curiously dissociated from the action. They might be musicians, but they appear to include women, and there is no clear sign of musical instruments. On the whole, they have the air of spectators.[8] However this may be, let us recall what has already been established in an earlier chapter, that there is conclusive evidence for some use of the space above the stage for spectators, at least until the end of the sixteenth century, and for some use of it as a music-room, at least during the seventeenth century.[1] With these uses we have to reconcile the equally clear indications that this region, or some part of it, was available when needed, throughout the whole of the period under our consideration, as a field for dramatic action. For the moment we are only concerned with the sixteenth century. A glance back over my footnotes will show many examples in which action is said to be 'above' or 'aloft', or is accompanied by the ascent or descent of personages from or to the level of the main stage. This interplay of different levels is indeed the outstanding characteristic of the Elizabethan public theatre, as compared with the other systems of stage presentment to which it stands in relation. There are mediaeval analogies, no doubt, and one would not wish to assert categorically that no use was ever made of a balcony or a house-roof in a Greek or Roman or Italian setting. But, broadly speaking, the classical and neo-classical stage-tradition, apart from theophanies, is one of action on a single level. Even in the Elizabethan Court drama, the platform comes in late and rarely, although the constant references to 'battlements' in the Revels Accounts enable us to infer that, by the time when the public theatres came to be built, the case of *Orestes* was not an isolated one. Battlements, whatever the extension which the Revels officers came to give to the term, were primarily for the beloved siege scenes, and to the way in which siege scenes were treated in the theatres I must revert. But from two plays, *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* and *The Woman in the Moon*, both of which probably represent a late development of the Court drama, we may gather at least one other definite function of the platform, as a point of vantage from which presenters, in both cases of a divine type, may sit 'sunning like a crow in a gutter', and watch the evolution of their puppets on the stage below.[2] This disposition of presenters 'aloft' finds more than one parallel in the public theatres. The divine element is retained in *The Battle of Alcazar*, where Henslowe's plot gives us, as part of the

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[1] *1 Contention*, sc. ii (cf. p. 56, n. 3); *John a Kent*, III. i (cf. p. 74, n. 3); &c.

[2] *Looking Glass*, IV. ii, s.d. 'Jonas the Prophet cast out of the Whales belly vpon the Stage'.

[3] *Dr. Faustus*, 1450, s.d. (addition of 1616 text), 'Hell is discouered'; cf. p. 72 for the description of the imaginary stage in the *Wagner Book*. The Admiral's inventories of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 116) include 'j Hell mought'.

[4] *Arden of Feversham*, IV. ii, iii.

[5] Cf. p. 51.

[6] Cf. p. 43.

[7] Cf. p. 76.

[8] Of the late woodcuts, *Roxana* shows 'above' two compartments, clearly with spectators; *Messalina* one, closed by curtains; *The Wits*

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a central one closed by curtains, and three on each side, with female spectators. In view of their dates and doubtful provenances (cf. *Bibl. Note* to ch. xviii), these are no evidence for the sixteenth-century public theatre, but they show that at some plays, public or private, the audience continued to sit 'over the stage' well in to the seventeenth century.

[1] Cf. vol. ii, p. 542.

[2] Cf. p. 45.

direction for a dumb show, 'Enter aboue Nemesis'.[1] There are traces of it also in *James IV* and in *A Looking Glass for London and England*. In *James IV* the presenters are Bohan, a Scot, and Oberon, king of fairies. They come on the stage for an induction, at the end of which Bohan says, 'Gang with me to the Gallery, and Ile show thee the same in action by guid fellowes of our country men', and they '*Exeunt*'. Obviously they watch the action, for they enter again and comment upon it during act intervals. One of their interpositions is closed with the words 'Gow shrowd vs in our harbor'; another with 'Lets to our sell, and sit & see the rest'.[2] In the *Looking Glass* we get after the first scene the direction, 'Enters brought in by an angell Oseas the Prophet, and set downe ouer the Stage in a Throne'. Oseas is evidently a presenter; the actors ignore him, but he makes moral comments after various scenes, and at the end of Act IV comes the further direction, 'Oseas taken away'.[3] Purely human presenters in *The Taming of a Shrew* are still on a raised level. Sly is removed from the main stage during the first scene of the induction. He is brought back at the beginning of the second scene, presumably above, whence he criticizes the play, for towards the end the lord bids his servants

> lay him in the place where we did find him,
> Just underneath the alehouse side below;

and this is done by way of an epilogue.[4]

I do not suggest that presenters were always above; it is not so when they merely furnish the equivalent of a prologue or epilogue, but only when it is desired to keep them visible during the action, and on the other hand they must not obstruct it. Sometimes, even when their continued presence might be desirable, it has to be dispensed with, or otherwise provided for. The presenters in *Soliman and Perseda* come and go; those in *The Spanish Tragedy* sit upon the stage itself. Why? I think the answer is the same in both cases. A platform was required for other purposes. In *Soliman and Perseda* one scene has the outer wall of a tiltyard reached by ladders from the stage; another has a tower, from which victims are tumbled down out of sight.[5] In the *Spanish*

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[1] *Henslowe Papers*, 139.

[2] *James IV*, 106, 605, 618, 1115.

[3] *Looking Glass*, 152, 1756.

[4] *T. of a Shrew*, scc. ii, xvi. In *T. of the Shrew*, sc. ii of the Induction is 'aloft' (1), and the presenters 'sit' to watch the play (147), but they only comment once (I. i. 254) with the s.d. 'The Presenters aboue speakes', and Sly is not carried down at the end.

[5] Cf. p. 57, n. 4. The main induction ends (38) with, 'Why stay we

Tragedy, apart from some minor action 'above', there is the elaborate presentation of Hieronimo's 'play within the play' to be provided for. This must be supposed to be part of a hall scene. It occupies, with its preparations, most of the fourth, which is the last, act; and for it the King and his train are clearly seated in an upper 'gallerie', while the performance takes place on the floor of the hall below, with the body of Horatio concealed behind a curtain, for revelation at the appropriate moment.[1] We are thus brought face to face with an extension on the public stage of the use of 'above', beyond what is entailed by the needs of sieges or of exalted presenters. Nor, of course, are the instances already cited exhaustive. The gallery overlooking a hall in the *Spanish Tragedy* has its parallel in the window overlooking a hall in *Dr. Faustus*.[2] More frequent is an external window, door, or balcony, overlooking an external scene in street or garden.[3] In these cases the action 'above' is generally slight. Some one appears in answer to a summons from without; an eavesdropper listens to a conversation below; a girl talks to her lover, and there may be an ascent or descent with the help of a rope-ladder or a basket. But

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then? Lets giue the Actors leaue, And, as occasion serues, make our returne'.

[1] Revenge says (I. i. 90), 'Here sit we downe to see the misterie, And serue for Chorus in this Tragedie', and the Ghost (III. xv. 38), 'I will sit to see the rest'. In IV. i Hieronimo discusses with his friends a tragedy which he has promised to give before the Court, and alludes (184) to 'a wondrous shew besides, That I will haue there behinde a curtaine'. The actual performance occupies part of IV. iii, iv (a continuous scene). In IV. iii. 1, 'Enter Hieronimo; he knocks up the curtaine'. We must not be misled by the modern French practice of knocking for the rise of the front curtain. The tragedy has not yet begun, and this is no front curtain, but the curtain already referred to in IV. i, which Hieronimo is now hammering up to conceal the dead body of Horatio, as part of the setting which he is arranging at one end of the main stage. The Duke of Castile now enters, and it is clear that the Court audience are to sit 'above', for Hieronimo begs the Duke (12) that 'when the traine are past into the gallerie, You would vouchsafe to throw me downe the key'. He then bids (16) a Servant 'Bring a chaire and a cushion for the King' and 'hang up the Title: Our scene is Rhodes'. We are still concerned with Court customs, and no light is thrown on the possible use of title-boards on the public stage (cf. p. 126). The royal train take their places, and the performance is given. Hieronimo epilogizes and suddenly (IV. iv. 88) 'Shewes his dead sonne'. Now it is clear why he wanted the key of the gallery, for (152) 'He runs to hange himselfe', and (157) 'They breake in, and hold Hieronimo'.

[2] Cf. p. 87, n. 3.

[3] *Locrine*, I. iii; *Sp. Trag.* II. ii, III. ii, ix; *T. A.* V. ii; *T. G.* IV. ii, iv; *R. J.* II. ii, III. v; *M. V.* II. vi; *Englishmen for my Money*, sc. ix; *Two Angry Women*, 1495; cf. p. 56, n. 3, p. 58, n. 4, p. 67, n. 1.

there are a few plays in which we are obliged to constitute the existence of a regular chamber scene, with several personages and perhaps furniture, set 'above'. The second scene of the induction to the *Taming of the Shrew*, just cited, is already a case in point. The presenters here do not merely sit, as spectators in the lord's room might, and listen. They move about a chamber and occupy considerable space. Scenes which similarly require the whole interior of an upper room to be visible, and not merely its balcony or window bay, are to be found in *1 Sir John Oldcastle*, in *Every Man In his Humour*, twice in *The Jew of Malta*, in *2 Henry IV*, and in *Look About You.*[1] I do not know whether I ought to add *Romeo and Juliet.* Certainly the love scenes, Act II, scc. i and ii, and Act III, sc. v, require Juliet's chamber to be aloft, and in these there is no interior action entailing more than the sound of voices, followed by the appearance of the speakers over Juliet's shoulder as she stands at the casement or on a balcony.[2] It would be natural to assume that the chamber of Act IV, sc. iii, in which Juliet drinks her potion, and sc. v, in which she is found lying on her bed, is the same, and therefore also aloft. Obviously its interior, with the bed and Juliet, must be visible to the spectators. The difficulty is that it also appears to be visible to the wedding guests and the musicians, as they enter the court-yard from without; and this could only be, if it were upon the main level of the stage. If the scene stood by itself, one would undoubtedly assign it to the curtained recess behind the stage; and on the whole it is probable that on this occasion architectural consistency was sacrificed to dramatic effect, and Juliet's chamber was placed sometimes above and sometimes below.[1] There is one other type of scene which requires elevated action, and that is the senate-house scene, as we find it in *The Wounds of Civil War* and in *Titus Andronicus*, where the Capitol clearly stands above the Forum, but is within ear-shot and of easy approach.[2]

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[1] Cf. p. 66, n. 1, p. 67, n. 1, p. 68, n. 2, p. 68, n. 3.

[2] In *R. J.* II. ii Romeo is in the orchard, and (2) 'But soft, what light through yonder window breaks?' The lovers discourse, he below, she 'o'er my head' (27). Presently (F_1; Q_1 is summary here) Juliet says 'I hear some noise within' (136), followed by s.d. 'Cals within' and a little later 'Within: Madam', twice. Juliet then 'Exit' (155), and (159) 'Enter Juliet again'. Modern editors have reshuffled the s.ds. In III. v, Q_2 (reproduced in F_1), in addition to textual differences from Q_1, may represent a revised handling of the scene. Q_1 begins 'Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window'. They discuss the dawn. Then 'He goeth downe', speaks from below, and 'Exit'. Then 'Enter Nurse hastely' and says 'Your Mother's comming to your Chamber'. Then 'She goeth downe from the Window'. I take this to refer to Juliet, and to close the action above, at a point represented by III. v. 64 of the modern text. Then follow 'Enter Juliets Mother, Nurse' and a dialogue below. Q_2 begins 'Enter Romeo and Juliet aloft'. Presently (36) 'Enter Madame [? an error] and Nurse', and the warning is given while Romeo is still above. Juliet says (41) 'Then, window, let day in, and let life out', and Romeo, 'I'll descend'. After his 'Exit' comes 'Enter Mother' (64), and pretty clearly discourses with Juliet, not below, but in her chamber. Otherwise there would be no meaning in Juliet's 'Is she not downe so late or vp so early? What vnaccustomd cause procures her hither?' Probably, although there is no s.d., they descend (125) to meet Capulet, for at the end of the scene Juliet bids the Nurse (231) 'Go in', and herself 'Exit' to visit Friar Laurence.

I think we are bound to assume that some or all of this action 'above' took place in the gallery 'over the stage', where it could be readily approached from the tiring-house behind, and could be disposed with the minimum of obstruction to the vision of the auditorium. A transition from the use of this region for spectators to its use for action is afforded by the placing there of those idealized spectators, the presenters. So far as they are concerned, all that would be needed, in a house arranged like the Swan, would be to assign to them one or more, according to their number, of the rooms or compartments, into which the gallery was normally divided. One such compartment, too, would serve well for a window, and would be accepted without demur as forming part of the same 'domus' to which a door below, or, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, a penthouse set in the central aperture, gave access. To get a practicable chamber, it would be necessary to take down a partition and throw two of the compartments, probably the two central compartments, into one; but there would still be four rooms left for the lords. As a matter of fact, most upper chamber scenes, even of the sixteenth century, are of later date than the Swan drawing, and some architectural evolution, including the provision of a music-room, may already have taken place, and have been facilitated by the waning popularity of the lord's rooms. It will be easier to survey the whole evolution of the upper stage in the next chapter.[3] For the present, let us think of the upper chamber as running back on the first floor of the tiring-house above the alcove, and reached from within by stairs behind the scenic wall, of which, if desired, the foot could perhaps be made visible within the alcove.[4] Borrowed light could be given by a window at the back, from which also the occupants of the room could pretend to look out behind.[1] Internal doors could of course also be made available. A scene in *The Jew of Malta* requires a trap in the floor of the upper chamber, over a cauldron discovered in the alcove below.[2] The upper chamber could be fitted, like the alcove itself, with an independent curtain for discoveries.[3]

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[1] Cf. p. 65, n. 3.

[2] Cf. p. 58, n. 2.

[3] Cf. p. 119.

[4] *Arden of Feversham*, III. i (p. 61, n. 3), and *Death of R. Hood*, IV. i (p. 66, n. 1), require stairs of which the foot or 'threshold' is visible. For the execution scene in *Sir T. More*, sc. xvii (p. 57, n. 2), the whole stairs should be visible, but perhaps here, as elsewhere, the scaffold, although More likens it to a 'gallerie', was to be at least in part a supple-

Are we to conclude that all action 'above' was on or behind the back line of the stage? The point upon which I feel most uncertainty is the arrangement of the battlements in the stricter sense.[4] These appear to be generally regarded as running along the whole of the back line, with the gates of the town or castle represented in the central aperture below. Some writers suggest that they occupied, not the actual space of the rooms or boxes 'over the stage', but a narrow balcony running in front of these.[5] I cannot satisfy myself that the Swan drawing bears out the existence of any projecting ledge adequate for the purpose. On the other hand, if all the compartments of the gallery were made available and their partitions removed, all the spectators 'over the stage' must have been displaced; and siege scenes are early, and numerous. I do not know that it is essential to assume that the battlements extended beyond the width of two compartments. There is some definite evidence for a position of the 'walles' on the scenic line, apart from the patent convenience of keeping the main stage clear for besieging armies, in Jasper Mayne's laudation of Ben Jonson:

> Thou laid'st no sieges to the music room.[6]

I am content to believe that this is where they normally stood. At the same time, it is possible that alternative arrangements were not unknown. In the *Wagner Book*, which must be supposed to describe a setting of a type not incredible on the public stage, we are told of a high throne,

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mentary structure. The Admiral's inventory of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 116; cf. ch. ii, p. 168) included 'j payer of stayers for Fayeton'. In *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iii (p. 57, n. 4), where the back wall represents the outer wall of a tiltyard, ladders are put up against it.

[1] Albright, 66; Lawrence, ii. 45. I am not prepared to accept the theory that in *R. J.* III. v Romeo descends his ladder from behind; cf. p. 94, n. 2. The other examples cited are late, but I should add the 'window that goes out into the leads' of *1 Oldcastle*, 2016 (p. 66, n. 1).

[2] *Jew of Malta*, v. 2316; cf. p. 68, n. 5.

[3] *E. M. I.* I. v, 'Bobadilla discouers himselfe: on a bench'.

[4] Cf. p. 54, nn. 2–5.

[5] See the conjectural reconstruction in Albright, 120.

[6] *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638).

presumably at the back, of hell mouth 'at the one end of the stage', and of an elaborate castle 'at the other end in opposition'. This is 'the place where in the bloudlesse skirmishes are so often perfourmed upon the stage', and although I should not press this as meaning that the walls were always at an 'end' of the stage, the passage would be absurd, if they were invariably at the back.[1] Further, there is at least one extant play in which it is very difficult to envisage certain scenes with the walls at the back. This is *1 Henry VI*, the Orleans scenes of which, with the leaping over the walls, and the rapid succession of action in the market-place within the town and in the field without, seem to me clearly to point to walls standing across the main stage from back to front.[2] But if so, how were such walls put into place? The imagination boggles at the notion of masons coming in to build a wall during the action, in the way in which attendants might set up a bar or a lists, or carpenters the gibbet for an execution. Bottom's device for *Pyramus and Thisbe* would hardly be more grotesque. Yet the Orleans siege scenes in *1 Henry VI* are by no means coincident with acts, and could not therefore be set in advance and dismantled at leisure when done with. Can the walls have been drawn forwards and backwards, with the help of some machine, through the doors or the central aperture?[3] It is not inconceivable, and possibly we have here the explanation of the 'j whell and frame in the Sege of London', which figures in the Admiral's inventories. Once the possibility of a scenic structure brought on to the main stage is mooted, one begins to look for other kinds of episode in which it would be useful. This, after all, may have been the way in which a gibbet was introduced, and the Admiral's had also 'j frame for the heading in Black Jone', although nothing is said of a wheel.[4] The senate houses could, I think, have been located in the gallery, but the beacon in *King Leir* would not look plausible there, and the Admiral's had a beacon, apparently as a detached property.[1] I am also inclined to think that a wall may occasionally have been drawn across the stage to make a close of part of it for a garden scene. In Act II of *Romeo and Juliet* Romeo pretty clearly comes in with his friends in some public place of the city, and then leaps a wall into an orchard, where he is lost to their sight, and finds himself under Juliet's window. He must have a wall to leap. I mentioned *Pyramus and Thisbe* just above with intent, for what is *Pyramus and Thisbe* but a burlesque of the *Romeo and Juliet* motive, which would have been all the more amusing, if a somewhat conspicuous and unusual wall had been introduced into its model? Another case in point may be the 'close walk' before Labervele's house in *A Humorous Day's Mirth*.[2] I have allowed myself to stray into the field of conjecture.

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[1] Cf. p. 72.

[2] *1 Hen. VI*, II. i (p. 54, n. 5). This arrangement would also fit I. ii, in which a shot is fired from the walls at 'the turrets', which could then be represented by the back wall. On a possible similar wall in the Court play of *Dido*, cf. p. 36.

[3] W. Archer (*Quarterly Review*, ccviii. 466) suggests the possible use of a machine corresponding to the Greek ἐκκύκλημα (on which cf. A. E. Haigh, *Attic Theatre*³, 201), although he is thinking of it as a device for 'thrusting' out a set interior from the alcove, which does not seem to me necessary.

[4] *Henslowe Papers*, 118. The 'j payer of stayers for Fayeton' may have been a similar structure; cf. p. 95, n. 4. Otway, *Venice Preserved* (*1682*), v, has 'Scene opening discovers a scaffold and a wheel prepared for the executing of Pierre'.

One other possible feature of action 'above' must not be left out of account. The use of the gallery may have been supplemented on occasion by that of some window or balcony in the space above it, which De Witt's drawing conceals from our view. Here may have been the 'top' on which La Pucelle appears in the Rouen episode of *1 Henry VI*, and the towers or turrets, which are sometimes utilized or referred to in this and other plays.[3] It would be difficult to describe the central boxes of the Swan gallery as a tower.

Before any attempt is made to sum up the result of this long chapter, one other feature of sixteenth-century staging, which is often overlooked, requires discussion. In the majority of cases the background of an out-of-door scene need contain at most a single *domus*; and this, it is now clear, can be represented either by a light structure, such as a tent or arbour, placed temporarily upon the floor of the stage, or more usually by the *scena* or back wall, with its doors, its central aperture, and its upper gallery. There are, however, certain scenes in which one *domus* will not suffice, and two or possibly even three, must be represented. Thus, as in *Richard III*, there may be two hostile camps, with alternating action at tents in each of them.[4] There may also be interplay, without change of scene, between different houses in one town or village. In *Arden of Feversham*, Arden's house and the painter's are set together;[1] in *The Taming of A Shrew*, the lord's house and the alehouse for the induction, and Polidor's and Alphonso's during the main play;[2] in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, the houses of Elimine and Samethis;[3] in *1 Sir John Oldcastle*, Cobham's gate and an inn;[4] in *Stukeley*, Newton's house and a chamber in the Temple;[5] in *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, Lelio's and Bristeo's for one scene, Lelio's and a Senator's for another, possibly Lelio's and Servio's, though of this I am less sure, for a third.[6] These are the most indisputable cases; given the principle, we are at liberty to conjecture its application in other plays. Generally the houses may be supposed to be contiguous; it is not so in *Stukeley*, where Old Stukeley clearly walks some little distance to the Temple, and here therefore we get an example of that foreshortening of distance between two parts of a city, with which we became familiar in the arrangement of Court plays.[7] It is not the only example. In *George a Greene* Jenkin and the Shoemaker walk from one end to the other of Wakefield.[8] In *Arden of Feversham*, although this is an open-country and not an urban scene, Arden and Francklin travel some little way to Raynham Down.[9] In *Dr. Faustus*, so far as we can judge from the unsatisfactory text preserved, any limitation to a particular neighbourhood is abandoned, and Faustus passes without change of scene from the Emperor's Court to his own home in Wittenberg.[10] Somewhat analogous is the curious device in *Romeo and Juliet*, where the maskers, after preparing in the open, 'march about the stage', while the scene changes to the hall of Capulet, which they then enter.[1]

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[1] *Henslowe Papers*, 116.

[2] Cf. p. 56, nn. 2, 3. The courtyard in *Arden of Feversham*, III. i, ii, might have been similarly staged.

[3] *1 Hen. VI*, I. ii (a tower with a 'grate' in it), III. ii (p. 55); *1 Contention*, sc. iii (p. 56); *Soliman and Perseda*, V. ii. 118 (p. 57); *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, sc. ii (p. 62); *Old Fortunatus*, 769 (p. 63).

[4] Cf. p. 54.

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[1] *Arden of Feversham*, sc. i, begins before Arden's house whence Alice is called forth (55); but, without any break in the dialogue, we get (245) 'This is the painter's house', although we are still (318) 'neare' Arden's, where the speakers presently (362) breakfast.

[2] *T. of A Shrew*, sc. xvi (cf. p. 92), scc. iii, iv, v (a continuous scene). *T. of The Shrew*, I. i, ii, is similarly before the houses both of Baptista and Hortensio.

[3] *Blind Beggar*, scc. v, vii. The use of the houses seems natural, but not perhaps essential.

[4] *1 Oldcastle*, II. i. 522, 632.

[5] Cf. p. 67, n. 1.

[6] *K. to K. Honest Man*, sc. v. 396, 408, 519, 559; sc. vii. 662, 738, 828, 894; sc. xv. 1385, 1425, 1428; cf. Graves, 65.

[7] Cf. pp. 25, 33.

[8] *George a Greene*, sc. xi. 1009, 'Wil you go to the townes end . . . Now we are at the townes end'.

[9] *A. of Feversham*, III. vi. 55, 'See Ye ouertake vs ere we come to Raynum down' . . . (91) 'Come, we are almost now at Raynum downe'.

[10] *Dr. Faustus*, 1110, 'let vs Make haste to Wertenberge . . . til I am past this faire and pleasant greene, ile walke on foote', followed immediately by 'Enter a Horse-courser' to Faustus, evidently in his 'chaire' (1149) at Wittenberg.

I think, then, it must be taken that the background of a public stage could stand at need, not merely for a single *domus*, but for a 'city'. Presumably in such cases the central aperture and the gallery above it were reserved for any house in which interior action was to proceed, and for the others mere doors in the scenic wall were regarded as adequate. I do not find any sixteenth-century play which demands either interior action or action 'above' in more than one house.[2] But a question arises as to how, for a scene in which the scenic doors had to represent house doors, provision was made for external entrances and exits, which certainly cannot be excluded from such scenes. Possibly the answer is, although I feel very doubtful about it, that there were never more than two houses, and that therefore one door always remained available to lead on and off the main stage.[3] Possibly also entrances and exits by other avenues than the two scenic doors, which we infer from the Swan drawing, and the central aperture which we feel bound to add, are not inconceivable. We have already had some hint that three may not have been the maximum number of entrances. If the Elizabethan theatre limited itself to three, it would have been worse off than any of the early neo-classic theatres based upon Vitruvius, in which the *porta regia* and *portae minores* of the scenic wall were regularly supplemented by the *viae ad forum* in the *versurae* to right and left of the *proscenium*.[4] No doubt such wings could not be constructed at the Swan, where a space was left on the level of the 'yard' between the spectators' galleries and the right and left edges of a narrow stage. But they would be feasible in theatres with wider stages, and the arrangement, if it existed, would make the problem of seats on the stage easier.[5] It is no more than a conjecture. It has also been suggested that the heavy columns drawn by De Witt may have prevented him from showing two entrances round the extreme ends of the scenic wall, such as are perhaps indicated in some of the Terentian woodcuts of 1493.[1] Or, finally, actors might have emerged from the tiring-house into the space on the level of the yard just referred to, and thence reached the stage, as from without, by means of a short flight of steps.[2]

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[1] *R. J.* I. iv. 113, where, in Q_1, Romeo's 'on lustie Gentlemen' to the maskers is followed by 'Enter old Capulet with the Ladies', while in Q_2, Benvolio responds 'Strike drum', and then 'They march about the Stage, and Seruingmen come forth with Napkins', prepare the hall, and 'Exeunt', when 'Enter all the guests and gentlewomen to the Maskers'.

[2] In *T. of The Shrew*, V. i. 17, 'Pedant lookes out of the window', while the presenters are presumably occupying the gallery, but even if this is a sixteenth-century s.d., the window need not be an upper one.

[3] The s.d. to *Sp. Trag.* III. xi. 8, where 'He goeth in at one doore and comes out at another', is rather obscure, but the doors are probably those of a house which has just been under discussion, and if so, more than one door was sometimes supposed to belong to the same house.

[4] Cf. pp. 3, 4, 11.

[5] See my diagrams on pp. 84–5.

Working then from the Swan stage, and only departing in any essential from De Witt's drawing by what appears to be, at any rate for theatres other than the Swan, the inevitable addition of a back curtain, we find no insuperable difficulty in accounting for the setting of all the types of scenes recognizable in sixteenth-century plays. The great majority of them, both out-of-door scenes and hall scenes, were acted on the open stage, under the heavens, with no more properties and practicable *terrains* than could reasonably be carried on by the actors, lowered from the heavens, raised by traps, or thrust on by frames and wheels. For more permanent background they had the scenic doors, the gallery above, the scenic curtain, and whatever the tire-man might choose to insert in the aperture, backed by an alcove within the tire-house, which the drawing of the curtain discovered. For entrances they had at least the scenic doors and aperture. The comparatively few chamber scenes were set either in the alcove or in a chamber 'above', formed by throwing together two compartments of the gallery. A window in a still higher story could, if necessary, be brought into play. So, with all due respect to the obscurities of the evidence, I reconstruct the facts. It will, I hope, be apparent without any elaborate demonstration that this system of public staging, as practised by Burbadge at the Theatre, by Lanman at the Curtain, by Henslowe at the Rose, and perhaps with some modifications by Langley at the Swan, is very fairly in line with the earlier sixteenth-century tradition, as we have studied it in texts in which the Court methods are paramount. This is only natural, in view of the fact that the same plays continued to be presented to the public and to the sovereign. There is the same economy of recessed action, the same conspicuous tendency to dialogue on a threshold, the same unwillingness to break the flow of an act by any deliberate pause for resetting. The public theatre gets in some ways a greater variety of dramatic situation, partly owing to its free use of the open stage, instead of merely a portico, for hall scenes, partly owing to its characteristic development of action ' above '. This, in spite of the battlements of the Revels accounts, may perhaps be a contribution of the inn-yard. The main change is, of course, the substitution for the multiple staging of the Court, with its adjacent regions for different episodes, of a principle of successive staging, by which the whole space became in turn available for each distinct scene. This was an inevitable change, as soon as the Elizabethan love for history and romance broke down the Renaissance doctrine of the unity of place; and it will not be forgotten that the beginnings of it are already clearly discernible in the later Court drama, which of course overlaps with the popular drama, itself. Incidentally the actors got elbow-room; some of the Lylyan scenes must have been very cramped. But they had to put up with a common form setting, capable only of minor modifications, and no doubt their architectural decorations and unvarying curtain were less interesting from the point of view of *spectacle*, than the diversity of ' houses ' which the ingenuity and the resources of the Court architects were in a position to produce. In any case, however, economy would probably have forbidden them to enter into rivalry with the Revels Office. Whether the Elizabethan type of public stage was the invention of Burbadge, the ' first builder of theatres ', or had already come into use in the inn-yards, is perhaps an idle subject for wonder. The only definite guess at its origin is that of Professor Creizenach, who suggests that it may have been adapted from the out-of-door stages, set up from time to time for the dramatic contests held by the Rederijker or Chambers of Rhetoric in Flanders.[1] Certainly there are common features in the division of the field of action into two levels and the use of curtained apertures both below and above. But the latest examples of the Flemish festivals were at Ghent in 1539 and at Antwerp in 1561 respectively; and it would be something of a chance if Burbadge or any other English builder had any detailed knowledge of them.[2]

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[1] W. Archer in *Universal Review* (1888), 281; J. Le G. Brereton, *De Witt at the Swan* (*Sh. Homage*, 204); cf. p. 7.

[2] Serlio's 'comic' and 'tragic' scenes (cf. App. G) show steps to the auditorium from the front of the stage.

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[1] Creizenach, iii. 446; iv. 424 (Eng. tr. 370), with engravings from printed descriptions of 1539 and 1562.

[2] The contest of 1561 is described in a long letter to Sir Thomas Gresham (Burgon, i. 377) by his agent at Antwerp, Richard Clough. It might be possible to trace a line of affiliation from another of Gresham's servants, Thomas Dutton, who was his post from Antwerp *temp.* Edw. VI, and his agent at Hamburg *c.* 1571 (Burgon, i. 109; ii. 421). The actor Duttons, John and Laurence, seem also to have served as posts from Antwerp and elsewhere (cf. ch. xv).

XXI

STAGING IN THE THEATRES: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

[For *Bibliographical Note, vide* ch. xviii.]

The turn of the century is also a turning-point in the history of the public theatres. In 1599 the Chamberlain's men built the Globe, and in 1600, not to be outdone, the Admiral's men built upon the same model the Fortune. These remained the head-quarters of the same companies, when at the beginning of the reign of James the one became the King's and the other the Prince's men. Worcester's, afterwards the Queen's, men were content for a time with the older houses, first the Rose, then the Curtain and the Boar's Head, but by 1605 or 1606 they were occupying the Red Bull, probably a new building, but one of which we know very little. Meanwhile the earlier Tudor fashion of plays by boys had been revived, both at Paul's, and at the Blackfriars, where a theatre had been contrived by James Burbadge about 1596 in a chamber of the ancient priory, for the purposes of a public stage.

We cannot on *a priori* grounds assume that the structural arrangements of the sixteenth-century houses were merely carried into those of the seventeenth century without modification; the experience of twenty-five years' working may well have disclosed features in the original plan of James Burbadge which were not altogether convenient or which lent themselves to further development. On the other hand, we have not got to take into account the possibility of any fundamental change or sharp breach of continuity. The introduction of a new type of stage, even if it escaped explicit record, would inevitably have left its mark both upon the dramatic construction of plays and upon the wording of their stage-directions. No such mark can be discerned. You cannot tell an early seventeenth-century play from a late sixteenth-century one on this kind of evidence alone; the handling and the conventions, the situations and the spectacular effects, remain broadly the same, and such differences as do gradually become apparent, concern rather the trend of dramatic interest than the external methods of stage presentation. Moreover, it is evident that the sixteenth-century plays did not pass wholly into disuse. From time to time they were revived, and lent themselves, perhaps with some minor adaptation, to the new boards as well as to the old. In dealing with early seventeenth-century staging, then, I will assume the general continuance of the sixteenth-century plan, and will content myself with giving some further examples of its main features, and with considering any evidence which may seem to point to specific development in one or more particular directions. And on the whole it will be convenient to concentrate now mainly upon the theatres occupied by the King's men. For this there are various reasons. One is that the possession of Shakespeare's plays gives them a prerogative interest in modern eyes; another that the repertories of the other companies have hardly reached us in a form which renders any very safe induction feasible.

Even in the case of the King's men, the material is not very ample, and there are complications which make it necessary to proceed by cautious steps to somewhat tentative conclusions. The Globe was probably opened in the autumn of 1599. The first play which we can definitely locate there is *Every Man Out of his Humour*; but I have decided with some hesitation to treat *Henry V* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, for the purposes of these chapters, as Globe plays.[1] So far as we know, the Globe was the only theatre used by the company up to the winter of 1609, when they also came into possession of the Blackfriars. From 1609 to 1613 they used both houses, but probably the Globe was still the more important of the two, for when it was burnt in 1613 they found it worth while to rebuild it fairer than before. At some time, possibly about the end of James's reign, the Blackfriars began to come into greater prominence, and gradually displaced the Globe as the main head-quarters of the London drama. This, however, is a development which lies outside the scope of these volumes; nor can I with advantage inquire in detail whether there were any important structural features in which the new Globe is likely to have differed from the old Globe. At the most I can only offer a suggestion for the historian of the Caroline stage to take up in his turn. In the main, therefore, we have to consider the staging of the Globe from 1599 to 1609, and of the Globe and the Blackfriars from 1609 to 1613. The plays available fall into four groups.

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[1] *Thomas Lord Cromwell* and *A Larum for London*, dealt with in the last chapter, might also be Globe plays.

There are nineteen or twenty printed and probably produced during 1599–1609, of which, however, one or two were originally written for private theatres.[1] There are two produced and printed during 1609–12, and one preserved in manuscript from the same period.[2] There are ten probably produced during 1599–1603, but not printed before 1622 or 1623.[3] There are perhaps nine or ten produced during 1609–13, and printed at various dates from 1619 to 1634.[4] It will be seen that the first group is of much the greatest value evidentially, as well as fortunately the longest, but that it only throws light upon the Globe and not upon the Blackfriars; that the value of the second and fourth groups is discounted by our not knowing how far they reflect Globe and how far Blackfriars conditions; and that the original features of the third and fourth groups may have been modified in revivals, either at the Blackfriars or at the later Globe, before they got into print. I shall use them all, but, I hope, with discrimination.[5] I shall also use, for illustration and confirmation, rather than as direct evidence, plays from other seventeenth-century theatres. The Prince's men were at the Fortune during the whole of the period with which we are concerned, and then on to and after the fire of 1621, and the reconstruction, possibly on new lines, of 1623. We know that its staging arrangements resembled those of the Globe, for it was provided in the builder's contract that this should be so, and also that the stage should be 'placed and sett' in accordance with 'a plott thereof drawen'. Alleyn would have saved me a great deal of trouble if he had put away this little piece of paper along with so many others. Unfortunately, the Prince's men kept their plays very close, and only five or six of our period got into print before 1623.[1] From the Queen's men we have rather more, perhaps sixteen in all; but we do not always know whether these were given at the Red Bull or the Curtain. Nor do we know whether any structural improvements introduced at the Globe and Fortune were adopted at the Red Bull, although this is *a priori* not unlikely.[2] From the Swan we have only *The Chaste Maid of Cheapside*, and from the Hope only *Bartholomew Fair*.

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[1] *Henry V*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Pericles*, *Every Man Out of his Humour*, *Sejanus*, *Volpone*, *Yorkshire Tragedy*, *London Prodigal*, *Fair Maid of Bristow*, *Devil's Charter*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Revenger's Tragedy*, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, and perhaps *1 Jeronimo*; with the second version of *Malcontent*, originally a Queen's Revels play, and *Satiromastix*, the s.ds. of which perhaps belong rather to Paul's, where it was also played.

[2] *Catiline*, *Alchemist*; *Second Maid's Tragedy*.

[3] *Julius Caesar*, *Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Timon of Athens*.

[4] *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale*, *Tempest*, *Henry VIII*, *Duchess of Malfi*, *Two Noble Kinsmen*, *Maid's Tragedy*, *King and no King*, *Philaster*, and perhaps *Thierry and Theodoret*.

[5] I have only occasionally drawn upon plays such as *Bonduca*, whose ascription in whole or part to 1599–1613 is doubtful; these will be found in the list in App. L.

At the Globe, then, the types of scene presented are much the same as those with which we have become familiar in the sixteenth century; the old categories of open-country scenes, battle scenes, garden scenes, street scenes, threshold scenes, hall scenes, and chamber scenes will still serve. Their relative importance alters, no doubt, as the playwrights tend more and more to concern themselves with subjects of urban life. But there are plenty of battle scenes in certain plays, much on the traditional lines, with marchings and counter-marchings, alarums for fighting 'within', and occasional 'excursions' on the field of the stage itself.[3] Practicable tents still afford a convenient camp background, and these, I think, continue to be pitched on the open boards.[4] The opposing camps of *Richard III* are precisely repeated in *Henry V*.[5] There are episodes before the 'walls' too, with defenders speaking from above, assaults by means of scaling ladders, and coming and going through the gates.[6] I find no example in which a wall inserted on the line of the scenic curtain would not meet the needs of the situation. Pastoral scenes are also common, for the urban preoccupation has its regular reaction in the direction of pastoral. There is plenty of evidence for practicable trees, such as that on which Orlando in *As You Like It* hangs his love verses, and the most likely machinery for putting trees into position still seems to me to be the trap.[1] A trap, too, might bring up the bower for the play within the play of *Hamlet*, the pleached arbour of *Much Ado about Nothing*, the pulpit in the forum of *Julius Caesar*, the tombstone in the woods of *Timon of Athens*, the wayside cross of *Every Man Out of his Humour*, and other *terrains* most easily thought of as free-standing structures.[2] It would open for Ophelia's grave, and for the still beloved ascents of spirits from the lower regions.[3] It remains difficult to see how a river-bank or the sea-shores was represented.[4] As a rule, the edge of the stage, with steps into the auditorium taken for water stairs, seems most plausible. But there is a complicated episode in *The Devil's Charter*, with a conduit and a bridge over the Tiber, which I do not feel quite able to envisage.[5] There is another bridge over the Tiber for Horatius Cocles in the Red Bull play of the *Rape of Lucrece*. But this is easier; it is projected from the walls of Rome, and there must be a trapped cavity on the scenic line, into which Horatius leaps.[6]

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[1] *1 Honest Whore, When You See Me You Know Me, Whore of Babylon, Roaring Girl*, and possibly *Two Lamentable Tragedies*. The extant text of *Massacre at Paris* may also represent a revival at the Fortune.

[2] *Nobody and Somebody, Travels of Three English Brothers, Woman Killed With Kindness, Sir Thomas Wyat, Rape of Lucrece, Golden Age, If It Be Not Good the Devil is in It, White Devil, Greene's Tu Quoque, Honest Lawyer*, and probably *1, 2 If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, Fair Maid of the Exchange, Silver Age, Brazen Age. How to Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* is probably a Rose or Boar's Head play.

[3] *Hen. V*, IV. iv–viii; *T. C.* V. iv–x; *J. C.* V. i–v; *Lear*, IV. iii, iv, vii; V. i–iii; *A. C.* III. vii-x, xii; IV. i, iii, v–xiv; V. i, &c.

[4] *Hen. V*, IV. viii; *J. C.* IV. ii, iii; *T. C.* I. iii; II. i, iii; III. iii; IV. v; V. i, ii, apparently with tents in one or other scene of Agamemnon (I. iii. 213), Ulysses (I. iii. 305), Ajax (II. i), Achilles (II. iii. 84; III. iii. 38; V. i. 95), and Calchas (V. i. 92; V. ii); *Devil's Charter*, IV. iv. 2385, 'He discouereth his Tent where her two sonnes were at Cardes'; and in d.s. of Prol. 29 (not a battle scene) 'Enter, at one doore betwixt two other Cardinals, Roderigo . . . one of which hee guideth to a Tent, where a table is furnished . . . and to another Tent the other'.

[5] *Hen. V*, III. vi, vii; IV. i–iii.

[6] *Hen. V*, III. i. 1, 'Scaling Ladders at Harflew'; III. iii. 1, 'Enter the King and all his Traine before the Gates' . . . (58) 'Flourish, and enter the Towne'; *Cor.* I. iv. 13, 'Enter two Senators with others on the Walles of Corialus' . . . (29) 'The Romans are beat back to their Trenches' . . .

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(42) 'Martius followes them to their gates, and is shut in' . . . (62) 'Enter Martius bleeding, assaulted by the enemy' . . . 'They fight and all enter the City', and so on to end of sc. x; *Tim.* V. iv. 1, 'Enter Alcibiades with his Powers before Athens . . . The Senators appeare vpon the wals'; IV. i; *Devil's Charter*, II. i; IV. iv; *Maid's Tragedy*, V. iii.

[1] *A. Y. L.* III. ii. 1; *Philaster*, IV. iv. 83, 'Philaster creeps out of a bush' (as shown in the woodcut on the t.p. of the Q.); *T. N. K.* III. i. 37, 'Enter Palamon as out of a bush'; V. i. 169, 'Here the Hynde vanishes under the Altar: and in the place ascends a Rose Tree, having one Rose upon it'.

[2] *Ham.* III. ii. 146 (Q_1) 'Enter in a Dumb Show, the King and the Queene, he sits downe in an Arbor', (Q_2, F_2) 'he lyes him downe vpon a bancke of flowers'; *M. Ado*, I. ii. 10; III. i. 7, 30; *J. C.* III. ii. 1, 'Enter Brutus and goes into the Pulpit'; *Tim.* V. iii. 5; *E. M. O.* III. ii.

[3] *Ham.* V. i; *Macb.* IV. i; *Devil's Charter*, prol.; *Catiline*, I. i, &c.; I do not know whether hell-mouth remained in use; there is nothing to point to it in the hell scene of *The Devil is an Ass*, I. i.

[4] *Pericles*, II. i. 121, 'Enter the two Fisher-men, drawing vp a Net'.

[5] *Devil's Charter*, III. v. Caesar Borgia and Frescobaldi murder the Duke of Candie (*vide infra*). Caesar says 'let vs heaue him ouer, That he may fall into the riuer Tiber, Come to the bridge with him'; he bids Frescobaldi 'stretch out their armes [for] feare that he Fall not vpon the arches', and 'Caesar casteth Frescobaldi after'.

[6] *Rape of Lucrece* (ed. Pearson), p. 240. It is before 'yon walles' of Rome. Horatius has his foot 'fixt vpon the bridge' and bids his friends break it behind him, while he keeps Tarquin's party off. Then 'a noise

The Hope contract of 1613 provides for the heavens to be supported without the help of posts rising from the stage. For this there was a special reason at the Hope, since the stage had to be capable of removal to make room for bear-baitings. But the advantage of dispensing with the posts and the obstacle to the free vision of the spectators which they presented must have been so great, that the innovation may well have occurred to the builders of the Globe. Whether it did, I do not think that we can say. There are one or two references to posts in stage-directions, but they need not be the posts of the heavens.[1] Possibly, too, there was less use of the descending chair. One might even fancy that Jonson's sarcasm in the prologue to *Every Man In his Humour* discredited it. The new type of play did not so often call for spectacular palace scenes, and perhaps some simpler and more portable kind of 'state' was allowed to serve the turn. There is no suggestion of a descent from the heavens in the theophanies of *As You Like It* and *Pericles*; Juno, however, descends in *The Tempest*.[2] This, although it has practically no change of setting, is in some ways, under the mask influence, the most spectacular performance attempted by the King's men at Globe or Blackfriars during our period.[3] But it is far outdone by the Queen's plays of the *Golden*, *Silver*,

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of knocking downe the bridge, within' and 'Enter . . . Valerius aboue', who encourages Horatius. After 'Alarum, and the falling of the Bridge', Horatius 'exit', and Porsenna says 'Hee's leapt off from the bridge'. Presently 'the shout of all the multitude Now welcomes him a land'.

[1] *Devil's Charter*, III. v, Frescobaldi is to waylay the Duke of Candie. 'He fenceth' (s.d.) with 'this conduct here' (1482), and as the victim arrives, 'Here will I stand close' (1612) and 'He stands behind the post' (s.d.); cf. *Satiromastix* (p. 141, n. 4).

[2] *Tp.* IV. i. 72.

[3] *Tp.* III. iii. 17, 'Solemne and strange Musicke: and Prosper on the top (invisible:) Enter severall strange shapes, bringing in a Banket; and dance about it with gentle actions of salutations, and inuiting the King, &c. to eate, they depart' . . . (52) 'Thunder and lightning. Enter Ariell (like a Harpey) claps his wings upon the Table, and with a queint device the Banquet vanishes' . . . (82) 'He vanishes in Thunder: then (to soft Musicke) Enter the shapes againe, and daunce (with mockes and mowes) and carrying out the Table'; IV. i. 134, 'Enter Certaine Nimphes . . . Enter certaine Reapers (properly habited:) they ioyne with the Nimphes, in a gracefull dance, towards the end whereof, *Prospero* starts sodainly and speakes, after which to a strange hollow and confused noyse, they heauily vanish' . . . (256) 'A noyse of Hunters heard. Enter divers Spirits in shape of Dogs and Hounds, hunting them about: Prospero and Ariel setting them on'. Was the 'top' merely the gallery, or the third tiring-house floor (cf. p. 98) above? Ariel, like Prospero, enters 'invisible' (III. ii. 48). Is this merely the touch of an editor (cf. ch. xxii) or does it reflect a stage convention? The Admiral's tiring-house contained in 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 123) 'a robe for to goo invisibell'.

and *Brazen Ages*, which, if they were really given just as Heywood printed them, must have strained the scenic resources of the Red Bull to an extreme. Here are ascents and descents and entries from every conceivable point of the stage;[1] divinities in fantastic disguise;[2] mythological dumb-shows;[3] battles and hunting episodes and revels;[4] ingenious properties, often with a melodramatic thrill;[5] and from beginning to end a succession of atmospheric phenomena, which suggest that the Jacobeans had made considerable progress in the art of stage pyrotechnics.[1] The Globe, with its traditional 'blazing star', is left far behind.[2]

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[1] *G. A.* v, 'Iris descends . . . Iupiter first ascends upon the Eagle, and after him Ganimed' . . . 'Enter at 4 severall corners the 4 winds'; *S. A.* II, 'Thunder and lightning. Iupiter discends in a cloude' . . . 'Iuno and Iris descend from the heavens'; III, 'Enter Iuno and Iris above in a cloud' . . . 'Enter Pluto, his Chariot drawne in by Divels' . . . 'Mercury flies from above' . . . 'Earth riseth from under the stage' . . . 'Earth sinkes' . . . 'The river Arethusa riseth from the stage'; IV, 'Iupiter taking up the Infant speakes as he ascends in his cloud'; v, 'Hercules sinkes himselfe: Flashes of fire; the Diuels appeare at every corner of the stage with severall fire-workes' . . . 'Exeunt three wayes Ceres, Theseus, Philoctetes, and Hercules dragging Cerberus one way: Pluto, hels Iudges, the Fates and Furies downe to hell: Iupiter, the Gods and Planets ascend to heaven'; *B. A.* I, 'When the Fury sinkes, a Buls head appeares'; v, 'Enter Hercules from a rocke above, tearing down trees' . . . 'Iupiter above strikes him with a thunderbolt, his body sinkes, and from the heavens discends a hand in a cloud, that from the place where Hercules was burnt, brings up a starre, and fixeth it in the firmament'.

[2] *G. A.* II, 'Enter Iupiter like a Nimph, or a Virago'; IV, 'Enter Iupiter like a Pedler'; *S. A.* II, 'Enter . . . Iupiter shapt like Amphitrio'; IV, 'Enter Iuno in the shape of old Beroe' . . . 'Enter Iupiter like a woodman'; *B. A.* v, 'Enter . . . Hercules attired like a woman, with a distaffe and a spindle'.

[3] *S. A.* III, 'The Nurses bring yong Hercules in his Cradle, and leave him. Enter Iuno and Iris with two snakes, put them to the childe and depart: Hercules strangles them: to them Amphitrio, admiring the accident'; *B. A.* IV, 'Enter Vulcan and Pyragmon with his net of wire . . . Vulcan catcheth them fast in his net . . . All the Gods appeare above and laugh, Iupiter, Iuno, Phoebus, Mercury, Neptune'.

[4] *G. A.* II, 'A confused fray, an alarme . . . Lycaon makes head againe, and is beat off by Iupiter and the Epirians, Iupiter ceazeth the roome of Lycaon'; II, 'Enter with musicke (before Diana) sixe Satires, after them all their Nimphs, garlands on their heads, and iavelings in their hands, their Bowes and Quivers: the Satyrs sing' . . . 'Hornes winded, a great noise of hunting. Enter Diana, all her Nimphes in the chase, Iupiter pulling Calisto back'; III, 'Alarm. They combat with iavelings first, after with swords and targets'; *S. A.* III, 'Enter Ceres and Proserpine attired like the Moone, with a company of Swaines, and country Wenches: They sing' . . . 'A confused fray with stooles, cups and bowles, the Centaurs are beaten . . . Enter with victory, Hercules'; *B. A.* IV, 'Enter Aurora, attended with Seasons, Daies, and Howers'; v, 'Hercules swings Lychas about his head, and kils him'.

[5] *G. A.* I, 'Enter Saturn with wedges of gold and silver, models of ships and buildings, bow and arrowes, &c.'; II, 'Vesta and the Nurse, who with counterfeit passion present the King a bleeding heart upon a knives point, and a bowle of bloud' . . . 'A banquet brought in, with the limbes of a man in the service'; *B. A.* v, 'Enter to the sacrifice two Priests to the Altar, sixe Princes with sixe of his labours, in the midst Hercules

The critical points of staging are the recesses below and above. Some kind of recess on the level of the main stage is often required by the King's plays; for action in or before a prison,[3] a cell,[4] a cave,[5] a closet,[6] a study,[7] a tomb,[8] a chapel,[9] a shop;[10] for the revelation of dead bodies or other concealed

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bearing his two brazen pillars, six other Princes, with the other six labours'.

[1] *G. A.* v, 'Pluto drawes hell: the Fates put upon him a burning Roabe, and present him with a Mace, and burning crowne'; *S. A.* II, 'Iupiter appeares in his glory under a Raine-bow'; IV, 'Thunder, lightnings, Iupiter descends in his maiesty, his Thunderbolt burning' .... 'As he toucheth the bed it fires, and all flyes up'; v, 'Fire-workes all over the house' ... 'Enter Pluto with a club of fire, a burning crowne, Proserpine, the Judges, the Fates, and a guard of Divels, all with burning weapons'; *B. A.* II, 'There fals a shower of raine'. Perhaps one should remember the sarcasm of *Warning for Fair Women*, ind. 51, 'With that a little rosin flasheth forth, Like smoke out of a tobacco pipe, or a boys squib'.

[2] *Revenger's Tragedy* (Dodsley^4), p. 99; it recurs in *2 If You Know Not Me* (ed. Pearson), p. 292.

[3] *T. N.* IV. ii; *M. for M.* IV. iii; *Fair Maid of Bristow*, sig. E 3; *Philaster*, v. ii.

[4] *Tp.* v. i. 172, 'Here Prospero discouers Ferdinand and Miranda, playing at Chesse'.

[5] *Tim.* IV. iii.; v. i. 133.

[6] *M. Wives*, I. iv. 40, 'He steps into the Counting-house' (Q_1); *2 Maid's Tragedy*, 1995, 2030, 'Locks him self in'.

[7] *M. D. of Edmonton*, prol. 34, 'Draw the Curtaines' (s.d.), which disclose Fabel on a couch, with a 'necromanticke chaire' by him; *Devil's Charter*, I. iv. 325, 'Alexander in his study'; IV. i. 1704, 1847; v. 2421, 2437; v. iv. 2965; vi. 3016, 'Alexander vnbraced betwixt two Cardinalls in his study looking vpon a booke, whilst a groome draweth the Curtaine ... They place him in a chayre vpon the stage, a groome setteth a Table before him' ... (3068), 'Alexander draweth the Curtaine of his studie where hee discouereth the diuill sitting in his pontificals'; *Hen. VIII*, II. ii. 63, after action in anteroom, 'Exit Lord Chamberlaine, and the King drawes the Curtaine and sits reading pensiuely'; *Catiline*, I. i. 15, 'Discouers Catiline in his study'; *Duchess of Malfi*, v. ii. 221 (a 'cabinet'); cf. *Massacre at Paris* (Fortune), 434, 'He knocketh, and enter the King of Nauarre and Prince of Condy, with their scholmaisters' (clearly a discovery, rather than an entry).

[8] *2 Maid's Tragedy*, 1725, 'Enter the Tirant agen at a farder dore, which opened, bringes hym to the Toombe wher the Lady lies buried; the Toombe here discovered ritchly set forthe'; (1891) 'Gouianus kneeles at the Toomb wondrous passionatly' ... (1926), 'On a sodayne in a kinde of Noyse like a Wynde, the dores clattering, the Toombstone flies open, and a great light appeares in the midst of the Toombe'.

[9] *W. T.* v. iii; *D. of Malfi*, III. iv. 1, 'Two Pilgrimes to the Shrine of our Lady of Loretto'.

[10] *E. M. O.* IV. iii–v; cf. *Roaring Girl* (Fortune) (ed. Pearson, p. 50), 'The three shops open in a ranke: the first a Poticaries shop, the next

sights.[1] In many cases the alcove constructed in the tiring-house behind the scenic wall would give all that is required, and occasionally a mention of the 'curtains' or of 'discovery' in a stage-direction points plainly to this arrangement. The 'traverse' of Webster's plays, both for the King's and the Queen's men, appears, as already pointed out, to be nothing more than a terminological variant.[2] Similarly, hall scenes have still their 'arras' or their 'hangings', behind which a spy can post himself.[3] A new feature, however, now presents itself in the existence of certain scenes, including some bedchamber scenes, which entail the use of properties and would, I think, during the sixteenth century have been placed in the alcove, but now appear to have been brought forward and to occupy, like hall scenes, the main stage. The usage is by no means invariable. Even in so late a play as *Cymbeline*, Imogen's chamber, with Iachimo's trunk and the elaborate fire-places in it, must, in spite of the absence of any reference to curtains, have been disposed in the alcove; for the trunk scene is immediately followed by another before

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a Fether shop; the third a Sempsters shop'; *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (? Fortune), I. i, 'Sit in his shop' (Merry's); I. iii, 'Then Merry must passe to Beeches shoppe, who must sit in his shop, and Winchester his boy stand by: Beech reading'; II. i, 'The boy sitting at his maisters dore' . . . 'When the boy goeth into the shoppe Merrie striketh six blowes on his head and with the seaventh leaues the hammer sticking in his head' . . . 'Enter one in his shirt and a maide, and comming to Beeches shop findes the boy murthered'; IV. iv, 'Rachell sits in the shop' (Merry's); *Bartholomew Fair* (Hope), II–V, which need booths for the pig-woman, gingerbread woman, and hobby-horse man.

[1] *Revenger's Tragedy* (Dodsley^4), i, p. 26, 'Enter . . . Antonio . . . discovering the body of her dead to certain Lords and Hippolito; pp. 58, 90 (scenes of assignation and murder in a room with 'yon silver ceiling', a 'darken'd blushless angle', 'this unsunned lodge', 'that sad room'); *D. of Malfi*, IV. i. 55, 'Here is discover'd, behind a travers, the artificiall figures of Antonio and his children, appearing as if they were dead'; ii. 262, 'Shewes the children strangled'; cf. *White Devil* (Queen's), V. iv. 71, 'They are behind the travers. Ile discover Their superstitious howling', with s.d. 'Cornelia, the Moore and 3 other Ladies discovered, winding Marcello's coarse'; *Brazen Age* (Queen's), III, 'Two fiery Buls are discouered, the Fleece hanging over them, and the Dragon sleeping beneath them: Medea with strange fiery-workes, hangs above in the Aire in the strange habite of a Coniuresse'.

[2] Cf. p. 25. I am not clear whether *Volpone*, V. 2801, 'Volpone peepes from behinde a trauerse' is below or above, but in either event the traverse in this case must have been a comparatively low screen and free from attachment at the top, as Volpone says (2761), 'I'le get up, Behind the cortine, on a stoole, and harken; Sometime, peepe ouer'.

[3] *M. Ado*, I. iii. 63; *M. Wives*, III. iii. 97, 'Falstaffe stands behind the aras' (Q$_1$); *Ham.* II. ii. 163; III. iv. 22; *D. of Malfi*, I. ii. 65; *Philaster*, II. ii. 61, 'Exit behind the hangings' . . . (148), 'Enter Galatea from behind the hangings'.

the door of the same chamber, from which Imogen presently emerges.[1] But I do not think that the alcove was used for Gertrude's closet in *Hamlet*, the whole of which play seems to me to be set very continuously on the outer stage.[2] Hamlet does not enter the closet direct from in front, but goes off and comes on again. A little distance is required for the vision of the Ghost, who goes out at a visible ' portal '. When Hamlet has killed Polonius, he lugs the guts into the neighbour room, according to the ordinary device for clearing a dead body from the main stage, which is superfluous when the death has taken place in the alcove. There is an arras, behind which Polonius esconces himself, and on this, or perhaps on an inner arras disclosed by a slight parting of the ordinary one, hangs the picture of Hamlet's father. Nor do I think, although it is difficult to be certain, that the alcove held Desdemona's death-chamber in *Othello*.[3] True, there are curtains drawn here, but they may be only bed-curtains. A longish chamber, with an outer door, seems to be indicated. A good many persons, including Cassio ' in a chaire ', have to be accommodated, and when Emilia enters, it is some time before her attention is drawn to Desdemona behind the curtains. If anything is in the alcove, it can only be just the bed itself. The best illustrations of my point, however, are to be found in *The Devil's Charter*, a singular play, with full and naïve stage-directions, which perhaps betray the hand of an inexperienced writer. Much of the action takes place in the palace of Alexander Borgia at Rome. The alcove seems to be reserved for Alexander's study. Other scenes of an intimately domestic character are staged in front, and the necessary furniture is very frankly carried on, in one case by a protagonist. This is a scene in a parlour by night, in which Lucrezia Borgia murders her husband.[1] Another scene represents Lucrezia's toilet;[2] in a third young men come in from tennis and are groomed by a barber.[3] My impression is that in the seventeenth century, instead of discovering a bedchamber in the alcove, it became the custom to secure more space and light by projecting the bed through the central aperture on to the main stage, and removing it by the same avenue when the scene was over. As to this a stage-direction in *2 Henry VI* may be significant. There was a scene in *1 Contention* in which the murdered body of the Duke of Gloucester is discovered in his bedchamber. This recurs in *2 Henry VI*, but instead of a full direction for the drawing of curtains, the Folio has the simple note 'Bed put forth'.[4] This is one of a group of formulas which have been the subject of some discussion.[5] I do not think that either 'Bed put forth' or still less 'Bed thrust out' can be dismissed as a mere equivalent of 'Enter in a bed', which may admittedly cover a parting of the curtains, or of such a warning to the tire-man as 'Bed set out' or 'ready' or 'prepared'.[6] There is a difference between 'setting out' and 'thrusting out', for the one does and the other does not carry the notion of a push. And if 'Bed put forth' is rather more colourless, 'Bed drawn out', which also occurs, is clear enough. Unfortunately the extant text of *2 Henry VI* may be of any date up to 1623, and none of the other examples of the formulas in question are direct evidence for the Globe in 1599–1613.[7] To be sure of the projected bed at so early a date, we have to turn to the Red Bull, where we find it both in the *Golden* and the *Silver Age*, as well as the amateur *Hector of Germany*, or to the Swan, where we find it in *The Chaste Maid of Cheapside.*[1] The *Golden Age* particularly repays study. The whole of the last two acts are devoted to the episode of Jupiter and Danae. The scene is set in

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[1] *Cy.* II. ii. 1, ' Enter Imogen, in her Bed, and a Lady ' . . . (11) ' Iachimo from the Trunke ', who says (47) ' To th' Truncke againe, and shut the spring of it ' and (51) ' Exit ' ; cf. II. iii. 42, ' Attend you here the doore of our stern daughter ? ' ; cf. *Rape of Lucrece* (Red Bull), p. 222 (ed. Pearson), ' Lucrece discovered in her bed '.

[2] *Ham.* III. iv ; cf. p. 116. Most of the scenes are in some indefinite place in the castle, called in II. ii. 161 ' here in the lobby ' (Q_2, F_1) or ' here in the gallery ' (Q_1). Possibly the audience for the play scene (III. ii) were in the alcove, as there is nothing to suggest that they were above ; or they may have been to right and left, and the players in the alcove ; it is guesswork.

[3] *Oth.* V. ii. 1, ' Enter Othello with a light ' (Q_1), ' Enter Othello and Desdemona in her bed ' (F_1). It is difficult to say whether *Maid's Tragedy*, V. i. 2 (continuous scene), where Evadne's entry and colloquy with a gentleman of the bedchamber is followed by s.d. ' King abed ', implies a ' discovery ' or not.

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[1] *D. Charter*, I. v. 547, 'Enter *Lucretia* alone in her night gowne untired, bringing in a chaire, which she planteth upon the Stage' . . . (579) 'Enter Gismond di Viselli untrussed in his Night-cap, tying his points' . . . (625) 'Gismond sitteth downe in a Chaire, Lucretia on a stoole [ready on the stage for a spectator ?] beside him' . . . (673) 'She . . . convaieth away the chaire'. Barbarossa comes into 'this parler here' (700), finds the murdered body, and they 'locke up the dores there' and 'bring in the body' (777), which is therefore evidently not behind a curtain.

[2] *D. Charter*, IV. iii. 2005, 'Enter Lucretia richly attired with a Phyal in her hand' . . . 'Enter two Pages with a Table, two looking glasses, a box with Combes and instruments, a rich bowle'. She paints and is poisoned, and a Physician bids 'beare in her body' (2146).

[3] *D. Charter*, IV. v. 2441, 'Exit *Alexander* into his study' . . . 'Enter *Astor* and *Philippo* in their wast-cotes with rackets' . . . 'Enter two Barbers with linen' . . . 'After the barbers had trimmed and rubbed their bodies a little, *Astor* caleth' . . . 'They lay them selves upon a bed and the barbers depart' . . . '*Bernardo* knocketh at the study'. They are murdered and Bernardo bidden to 'beare them in' (2589).

[4] Cf. p. 66.

[5] Albright, 142; Graves, 17; Reynolds (1911), 55; Thorndike, 81.

[6] Cf. ch. xxii.

[7] In *The Faithful Friends* (possibly a Jacobean King's play), iv. 282,

> the Darreine Tower
> Guirt with a triple mure of shining brasse.

Most of the action requires a courtyard, and the wall and gate of this, with a porter's lodge and an alarm-bell, must have been given some kind of structural representation on the stage. An inner door is supposed to lead to Danae's chamber above. It is in this chamber, presumably, that attendants enter 'drawing out Danae's bed', and when 'The bed is drawn in', action is resumed in the courtyard below.[2]

Rufinus says, 'Lead to the chamber called Elysium'; then comes s.d. 'Exit Young Tullius, Phyladelphia and Rufinus. Then a rich Bed is thrust out and they enter again', and Tullius says 'This is the lodging called Elysium'. Later examples are Sir W. Berkeley, *The Lost Lady* (1638), v. i, 'Enter the Moor on her bed, Hermione, Phillida, and Irene. The bed thrust out'; Suckling, *Aglaura* (1646), v, 'A bed put out. Thersames and Aglaura in it . . . Draw in the Bed'; Davenport, *City Night Cap* (1661, Cockpit), II. i, 'A bed thrust out. Lodovico sleeping in his clothes; Dorothea in bed'.

[1] *Silver Age*, IV, 'Enter Semele drawne out in her bed'; *Hector of Germany*, I. i, 'a bed thrust out, the Palsgrave lying sick on it, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Savoy, the Marquis Brandenburg entering with him'; *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, III. ii. 1, 'A bed thrust out upon the stage; Allwit's wife in it'. This appears from 'call him up' (102) to be on the upper stage. *Golden Age*, I, 'Enter Sibilla lying in child-bed, with her child lying by her, and her Nurse, &c.' has the Cymbeline formula, but presumably the staging was as for Danae.

[2] *Golden Age*, IV, 'Enter foure old Beldams', and say 'The 'larme bell rings'; it is Acrisius; they will 'clap close to the gate and let him in'. He bids them watch 'your percullist entrance', says 'Danae is descended', speaks of 'the walkes within this barricadoed mure'. She returns 'unto her chamber' and he 'Exit'. The beldams will 'take our lodgings before the Princesse chamber' and 'Exit'. Then 'Enter Iupiter like a Pedler, the Clowne his man, with packs at their backes'. They are evidently outside the gate. 'He rings the bell' and persuades the beldams to let him 'into the Porters lodge'. They will 'shut the gate for feare the King come and if he ring clap the Pedlers into some of yon old rotten corners'. Then 'Enter Danae', whom Jupiter courts. She says 'Yon is my doore' and 'Exit'. The beldams will 'see the Pedlers pack't out of the gate', but in the end let them 'take a nap upon some bench or other', and bid them good-night. Jupiter 'puts off his disguise' and 'Exit'. Then 'Enter the foure old Beldams, drawing out Danae's bed: she in it. They place foure tapers at the foure corners'. Jupiter returns 'crown'd with his imperiall robes', says 'Yon is the doore', calls Danae by name, 'lyes upon her bed' and 'puts out the lights and makes unready'. Presently

There are chamber scenes in the King's plays also, which are neither in the alcove nor on the main stage, but above. This is an extension of a practice already observable in pre-Globe days. Hero's chamber in *Much Ado about Nothing* is above.[1] So is Celia's in *Volpone*.[2] So is Falstaff's at the Garter Inn in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.[3] In all these examples, which are not exhaustive, a reasonable amount of space is required for action.[4] This is still more the case in *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, where the violent scene of the triple murder at Calverley Hall is clearly located upstairs.[5] Moreover, there are two plays which stage above what one would normally regard as hall rather than chamber scenes. One is *Sejanus*, where a break in the dialogue in the first act can best be explained by the interpretation of a scene in an upper 'gallery'.[6] The other is *Every Man Out of his Humour*, where the personages go 'up' to the great chamber at Court.[7] Elaborate use is also made of the upper level in *Antony and*

'The bed is drawne in, and enter the Clowne new wak't', followed by 'Enter Iupiter and Danae in her night-gowne'. He puts on his cloak, and 'Enter the foure Beldams in hast', say 'the gate is open', and dismiss the pedlars.

[1] *M. Ado*, III. iv. Presumably the action is at the window, as there is a 'new tire within' (13) and Hero withdraws when guests arrive (95). It is of course the same window which is required by Don John's plot, although it is not again in action (cf. II. ii. 43; iii. 89; III. ii. 116, iii. 156; IV. i. 85, 311).

[2] *Volpone*, II. v–vii. In the piazza, under the same window, is II. i–iii, where 'Celia at the windo' throws downe her handkerchiefe' (1149).

[3] *M. W.* II. ii; III. v, in both of which persons 'below' are bidden 'come up'; possibly V. i; cf. IV. v, 13, 22, 131, where persons below speak of the chamber as above.

[4] *E. M. O.* V. iv-vi, at the Mitre; *M. Devil of Edmonton*, I. i; *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, III. i; and for other theatres, *Massacre at Paris* (Fortune), 257 'Enter the Admirall in his bed', 301 'Enter into the Admirals house, and he in his bed', with 310 'Throw him downe'; *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (Fortune), parts of I. iii, 'Then being in the upper Rome Merry strickes him in the head fifteene times', II. i, iii; *1 If You Know Not Me* (? Queen's), p. 240 (ed. Pearson), 'Enter Elizabeth, Gage, and Clarencia aboue'. Elizabeth bids Gage 'Looke to the pathway that doth come from the court', perhaps from a window at the back (cf. p. 96), and he describes a coming horseman.

[5] *Yorkshire Tragedy*, scc. iii, v, vii, while the intermediate episodes, scc. iv, vi, are below. It is all really one scene.

[6] *Sejanus* (F_1), i. 355–469 (cf. 287), an episode breaking the flow of the main action, a hall scene, of the act; it must be apart from the hall, not perhaps necessarily above.

[7] *E. M. O.* V. ii, preceded and followed by scene near the court gate at the foot of stairs leading to the great chamber; V. i has 'Is this the way? good truth here be fine hangings' and 'courtiers drop out', presumably through the arras and up the stairs. Then a presenter says, 'Here they come', and the courtiers enter, presumably above.

Cleopatra, where it represents the refuge of Cleopatra upon a monument, to which Antony is heaved up for his death scene, and on which Cleopatra is afterwards surprised by Caesar's troops.[1] But I do not agree with the suggestion that it was used in shipboard scenes, for which, as we learn from the presenter's speeches in *Pericles*, the stage-manager gave up the idea of providing a realistic setting, and fell back upon an appeal to the imagination of the audience.[2] Nor do I think that it was used for the 'platform' at Elsinore Castle in *Hamlet*;[3] or, as it was in the sixteenth century, for scenes in a Capitoline senate overlooking the forum at Rome.[4] In *Bonduca*, if that is of our period, it was adapted for a high rock, with fugitives upon it, in a wood.[5] I do not find extensive chamber scenes 'above' in any King's play later than 1609, and that may be a fact of significance to which I shall return.[6] But shallow action, at windows or in a gallery overlooking a hall or open space, continues to be frequent.[7]

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[1] *A. and C.* IV. xv. 1, 'Enter Cleopatra, and her Maides aloft', with (8) 'Look out o' the other side your monument' . . . (37) 'They heave Anthony aloft to Cleopatra'; V. ii; cf. 360, 'bear her women from the monument'.

[2] *Pericles*, III. i (prol. 58,' In your imagination hold This stage the ship'); V. i (prol. 21, 'In your supposing once more put your sight Of heavy Pericles; think this his bark'). The other scenes (*1 Contention*, sc. xii; *A. and C.* II. vii; *Tp.* I. i) have nothing directly indicating action 'above'.

[3] *Ham.* I. i, iv, v; cf. I. ii. 213, 'upon the platform where we watch'd'. There would be hardly room 'above' for the Ghost to waft Hamlet to 'a more removed ground' (I. iv. 61), and the effect of I. v. 148, where 'Ghost cries under the Stage', would be less. On the other hand, in *White Devil* (Queen's), IV. iv. 39 the s.d. 'A Cardinal on the Tarras' is explained by Flamineo's words, 'Behold! my lord of Arragon appeares, On the church battlements'.

[4] *J. C.* III. i; *Cor.* II. ii, 'Enter two Officers, to lay Cushions, as it were, in the Capitol'; *Sejanus* (F_1), iii. 1–6; V. 19–22; *Catiline*, IV. ii, V. iv, vi; also *Rape of Lucrece* (Red Bull), pp. 168–73 (ed. Pearson). There is a complete absence of s.ds. for 'above'; cf. p. 58. But in *J. C.* III. i and *Catiline*, V. vi, at least, action in the senate house is continuous with action in the street or forum without, and both places must have been shown, and somehow differentiated.

[5] *Bonduca*, V. i, 'Enter Caratach upon a rock, and Hengo by him, sleeping'; V. iii, 'Enter Caratach and Hengo on the Rock'. Hengo is let down by a belt to fetch up food. It is 'a steep rock i th' woods' (V. ii); cf. the rock scene in *Brazen Age*, V (cf. p. 109).

[6] Cf. p. 153. *Duchess of Malfi*, III. ii, with (173) 'call up our officers' is a possible exception.

[7] *E. M. O.* II. i (where personages standing 'under this Tarras' watch action under a window); *Devil's Charter*, III. ii, 'Alexander out of a Casement'; *M. Devil of Edmonton*, V. ii. 59, 'D'yee see yon bay window?' *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (Dodsley[4]), iv, p. 540 ('Here 's the sign of the Wolf, and the bay-window'); *T. N. K.* II. i, ii; *Catiline*, III. v; *Philaster*, II. iv; *Second Maiden's Tragedy*, V. i. 2004, 'Leonella above

In *The Devil is an Ass*, which is a Blackfriars play of 1616, a little beyond the limits of our period, there is an interesting scene played out of two contiguous upper windows, supposed to be in different houses.[1]

There is other evidence to show that in the seventeenth century as in the sixteenth, the stage was not limited to the presentation of a single house only at any given moment. A multiplicity of houses would fit the needs of several plays, but perhaps the most striking instance for the Globe is afforded by *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, the last act of which requires two inns on opposite sides of the stage, the signs of which have been secretly exchanged, as a trick in the working out of the plot.[2] The King's plays do not often require any marked foreshortening of distance in journeys over the stage. Hamlet, indeed, comes in 'a farre off', according to a stage-direction of the Folio, but this need mean no more than at the other end of the graveyard, although Hamlet is in fact returning from a voyage.[3] In *Bonduca* the Roman army at one end of the stage are said to be half a furlong from the rock occupied by Caractacus, which they cannot yet see; but they go off, and their leaders subsequently emerge upon the rock from behind.[4] The old device endured at the Red Bull, but even here the flagrant example usually cited is of a very special type.[5] At the end of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, the action of

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in a gallery with her love Bellarius' . . . (2021) 'Descendet Leonela'; *Duchess of Malfi*, v. v; *Hen. VIII*, v. ii. 19, 'Enter the King, and Buts, at a Windowe above', with 'Let 'em alone, and draw the curtaine close' (34); *Pericles*, II. ii (where Simonides and Thaisa 'withdraw into the gallerie', to watch a tilting supposed behind, as in the sixteenth-century *Soliman and Perseda*; cf. p. 96). So, too, in *T. N. K.* v. iii, the fight between Palamon and Arcite takes place within; Emilia will not see it, and it is reported to her on the main stage.

[1] *D. an Ass*, II. vi. 37, 'This Scene is acted at two windo's as out of two contiguous buildings' . . . (77) 'Playes with her paps, kisseth her hands, &c.' . . . vii. 1 'Her husband appeares at her back' . . . (8) 'Hee speaks out of his wives window' . . . (23) 'The Divell speakes below' . . . (28) 'Fitz-dottrel enters with his wife as come downe'.

[2] *M. Devil of Edmonton*, v. i, ii; *Catiline*, v. vi (where apparently three houses are visited after leaving the senate-house); cf. the cases of shops on p. 110, n. 10.

[3] *Ham.* v. i. 60.

[4] *Bonduca*, v. iii.

[5] *Three English Brothers*, ad fin. A court scene in *Sir T. Wyatt* ends (ed. Hazlitt, p. 10) with s.d. 'pass round the stage', which takes the personages to the Tower. Similarly in *1 If You Know Not Me* (ed. Pearson, p. 246) a scene at Hatfield ends 'And now to London, lords, lead on the way', with s.d. 'Sennet about the Stage in order. The Maior of London meets them', and in *2 If You Know Not Me* (p. 342) troops start from Tilbury, and 'As they march about the stage, Sir Francis Drake and Sir Martin Furbisher meet them'.

which ranges widely over the inhabited world, there is an appeal to imagination by Fame, the presenter, who says,

> Would your apprehensions helpe poore art,
> Into three parts deuiding this our stage,
> They all at once shall take their leaues of you.
> Thinke this England, this Spaine, this Persia.

Then follow the stage-directions, ' Enter three seuerall waies the three Brothers ', and ' Fame giues to each a prospective glasse, they seme to see one another '. Obviously such a visionary dumb-show cannot legitimately be twisted into an argument that the concurrent representation of incongruous localities was a matter of normal staging. Such interplay of opposed houses, as we get in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, would no doubt seem more effective if we could adopt the ingenious conjecture which regards the scenic wall as not running in a straight line all the way, but broken by two angles, so that, while the central apertures below and above directly front the spectators, the doors to right and left, each with a room or window above it, are set on a bias, and more or less face each other from end to end of the stage.[1] I cannot call this more than a conjecture, for there is no direct evidence in its favour, and the Swan drawing, for what that is worth, is flatly against it. Structurally it would, I suppose, fit the round or apsidal ended Globe better than the rectangular Fortune or Blackfriars. The theory seems to have been suggested by a desire to make it possible to watch action within the alcove from a gallery on the level above. I have not, however, come across any play which can be safely assigned to a public theatre, in which just this situation presents itself, although it is common enough for persons above to watch action in a threshold or hall scene. Two windows in the same plane would, of course, fully meet the needs of *The Devil is an Ass*. There is, indeed, the often-quoted scene from *David and Bethsabe*, in which the King watches the Hittite's wife bathing at a fountain; but the provenance of *David and Bethsabe* is so uncertain and its text so evidently manipulated, that it would be very temerarious to rely upon it as affording any proof of public usage.[2] On the other hand, if it is the case, as seems almost certain, that the boxes over the doors were originally the lord's rooms, it would no doubt be desirable that the occupants of those rooms should be able to see anything that went on within the alcove. I do not quite know what weight to attach to Mr. Lawrence's analogy between the oblique doors which this theory involves and the familiar post-Restoration proscenium doors, with stage-boxes above them, at right angles to the plane of the footlights.[1] The roofed Caroline theatres, with their side-walls to the stage, and the proscenium arch, probably borrowed from the masks, have intervened, and I cannot pretend to have traced the history of theatrical structure during the Caroline period.

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[1] W. Archer in *Quarterly Review*, ccviii. 471 ; Albright, 77 ; Lawrence, i. 19 ; cf. my analogous conjecture of ' wings ' on p. 100.

[2] *David and Bethsabe*, 25, ' He [Prologus] drawes a curtaine, and discouers Bethsabe with her maid bathing ouer a spring : she sings, and David sits aboue vewing her '.

I have felt justified in dealing more briefly with the early seventeenth-century stages than with those of the sixteenth century, for, after all, the fundamental conditions, so far as I can judge, remained unaltered. I seem able to lay my finger upon two directions in which development took place, and both of these concern the troublesome problem of interior action. First of all there is the stage gallery. Of this I venture to reconstruct the story as follows. Its first function was to provide seating accommodation for dignified and privileged spectators, amongst whom could be placed, if occasion arose, presenters or divine agents supposed to be watching or directing the action of a play. Perhaps a differentiation took place. Parts of the gallery, above the doors at either end of the scene, were set aside as lord's rooms. The central part, with the upper floor of the tiring-house behind it, was used for the musicians, but was also available for such scenes as could effectively be staged above, and a curtain was fitted, corresponding to that below, behind which the recess could be set as a small chamber. Either as a result of these changes or for other reasons, the lord's rooms, about the end of the sixteenth century, lost their popularity, and it became the fashion for persons of distinction, or would-be distinction, to sit upon the stage itself instead.[2] This left additional space free above, and the architects of the Globe and Fortune took the opportunity to enlarge the accommodation for their upper scenes. Probably they left windows over the side-doors, so that the upper parts of three distinct houses could, if necessary, be represented; and it may be that spectators were not wholly excluded from these.[3] But they widened the music-room, so that it could now hold larger scenes, and in fact now became an upper stage and not a mere recess. Adequate lighting from behind could probably be obtained rather more easily here than on the crowded floor below. There is an interesting allusion which I have not yet quoted, and which seems to point to an upper stage of substantial dimensions in the public theatres of about the year 1607. It is in Middleton's *Family of Love*, itself a King's Revels play.[1] Some of the characters have been to a performance, not 'by the youths', and there 'saw Sampson bear the town-gates on his neck from the lower to the upper stage'. You cannot carry a pair of town-gates into a mere box, such as the Swan drawing shows.

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[1] Lawrence, i. 159 (*Proscenium Doors: an Elizabethan Heritage*).

[2] Cf. vol. ii, p. 534.

[3] At the Globe the windows appear to have been bay windows; cf. p. 116, n. 7. Lawrence, ii. 25 (*Windows on the Pre-Restoration Stage*), cites T. M. *Black Book* (1604), 'And marching forward to the third garden-house, there we knocked up the ghost of mistress Silverpin, who

Meanwhile, what of the alcove? I think that it proved too dark and too cramped for the convenient handling of chamber scenes, and that the tendency of the early seventeenth century was to confine its use to action which could be kept shallow, or for which obscurity was appropriate. It could still serve for a prison, or an 'unsunned lodge', or a chamber of horrors. For scenes requiring more light and movement it was replaced, sometimes by the more spacious upper stage, sometimes by the main stage, on to which beds and other properties were carried or 'thrust out', just as they had always been on a less extensive scale for hall scenes. The difficulties of shifting were, on the whole, compensated for by the greater effectiveness and visibility which action on the main scene afforded. I do not therefore think it possible to accept even such a modified version of the old 'alternationist' theory as I find set out in Professor Thorndike's recent *Shakespeare's Theater*. The older alternationists, starting from the principle, sound enough in itself, of continuous action within an act, assumed that all interior or other propertied scenes were played behind the curtains, and were set there while unpropertied action was played outside; and they deduced a method of dramatic construction, which required the dramatists to alternate exterior and interior scenes so as to allow time for the settings to be carried out.[2] The theory breaks down, not merely because it entails a much more constant

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suddenly risse out of two white sheets, and acted out of her tiring-house window'. It appears from Tate Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (Lawrence, i. 177) that the proscenium balconies were common ground to actors and audience in the eighteenth century.

[1] *Family of Love*, I. iii. 101.

[2] The theory is best represented by C. Brodmeier, *Die Shakespeare-Bühne nach den alten Bühnenanweisungen* (1904); V. Albright, *The Shakespearian Stage* (1909).

use of the curtains than the stage-directions give us any warrant for, but also because it fails to provide for the not infrequent event of a succession of interior scenes; and in its original form it is abandoned by Professor Thorndike in common with other recent scholars, who see plainly enough that what I have called hall scenes must have been given on the outer stage. I do not think that they have always grasped that the tendency of the seventeenth century was towards a decreased and not an increased reliance upon the curtained space, possibly because they have not as a rule followed the historical method in their investigations; and Professor Thorndike, although he traces the earlier employment of the alcove much as I do, treats the opening and closing of the curtains as coming in time to be used, in *Antony and Cleopatra* for example and in *Cymbeline*, as little more than a handy convention for indicating the transference of the scene from one locality to another.[1] Such a usage would not of course mean that the new scene was played wholly or even partly within the alcove itself; the change might be merely one of background. But, although I admit that there would be a convenience in Professor Thorndike's development, I do not see that there is in fact any evidence for it. The stage-directions never mention the use of curtains in such circumstances as he has in mind; and while I am far from supposing that they need always have been mentioned, and have myself assumed their use in one scene of *Cymbeline* where they are not mentioned, yet mentions of them are so common in connexion with the earlier and admitted functions of the alcove, that I should have expected Professor Thorndike's view, if it were sound, to have proved capable of confirmation from at least one unconjectural case.

The difficulty which has led Professor Thorndike to his conclusion is, however, a real one. In the absence of a *scenario* with notes of locality, for which certainly there is no evidence, how did the Elizabethan managers indicate to their audiences the shifts of action from one place to another? This is both a sixteenth- and a seventeenth-century problem. We have noted in a former chapter that unity of place was characteristic of the earlier Elizabethan interlude; that it failed to impose itself upon the romantic narrative plots of the popular drama; that it was departed from through the device of letting two ends of a continuously set stage stand for discrete localities; that this device proved only a transition to a system in which the whole stage stood successively for different localities;

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[1] Thorndike, 106.

and that there are hints of a convention by which the locality of each scene was indicated with the help of a label, placed over the door through which the personages in that scene made their exits and their entrances.[1] The public stage of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries experienced no re-establishment of the principle of unity; broadly speaking, it presents an extreme type of romantic drama, with an unfettered freedom of ranging from one to another of any number of localities required by a narrative plot. But the practice, or the instinct, of individual playwrights differs. Ben Jonson is naturally the man who betrays the most conscious preoccupation with the question. He is not, however, a rigid or consistent unitarian. In his two earliest plays the scene shifts from the country to a neighbouring town, and the induction to *Every Man Out of his Humour* is in part an apology for his own liberty, in part a criticism of the licence of others.

> *Mitis.* What 's his scene?
>
> *Cordatus.* Mary *Insula Fortunata*, sir.
>
> *Mitis.* O, the fortunate Iland? masse he has bound himself to a strict law there.
>
> *Cordatus.* Why so?
>
> *Mitis.* He cannot lightly alter the scene without crossing the seas.
>
> *Cordatus.* He needs not, hauing a whole Ilande to runne through, I thinke.
>
> *Mitis.* No? howe comes it then, that in some one play we see so many seas, countries, and kingdomes, past over with such admirable dexteritie?
>
> *Cordatus.* O, that but shewes how well the Authors can travaile in their vocation, and out-run the apprehension of their Auditorie.

Sejanus is throughout in Rome, but five or six distinct houses are required, and it must be doubtful whether such a multiplicity of houses could be shown without a change of scene.[2] The prologue to *Volpone* claims for the author that 'The laws of time, place, persons he obserueth', and this has no more than four houses, all in Venice.[3] In *Catiline* the scenes in Rome, with some ten houses, are broken by two in open country.[4] In *Bartholomew Fair* a preliminary act at a London house is followed by four set continuously before the three booths of the fair. Absolute unity, as distinct from the unity of a single country, or even a single town, is perhaps only attained in *The Alchemist*. Here everything takes place, either in a single room in Lovewit's house in the Blackfriars, or in front of a door leading from the street into the same room. Evidently advantage was taken of the fact that the scene did not have to be changed, to build a wall containing this door out on to the stage itself, for action such as speaking through the keyhole requires both sides of the door to be practicable.[1] There is also a window from which persons approaching can be seen. Inner doors, presumably in the scenic wall, lead to a laboratory and other parts of the house, but these are not discovered, and no use is made of the upper level. Jonson here is a clear innovator, so far as the English public theatre is concerned; no other play of our period reproduces this type of permanent interior setting.

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[1] Cf. pp. 41, 126, 154.

[2] Palace of Tiberius (Acts I, II, III), Senate house (III, V), Gardens of Eudemus (II), Houses of Agrippina (II, IV), Sejanus (V), Regulus (V).

[3] Houses of Volpone (I, II, III, V), Corvino (II), Would Be (V), Law court (IV, V).

[4] Houses of Catiline (I, IV), Fulvia (II), Cicero (III, IV, V), Lecca (III), Brutus (IV), Spinther (V. vi), Cornificius (V. vi), Caesar (V. vi), Senate house (IV, V), Milvian Bridge (IV).

Shakespeare is no classicist; yet in some of his plays, comedies and romantic tragedies, it is, I think, possible to discern at least an instinctive feeling in the direction of scenic unity. *The Comedy of Errors*, with its action in the streets of Syracuse, near the mart, or before the Phoenix, the Porpentine, or the priory, follows upon the lines of its Latin model, although here, as in most of Jonson's plays, it is possible that the various houses were shown successively rather than concurrently. *Twelfth Night*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, and *Measure for Measure* each require a single town, with two, three, and five houses respectively; *Titus Andronicus*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *As You Like It*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon of Athens*, each a single town, with open country environs. *Love's Labour's Lost* has the unity of a park, with perhaps a manor-house as background at one end and tents at the other; *The Tempest* complete pastoral unity after the opening scene on shipboard. *Hamlet* would all be Elsinore, but for one distant open-country scene; *Romeo and Juliet* all Venice, but for one scene in Mantua. In another group of plays the action is divided between two towns. It alternates from Padua to near Verona in *The Taming of the Shrew*, from Verona to Milan in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, from Venice to Belmont in *The Merchant of Venice*; in *Othello* an act in Venice is followed by four in Cyprus. On the other hand, in a few comedies and in the histories and historical tragedies, where Shakespeare's sources leave him less discretion, he shifts his scenes with a readiness outdone by no other playwright. The third act of *Richard II* requires no less than four localities, three of which have a castle, perhaps the same castle from the stage-manager's point of view, in the background. The second act of *1 Henry IV* has as many. *King John* and *Henry V* pass lightly between England and France, *All's Well that Ends Well* between France and Italy, *The Winter's Tale* between Sicily and Bohemia, *Cymbeline* between Britain, Italy, and Wales. Quite a late play, *Antony and Cleopatra*, might almost be regarded as a challenge to classicists. Rome, Misenum, Athens, Actium, Syria, Egypt are the localities, with much further subdivision in the Egyptian scenes. The second act has four changes of locality, the third no less than eight, and it is noteworthy that these changes are often for quite short bits of dialogue, which no modern manager would regard as justifying a resetting of the stage. Shakespeare must surely have been in some danger, in this case, of outrunning the apprehension of his auditory, and I doubt if even Professor Thorndike's play of curtains would have saved him.

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[1] *Alchemist*, III. v. 58, 'He speakes through the key-hole, the other knocking'. *Hen. VIII*, v. ii, iii (continuous scene) also requires a council-chamber door upon the stage, at which Cranmer is stopped after he has entered through the stage door.

It is to be observed also that, in Shakespeare's plays as in those of others, no excessive pains are taken to let the changes of locality coincide with the divisions between the acts. If the second and third acts of *All's Well that Ends Well* are at Paris, the fourth at Florence, and the fifth at Marseilles, yet the shift from Roussillon to Paris is in the middle and not at the end of the first act. The shift from Sicily to Bohemia is in the middle of the third act of *The Winter's Tale*; the Agincourt scenes begin in the middle of the third act of *Henry V*. Indeed, although the poets regarded the acts as units of literary structure, the act-divisions do not appear to have been greatly stressed, at any rate on the stages of the public houses, in the actual presentation of plays.[1] I do not think that they were wholly disregarded, although the fact that they are so often unnoted in the prints of plays based on stage copies might point to that conclusion.[2] The act-interval did not necessarily denote any substantial time-interval in the action of the play, and perhaps the actors did not invariably leave the stage. Thus the lovers in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* sleep through the interval between the third and fourth acts.[3] But some sort of break in the continuity of the performance is a natural inference from the fact that the act-divisions are the favourite, although not the only, points for the intervention of presenters, dumb-shows, and choruses.[1] The act-intervals cannot have been long, at any rate if the performance was to be completed in two hours. There may sometimes have been music, which would not have prevented the audience from stretching themselves and talking.[2] Short intervals, rather than none at all, are, I think, suggested by the well-known passage in the induction of *The Malcontent*, as altered for performance at the Globe, in which it is explained that passages have been added to the play as originally written for Revels boys, 'to entertain a little more time, and to abridge the not-received custom of music in our theatre'.[3] Some information is perhaps to be gleaned from the 'plots' of plays prepared for the guidance of the book-keeper or tire-man, of which examples are preserved at Dulwich.[4] These have lines drawn across them at points which pretty clearly correspond to the beginnings of scenes, although it can hardly be assumed that each new scene meant a change of locality. The act-divisions can in some, but not all, cases be inferred from the occurrence of dumb-shows and choruses; in one, *The Dead Man's Fortune*, they are definitely marked by lines of crosses, and against each such line there is the marginal note 'musique'. Other musical directions, 'sound', 'sennet', 'alarum', 'flourish', come sometimes at the beginning, sometimes in the middle of scenes.

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[1] Daborne gave Tourneur 'an act of y^e Arreignment of London to write' (*Henslowe Papers*, 72).

[2] Cf. ch. xxii.

[3] *M. N. D.* III. ii. 463 (F_1), 'They sleep all the Act'; i. e. all the act-

We do not get any encouragement to think that a change of locality was regularly heralded by notes of music, even if this may incidentally have been the case when a procession or an army or a monarch was about to enter. Possibly the lines on the plots may signify an even slighter pause than that between the acts, such as the modern stage provides

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interval (cf. p. 131). So in *Catiline* the storm with which Act III ends is still on at the beginning of Act IV, and in *Alchemist* Mammon and Lovewit are seen approaching at the ends of Acts I and IV respectively, but in both cases the actual arrival is at the beginning of the next act.

[1] F. A. Foster, *Dumb Show in Elizabethan Drama before 1620* (*E. S.* xliv. 8).

[2] Jonson has a 'Chorus—of musicians' between the acts of *Sejanus*, and the presenter of *Two Lamentable Tragedies* bids the audience 'Delight your eares with pleasing harmonie' after the harrowing end of Act II. Some other examples given in Lawrence, i. 75 (*Music and Song in the Elizabethan Drama*), seem to me no more than incidental music such as may occur at any point of a play. Malone (*Var.* iii. 111) describes a copy of the Q_2 of *R. J.* in which the act endings and directions for inter-act music had been marked in manuscript; but this might be of late date.

[3] *Malcontent*, ind. 89.

[4] *Henslowe Papers*, 127.

with the added emphasis of a drop-curtain; but of this there is no proof, and an allusion in *Catiline* to action as rapid

> As is a veil put off, a visor changed,
> Or the scene shifted, in our theatres,

is distinctly against it.[1] A mere clearance of the stage does not necessarily entail a change of scene, although there are one or two instances in which the exit of personages at one door, followed by their return at another, seems to constitute or accompany such a change.[2] And even if the fact of a change could be signified in one or other of these ways, the audience would still be in the dark as to what the new locality was supposed to be. Can we then assume a continuance of the old practice of indicating localities by labels over the doors? This would entail the shifting of the labels themselves during the progress of the play, at any rate if there were more localities than entrances, or if, as might usually be expected, more entrances than one were required to any locality. But there would be no difficulty about this, and in fact we have an example of the shifting of a label by a mechanical device in the introduction to *Wily Beguiled*.[3] This was not a public theatre play, and the label concerned was one giving the title of the play and not its locality, but similar machinery could obviously have been applied. There is not, however, much actual evidence for the use either of title-labels or of locality-labels on the public stage. The former are perhaps the more probable of the two, and the practice of posting play-bills at the theatre door and in places of public resort would not render them altogether superfluous.[1] In favour of locality-labels it is possible to quote Dekker's advice to those entering Paul's, and also the praise given to Jonson by Jasper Mayne in *Jonsonus Virbius*:

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[1] *Catiline*, I. i.

[2] *Second Maidens Tragedy*, 1719, 'Exit' the Tyrant, four lines from the end of a court scene, and 1724 'Enter the Tirant agen at a farder dore, which opened, bringes hym to the Toombe' (cf. p. 110, n. 8). So in *Woman Killed with Kindness* (Queen's), IV. ii, iii (continuous scene), Mrs. Frankford and her lover retire from a hall scene to sup in her chamber, and the servants are bidden to lock the house doors. In IV. iv Frankford enters with a friend, and says (8) 'This is the key that opes my outward gate; This the hall-door; this the withdrawing chamber; But this . . . It leads to my polluted bed-chamber'. Then (17) 'now to my gate', where they light a lanthorn, and (23) 'this is the last door', and in IV. v Frankford emerges as from the bedchamber. Probably sc. iv is supposed to begin before the house. They go behind at (17), emerge through another door, and the scene is then in the hall, whence Frankford passes at (23) through the central aperture behind again.

[3] *Wily Beguiled*, prol. The Prologus asks a player the name of the play, and is told 'Sir you may look vpon the Title'. He complains that it is '*Spectrum* once again'. Then a Juggler enters, will show him a trick, and says 'With a cast of cleane conveyance, come aloft *Jack* for thy masters advantage (hees gone I warrant ye)' and there is the s.d. '*Spectrum* is conveied away: and *Wily beguiled*, stands in the place of it'.

> Thy stage was still a stage, two entrances
> Were not two parts o' the world, disjoined by seas.[2]

These, however, are rather vague and inconclusive allusions on which to base a whole stage practice, and there is not much to be added to them from the texts and stage-directions of the plays themselves. Signs are of course used to distinguish particular taverns and shops, just as they would be in real life.[3] Occasionally, moreover, a locality is named in a stage-direction in a way that recalls *Common Conditions*, but this may also be explained as no more than a descriptive touch such as is not uncommon in stage-directions written by authors.[4] It is rather against the theory of labels that care is often taken, when a locality is changed, to let the personages themselves declare their whereabouts. A careful reader of such rapidly shifting plays as *Edward I*, *James IV*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, or *King Leir* will generally be able to orientate himself with the aid of the opening passages of dialogue in each new scene, and conceivably a very attentive spectator might do the same. Once the personages have got themselves grouped in the mind in relation to their localities, the recurrence of this or that group would help. It would require a rather careful examination of texts to enable one to judge how far this method of localization by dialogue continues throughout our period. I have been mainly struck by it in early plays. The presenters may also give assistance, either by declaring the general scene in a prologue, or by intervening to call attention to particular shifts.[1] Thus in *Dr. Faustus* the original scene in Wittenberg is indicated by the chorus, a shift to Rome by speeches of Wagner and Faustus, a shift to the imperial court by the chorus, and the return to Wittenberg by a speech of Faustus.[2] Jonson makes a deliberate experiment with this method in *Every Man Out of his Humour*, which it is worth while following in detail. It is the Grex of presenters, Mitis and Cordatus, who serve as guides. The first act is in open country without background, and it is left to the rustic Sogliardo to describe it (543) as his lordship. A visit to Puntarvolo's is arranged, and at the beginning of the second act Cordatus says, 'The Scene is the countrey still, remember' (946). Presently the stage is cleared, with the hint, 'Here he comes, and with him Signior Deliro a merchant, at whose house hee is come to soiourne: Make your owne obseruation now; only transferre your thoughts to the Cittie with the Scene; where, suppose they speake' (1499). The next scene then is at Deliro's. Then, for the first scene of the third act, 'We must desire you to presuppose the Stage, the middle Isle in Paules; and that, the West end of it' (1918). The second scene of this act is in the open country again, with a 'crosse' on which Sordido hangs himself; we are left to infer it from the reappearance of the rustic characters. It is closed with 'Let your minde keepe companie with the Scene stil, which now remoues it selfe from the Countrie to the Court' (2555). After a scene at Court, 'You vnderstand where the scene is?' (2709), and presumably the entry of personages already familiar brings us back for the first scene of Act IV to Deliro's. A visit to 'the Notaries by the Exchange' is planned, and for the second and third scenes the only note is of the entry of Puntarvolo and the Scrivener; probably a scrivener's shop was discovered. Act V is introduced by 'Let your imagination be swifter than a paire of oares, and by this, suppose Puntarvolo, Briske, Fungoso, and the Dog, arriu'd at the court gate, and going vp to the great chamber' (3532). The action of the next scene begins in the great chamber and then shifts to the court gate again. Evidently the two localities were in some way staged together, and a guide is not called upon to enlighten us. There are yet two more scenes, according to the Grex. One opens with 'Conceiue him but to be enter'd the Mitre' (3841), and as action shifts from the Mitre to Deliro's and back again without further note, these two houses were probably shown together. The final scene is introduced by 'O, this is to be imagin'd the Counter belike' (4285). So elaborate a directory would surely render any use of labels superfluous for this particular play; but, so far as we know, the experiment was not repeated.[1]

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[1] Most of the examples in Lawrence, i. 43 (*Title and Locality Boards on the Pre-Restoration Stage*) belong to Court or to private theatres; on the latter cf. p. 154, *infra*. But the prologue to *1 Sir John Oldcastle* begins 'The doubtful Title (Gentlemen) prefixt Upon the Argument we have in hand May breede suspence'. The lost Frankfort engraving of English comedians (cf. vol. ii, p. 520) is said to have shown boards.

[2] Cunningham, *Jonson*, iii. 509; Dekker, *G. H. B.* (ed. McKerrow), 40, And first observe your doors of entrance, and your exit; not much unlike the players at the theatres; keeping your decorums, even in fantasticality. As for example: if you prove to be a northern gentleman, I would wish you to pass through the north door, more often especially than any of the other; and so, according to your countries, take note of your entrances'.

[3] *1 Contention*, sc. xxii, 'Richard kils him under the signe of the Castle in St. Albones'; *Comedy of Errors* (the Phoenix, the Porpentine), *Shoemaker's Holiday* (the Last), *Edw. IV* (the Pelican), *E. M. O.* (the Mitre), *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (the Mitre, the Wolf); *Bartholomew Fair* (the Pig's Head); &c.

[4] *Wounds of Civil War*, III. iv, 'Enter Marius solus from the Numidian mountaines, feeding on rootes'; *3 Hen. VI*, IV. ii, 'Enter Warwick and Oxford in England', &c.; cf. ch. xxii.

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[1] *Warning for Fair Women*, ind. 86, 'My scene is London, native and your own'; *Alchemist*, prol. 5, 'Our scene is London'; cf. the Gower speeches in *Pericles*.

[2] *Dr. Faustus*, 13, 799, 918, 1111.

When Cordatus points to 'that', and calls it the west end of Paul's, are we to suppose that the imagination of the audience was helped out by the display of any pictorial background? It is not impossible. The central aperture, disclosed by the parting curtains, could easily hold, in place of a discovered alcove or a quasi-solid monument or rock, any kind of painted cloth which might give colour to the scene. A woodland cloth or a battlement cloth could serve for play after play, and for a special occasion something more distinctive could be attempted without undue expense. Such a back-cloth, perhaps for use in *Dr. Faustus*, may have been 'the sittie of Rome' which we find in Henslowe's inventory of 1598.[2] And something of this kind seems to be required in *2 If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody*, where the scene is before Sir Thomas Gresham's newly completed Burse, and the personages say 'How do you like this building?' and 'We are gazing here on M. Greshams work'.[3] Possibly Elizabethan imaginations were more vivid than a tradition of scene-painters allows ours to be, but that does not mean that an Elizabethan audience did not like to have its eyes tickled upon occasion. And if as a rule the stage-managers relied mainly upon garments and properties to minister to this instinct, there is no particular reason why they should not also have had recourse to so simple a device as a back-cloth. This conjecture is hardly excluded by the very general terms in which post-Restoration writers deny 'scenes' and all decorations other than 'hangings' to the earlier stage.[4] By 'scenes' they no doubt mean the complete settings with shuttered ‘ wings ’ as well as back-cloths which Inigo Jones had devised for the masks and the stage had adopted. Even these were not absolutely unknown in pre-Restoration plays, and neither this fact nor the incidental use of special cloths over the central aperture would make it untrue that the normal background of an Elizabethan or Jacobean play was an arras.[1]

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[1] I cite Greg's Q_2, but Q_1 agrees. Jonson's own scene-division is of course determined by the introduction of new speakers (cf. p. 200) and does not precisely follow the textual indications.

[2] *Henslowe Papers*, 116.

[3] *2 If You Know Not Me* (ed. Pearson), p. 295.

[4] Cf. App. I, and Neuendorff, 149, who quotes J. Corey, *Generous Enemies* (1672), prol.:

> Coarse hangings then, instead of scenes, were worn,
> And Kidderminster did the stage adorn.

Graves, 78, suggests pictorial 'painted cloths' for backgrounds.

The discussions of the last chapter and a half have envisaged the plays presented, exclusively in open theatres until the King's took over the Blackfriars, by professional companies of men. I must deal in conclusion, perhaps more briefly than the interest of the problem would itself justify, with those of the revived boy companies which for a time carried on such an active rivalry with the men, at Paul's from 1599 to 1606 and at the Blackfriars from 1600 to 1609. It is, I think, a principal defect of many investigations into Jacobean staging, that the identity of the devices employed in the so-called ‘ public ’ and ‘ private ’ houses has been too hastily assumed, and a uniform hypothesis built up upon material taken indifferently from both sources, without regard to the logical possibility of the considerable divergences to which varying conditions of structure and of tradition may have given rise. This is a kind of syncretism to which an inadequate respect for the historic method naturally tends. It is no doubt true that the ‘ standardization ’ of type, which I have accepted as likely to result from the frequent migration of companies and plays from one public house to another, may in a less degree have affected the private houses also. James Burbadge originally built the Blackfriars for public performances, and we know that *Satiromastix* was produced both at the Globe and at Paul's in 1601, and that in 1604 the Revels boys and the King's men were able to effect mutual piracies of *Jeronimo* and *The Malcontent*. Nor is there anything in the general character of the two groups of ‘ public ’ and ‘ private ’ plays, as they have come down to us, which is in any obvious way inconsistent with some measure of standardization. It is apparent, indeed, that the act-interval was of far more importance at both Paul's and the Blackfriars than elsewhere. But this is largely a matter of degree. The inter-acts of music and song and dance were more universal and longer.[2] But the relation of the acts to each other was not essentially different. The break in the representation may still correspond to practically no interval at all in the time-distribution of the play; and there are examples in which the action continues to be carried on by the personages in dumb-show, while the music is still sounding.[1] In any case this particular distinction, while it might well modify the methods of the dramatist, need only effect the economy of the tire-house in so far as it would give more time for the preparation of

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[1] ‘ Scenes ’ were used in the public performances of Nabbes's *Microcosmus* (*1637*), Suckling's *Aglaura* (*1637*), and Habington's *Queen of Arragon* (*1640*); cf. Lawrence, ii. 121 (*The Origin of the English Picture-Stage*); W. G. Keith, *The Designs for the First Movable Scenery on the English Stage* (*Burlington Magazine*, xxv. 29, 85).

[2] For Paul's, *C. and C. Errant* (after each act), ‘ Here they knockt up the Consort ’; *Faery Pastorall*; *Trick to Catch the Old One* (after 1 and

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II), 'music'; *What You Will*, II. ii. 235 'So ends our chat;—sound music for the act'; for Blackfriars, *Gentleman Usher*, III. i. 1, 'after the song'; *Sophonisba* (after I), 'the cornets and organs playing loud full music for the act', (II) 'Organ mixt with recorders, for this act', (III) 'Organs, viols and voices play for this act', (IV) 'A base lute and a treble violl play for the act', with which should be read the note at the end of Q_1, 'let me intreat my reader not to taxe me for the fashion of the entrances and musique of this tragedy, for know it is printed only as it was presented by youths and after the fashion of the private stage'; *K. B. P.* (after I), 'Boy danceth. Musicke. Finis Actus primi', (II) 'Musicke. Finis Actus secundi', (III) 'Finis Actus tertii. Musicke. Actus quartus, scoena prima. Boy daunceth', (IV) Ralph's May Day speech; cf. *infra* and vol. ii, p. 557. I do not find any similar recognition of the scene as a structural element in the play to be introduced by music; in *1 Antonio and Mellida*, III. ii. 120, the s.d. 'and so the Scene begins' only introduces a new scene in the sense of a regrouping of speakers (cf. p. 200).

[1] For Paul's, *Histriomastix*, III. i. 1, 'Enter Pride, Vaine-Glory, Hypocrisie, and Contempt: Pride casts a mist, wherein Mavortius and his company [who ended II] vanish off the Stage, and Pride and her attendants remaine', (after III) 'They all awake, and begin the following Acte', (after V) 'Allarmes in severall places, that brake him off thus: after a retreat sounded, the Musicke playes and Poverty enters'; *2 Antonio and Mellida*, III. i. 1, 'A dumb show. The cornets sounding for the Act', (after IV) 'The cornets sound for the act. The dumb show'; *What You Will*, III. i. 1, 'Enter Francisco . . . They clothe Francisco whilst Bidet creeps in and observes them. Much of this done whilst the Act is playing'; *Phoenix* (after II), 'Towards the close of the musick the justices three men prepare for a robberie'; for Blackfriars, *Malcontent*, II. i. 1, 'Enter Mendoza with a sconce, to observe Ferneze's entrance, who, whilst the act is playing, enters unbraced, two Pages before him with lights; is met by Maquerelle and conveyed in; the Pages are sent away'; *Fawn*, V. i. 1, 'Whilst the Act is a playing, Hercules and Tiberio enters; Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received above by Dulcimel, Philocalia, and a Priest; Hercules stays beneath'. The phrase 'whilst the act is playing' is a natural development from 'for the act', i. e. 'in preparation for the act', used also for the elaborate music which at private houses replaced the three preliminary trumpet 'soundings' of the public houses; cf. *What You Will*, ind. 1 (s.d.), 'Before the music sounds for the Act', and *1 Antonio and Mellida*, ind. 1, 'The music will sound straight for entrance'. But it leads to a vagueness of thought in which the interval itself is regarded as the 'act'; cf. the *M. N. D.* s.d. of F_1, quoted p. 124, n. 3, with Middleton, *The Changeling* (1653), III. i. 1, 'In the act-time De Flores hides a naked rapier behind a door', and Cotgrave, *Dict.* (1611), 'Acte . . . also, an Act, or Pause in a Comedie, or Tragedie'.

an altered setting at the beginning of an act. When *The Malcontent* was taken over at the Globe, the text had to be lengthened that the music might be abridged, but there is no indication of any further alteration, due to a difficulty in adapting the original situations to the peculiarities of the Globe stage. The types of incident, again, which are familiar in public plays, reappear in the private ones; in different proportions, no doubt, since the literary interest of the dramatists and their audiences tends rather in the directions, on the one hand of definite pastoral, and on the other of courtly crime and urban humour, than in that of chronicle history. And there is a marked general analogy in the stage-directions. Here also those who leave the stage go 'in', and music and voices can be heard 'within'. There are the same formulae for the use of several doors, of which one is definitely a 'middle' door.[1] Spirits and so forth can 'ascend' from under the stage by the convenient traps.[2] Possibly they can also 'descend' from the heavens.[3] The normal backing of the stage, even in out-of-door scenes, is an arras or hanging, through which at Paul's spectators can watch a play.[1] At the Blackfriars, while the arras, even more clearly than in the public theatres, is of a decorative rather than a realistic kind, it can also be helped out by something in the nature of perspective.[2] There is action 'above', and interior action, some of which is recessed or 'discovered'. It must be added, however, that these formulae, taken by themselves, do not go very far towards determining the real character of the staging. They make their first appearance, for the most part, with the interludes in which the Court influence is paramount, and are handed down as a tradition to the public and the private plays alike. They would hardly have been sufficient, without the Swan drawing and other collateral evidence, to disclose even such a general conception of the various uses and interplay, at the Globe and elsewhere, of main stage, alcove, and gallery, as we believe ourselves to have succeeded in adumbrating. And it is quite possible that at Paul's and the Blackfriars they may not—at any rate it must not be taken for granted without inquiry that they do—mean just the same things. Thus, to take the doors alone, we infer with the help of the Swan drawing, that in the public

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[1] For Paul's, *Histriomastix*, i. 163, 'Enter Fourcher, Voucher, Velure, Lyon-Rash . . . two and two at severall doores'; v. 103, 'Enter . . . on one side . . . on the other'; v. 192, 'Enter . . . at one end of the stage: at the other end enter . . .'; vi. 41, 'Enter Mavortius and Philarchus at severall doores'; vi. 241, 'Enter . . . at the one doore. At the other . . .'; *1 Antonio and Mellida*, iv. 220 (marsh scene), 'Enter . . . at one door; . . . at another door'; *2 Antonio and Mellida*, v. 1, 'Enter at one door . . . at the other door'; *Maid's Metamorphosis*, II. ii. 1 (wood scene), 'Enter at one door . . . at the other doore, . . . in the midst'; III. ii. 1 (wood scene), 'Enter . . . at three severall doores'; *Faery Pastoral*, III. vi, 'Mercury entering by the midde doore wafted them back by the doore they came in'; IV. viii, 'They enterd at severall doores, Learchus at the midde doore'; *Puritan*, I. iv. 1 (prison scene), 'Enter . . . at one dore, and . . . at the other', &c.; for Blackfriars, *Sir G. Goosecap*, IV. ii. 140, 'Enter Jack and Will on the other side'; *Malcontent*, v. ii. 1, 'Enter from opposite sides'; *E. Ho!*, I. i. 1, 'Enter . . . at severall dores . . . At the middle dore, enter . . .'; *Sophonisba*, prol., 'Enter at one door . . . at the other door'; *May Day*, II. i. 1, 'Enter . . . several ways'; *Your Five Gallants*, I. ii. 27, 'Enter . . . at the farther door', &c.

[2] For Paul's, *2 Antonio and Mellida*, IV. ii. 87, 'They strike the stage with their daggers, and the grave openeth'; v. i. 1, 'Balurdo from under the Stage'; *Aphrodysial* (quoted Reynolds, i. 26), 'A Trap door in the middle of the stage'; *Bussy d'Ambois*, II. ii. 177, 'The Vault opens' . . . 'ascendit Frier and D'Ambois' . . . 'Descendit Fryar' (cf. III. i; IV. ii; v. i, iii, iv); for Blackfriars, *Poetaster* (F_1) prol. 1, 'Envie. Arising in the midst of the stage'; *Case is Altered*, III. ii, 'Digs a hole in the ground'; *Sophonisba*, III. i. 201, 'She descends after Sophonisba' . . . (207) 'Descends through the vault'; v. i. 41, 'Out of the altar the ghost of Asdrubal ariseth'.

[3] *Widow's Tears* (Blackfriars), III. ii. 82, 'Hymen descends, and six Sylvans enter beneath, with torches'; this is in a mask, and Cupid may have descended from a pageant. When a 'state' or throne is used (e.g. *Satiromastix*, 2309, 'Soft musicke, Chaire is set under a Canopie'), there

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is no indication that it descends. In *Satiromastix*, 2147, we get 'O thou standst well, thou lean'st against a poast', but this is obviously inadequate evidence for a heavens supported by posts at Paul's.

[1] *C. and C. Errant*, v. ix, 'He tooke the Bolle from behind the Arras'; *Faery Pastoral*, v. iv (wood scene), 'He tooke from behind the Arras a Peck of goodly Acornes pilld'; *What You Will*, ind. 97, 'Let's place ourselves within the curtains, for good faith the stage is so very little, we shall wrong the general eye else very much'; *Northward Ho!*, IV. i, 'Lie you in ambush, behind the hangings, and perhaps you shall hear the piece of a comedy'. In *C. and C. Errant*, v. viii. 1, the two actors left on the stage at the end of v. vii were joined by a troop from the inn, and yet others coming 'easily after them and stealingly, so as the whole Scene was insensibly and suddenly brought about in Catastrophe of the Comoedy. And the whole face of the Scene suddenly altered'. I think that Percy is only trying to describe the change from a nearly empty to a crowded stage, not a piece of scene-shifting.

[2] *Cynthia's Revels* (Q), ind. 149, 'Slid the Boy takes me for a peice of Prospective (I holde my life) or some silke Curtine, come to hang the Stage here: Sir Cracke I am none of your fresh Pictures, that use to beautifie the decay'd dead Arras, in a publique Theater'; *K. B. P.* II. 580, '*Wife.* What story is that painted upon the cloth? the confutation of Saint Paul? *Citizen.* No lambe, that Ralph and Lucrece'. In *Law Tricks*, III. i, Emilia bids Lurdo 'Behind the Arras; scape behind the Arras'. Polymetes enters, praises the 'verie faire hangings' representing Venus and Adonis, makes a pass at Vulcan, and notices how the arras trembles and groans. Then comes the s.d. (which has got in error into Bullen's text, p. 42) 'Discouer Lurdo behind the Arras', and Emilia carries it off by pretending that it is only Lurdo's picture.

theatres the three main entrances were in the scenic wall and on the same or nearly the same plane. But the Blackfriars was a rectangular room. We do not know that any free space was left between its walls and the sides of the stage. And it is quite conceivable that there may have been side-doors in the planes of these walls, and at right angles to the middle door. Whether this was so or not, and if so how far forward the side-doors stood, there is certainly nothing in the formulae of the stage-directions to tell us. Perhaps the most noticeable differentiation, which emerges from a comparative survey of private and public plays, is that in the main the writers of the former, unlike those of the latter, appear to be guided by the principle of unity of place; at any rate to the extent that their *domus* are generally located in the same town, although they may be brought for purposes of representation into closer contiguity than the actual topography of that town would suggest. There are exceptions, and the scenes in a town are occasionally broken by one or two, requiring at the most an open-country background, in the environs. The exact measure in which the principle is followed will become sufficiently evident in the sequel. My immediate point is that it was precisely the absence of unity of place which drove the public stage back upon its common form background of a curtained alcove below and a curtained gallery above, supplemented by the side-doors and later the windows above them, and convertible to the needs of various localities in the course of a single play.

Let us now proceed to the analysis, first of the Paul's plays and then of the Chapel and Revels plays at the Blackfriars; separately, for the same caution, which forbids a hasty syncretism of the conditions of public and private houses, also warns us that divergences may conceivably have existed between those of the two private houses themselves. But here too we are faced with the fact that individual plays were sometimes transferred from one to the other, *The Fawn* from Blackfriars to Paul's, and *The Trick to Catch the Old One* in its turn from Paul's to Blackfriars.[1]

Seventeen plays, including the two just named and *Satiromastix*, which was shared with the Globe, are assigned to Paul's by contemporary title-pages.[2] To these may be added, with various degrees of plausibility, *Histriomastix*, *What You Will*, and *Wily Beguiled*. For Paul's were also certainly planned, although we cannot be sure whether, or if so when, they were actually produced, the curious series of plays left in manuscript by William Percy, of which unfortunately only two have ever been published. As the company only endured for six or seven years after its revival, it seems probable that a very fair proportion of its repertory has reached us. *Jack Drum's Entertainment* speaks of the 'mustie fopperies of antiquitie' with which the company began its career, and one of these is no doubt to be found in *Histriomastix*, evidently an old play, possibly of academic origin, and recently brought up to date.[1] The staging of *Histriomastix* would have caused no difficulty to the Revels officers, if it had been put into their hands as a Paul's play of the 'eighties. The plot illustrates the cyclical progression of Peace, Plenty, Pride, Envy, War, Poverty, each of whom in turn occupies a throne, finally resigned to Peace, for whom in an alternative ending for Court performance is substituted Astraea, who is Elizabeth.[2] This arrangement recalls that of *The Woman in the Moon*, but the throne seems to have its position on the main stage rather than above. Apart from the abstractions, the whole of the action may be supposed to take place in a single provincial town, largely in an open street, sometimes in the hall of a lord called Mavortius, on occasion in or before smaller *domus* representing the studies of Chrisoganus, a scholar, and Fourcher, a lawyer, the shop of Velure, a merchant, a market-cross, which is discovered by a curtain, perhaps a tavern.[3] Certainly in the 'eighties these would have been disposed together around the stage, like the *domus* of *Campaspe* about the market-place at Athens.

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[1] I think it is possible that *Sophonisba*, with its 'canopy' (cf. p. 149) was also originally written for Paul's.

[2] *1, 2 Antonio and Mellida, Maid's Metamorphosis, Wisdom of Dr. Dodipoll, Jack Drum's Entertainment, Satiromastix, Blurt Master Constable, Bussy D'Ambois, Westward Ho!, Northward Ho!, Fawn, Michaelmas Term, Phoenix, Mad World, my Masters, Trick to Catch the Old One, Puritan, Woman Hater.*

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[1] *Jack Drum's Ent.* v. 112.

[2] *Histriomastix*, i. 6, 'now sit wee high (tryumphant in our sway)'; ii. 1, 'Enter Plenty upon a Throne'; iii. 11, 'If you will sit in throne of State with Pride'; v. 1, 'Rule, fier-eied Warre! . . . Envy . . . Hath now resigned her spightfull throne to us'; vi. 7, 'I [Poverty] scorne a scoffing foole about my Throne'; vi. 271 (s.d.), 'Astraea' [in margin, 'Q. Eliza'] 'mounts unto the throne'; vi. 296 (original ending), 'In the end of the play. Plenty Pride Envy Warre and Poverty To enter and resigne their severall Scepters to Peace, sitting in Maiestie'.

[3] *Histriomastix*, i. 163, 'Enter . . . Chrisoganus in his study' . . . (181) 'So all goe to Chrisoganus study, where they find him reading'; ii. 70, 'Enter Contrimen, to them, Clarke of the Market: hee wrings a bell, and drawes a curtaine; whereunder is a market set about a Crosse' . . . (80) 'Enter Gulch, Belch, Clowt and Gut. One of them steppes on the Crosse, and cryes, A Play' . . . (105) 'Enter Vintner with a quart of Wine'; v. 192, 'Enter Lyon-rash to Fourchier sitting in his study at one end of the stage: At the other end enter Vourcher to Velure in his shop'.

And I believe that this is in fact how *Histriomastix* was staged, more particularly as at one point (v. 259) the action appears to pass directly from the street to the hall without a clearance. Similarly *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is on strictly Lylyan lines. It is *tout en pastoralle*, in a wood, about whose paths the characters stray, while in various regions of it are located the cave of Somnus (II. i. 148), the cottage of Eurymine (IV. ii. 4), and a palace where 'Phoebus appeares' (V. ii. 25), possibly above. *Wily Beguiled* needs a stage of which part is a wood, and part a village hard by, with some suggestion of the doors of the houses of Gripe, Ploddall, Churms, and Mother Midnight. Somewhat less concentration is to be found in *The Wisdom of Dr. Dodipoll.* Here too, a space of open country, a green hill with a cave, the harbourage and a bank, is neighboured by the Court of Alphonso and the houses of Cassimere and of Flores, of which the last named is adapted for interior action.[1] All this is in Saxony, but there is also a single short scene (I. iii) of thirty-two lines, not necessarily requiring a background, in Brunswick. The plays of William Percy are still, it must be admitted, rather obscure, and one has an uneasy feeling that the manuscript may not yet have yielded up all its indications as to date and provenance. But on the assumption that the conditions contemplated are those of Paul's in 1599–1606, we learn some curious details of structure, and are face to face with a technique which is still closely reminiscent of the 'eighties. Percy, alone of the dramatists, prefixes to his books, for the guidance of the producer, a note of the equipment required to set them forth. Thus for *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errant* he writes:

'The Properties.

'Harwich, In Midde of the Stage Colchester with Image of Tarlton, Signe and Ghirlond under him also. The Raungers Lodge, Maldon, A Ladder of Roapes trussed up neare Harwich. Highest and Aloft the Title The Cuck-Queanes and Cuckolds Errants. A Long Fourme.'

The house at Colchester is the Tarlton Inn, and here the ghost of Tarlton prologizes, 'standing at entrance of the doore and right under the Beame'. That at Harwich is the house of Floredin, and the ladder leads to the window of his wife Arvania. Thus we have the concurrent representation of three localities, in three distinct towns of Essex. To each is assigned one of three doors and, as in *Common Conditions* of old, entry by a particular door signifies that a scene is to take place at the locality to which it belongs.[1] One is at liberty to conjecture that the doors were nominated by labels, but Percy does not precisely say so, although he certainly provides for a title label. Journeys from one locality to another are foreshortened into a crossing of the stage.[2] For *The Aphrodysial* there were at least two houses, the palace of Oceanus 'in the middle and alofte', and Proteus Hall, where interior action takes place.[3] For *The Faery Pastoral* there is an elaborate note:

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[1] *Dr. Dodipoll,* I. i. 1, 'A Curtaine drawne, Earl Lassingbergh is discovered (like a Painter) painting Lucilia, who sits working on a piece of cushion worke'. In III. ii a character is spoken of after his 'Exit' as 'going down the staires', which suggests action 'above'. But other indications place the scene before Cassimere's house.

> 'The Properties
>
> 'Highest, aloft, and on the Top of the Musick Tree the Title The Faery Pastorall, Beneath him pind on Post of the Tree The Scene Elvida Forrest. Lowest of all over the Canopie ΝΑΠΑΙΤΒΟΔΑΙΟΝ or Faery Chappell. A kiln of Brick. A Fowen Cott. A Hollowe Oake with vice of wood to shutt to. A Lowe well with Roape and Pullye. A Fourme of Turves. A greene Bank being Pillowe to the Hed but. Lastly A Hole to creepe in and out.'

Having written so far, Percy is smitten with a doubt. The stage of Paul's was a small one, and spectators sat on it. If he clutters it up like this with properties, will there be room to act at all? He has a happy thought and continues:

> 'Now if so be that the Properties of any These, that be outward, will not serve the turne by reason of concourse of the People on the Stage, Then you may omitt the sayd Properties which be outward and supplye their Places with their Nuncupations onely in Text Letters. Thus for some.'

Whether the master of Paul's was prepared to avail himself of this ingenious device, I do not know. There is no other reference to it, and I do not think it would be safe to assume that it was in ordinary use upon either the public or the private stage. There is no change of locality in *The Faery Pastoral*, which is *tout en pastoralle*, but besides the title label, there was a general scenic label and a special one for the fairy chapel. This, which had seats on 'degrees' (v. 5), occupied the 'Canopie, Fane or Trophey', which I take to have been a discovered interior under the 'Beame' named in the other play, corresponding to the alcove of the public theatres. The other properties were smaller 'practicables' standing free on the stage, which is presumably what Percy means by 'outward'. The arrangement must have closely resembled that of *The Old Wive's Tale*. The 'Fowen Cott' is later described as 'tapistred with cats and fowëns'—a gamekeeper's larder. Some kind of action from above was possible; it may have been only from a tree.[1]

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[1] *C. and C. Errant*, I. i, 'They entered from Maldon'; I. iv, 'They entered from Harwich all'.

[2] *C. and C. Errant*, I. ii, 'They met from Maldon and from Harwich', for a scene in Colchester; III. i, 'They crossd: Denham to Harwich, Lacy to Maldon'.

[3] Reynolds (*M. P.* xii. 248) gives the note as 'In the middle and alofte Oceanus Pallace The Scene being. Next Proteus-Hall'. This seems barely grammatical and I am not sure that it is complete. A limitation of Paul's is suggested by the s.d. (ibid. 258) 'Chambers (noise supposd for Powles) For actors', but apparently 'a showre of Rose-water and confits' was feasible.

The plays so far considered seem to point to the use at Paul's of continuous settings, even when various localities had to be shown, rather than the successive settings, with the help of common form *domus*, which prevailed at the contemporary Globe and Fortune. Perhaps there is rather an archaistic note about them. Let us turn to the plays written for Paul's by more up-to-date dramatists, by Marston, Dekker and Webster, Chapman, Middleton, and Beaumont. Marston's hand, already discernible in the revision of *Histriomastix*, appears to be dominant in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, although neither play was reclaimed for him in the collected edition of 1633. Unity of locality is not observed in *Jack Drum*. By far the greater part of the action takes place on Highgate Green, before the house of Sir Edward Fortune, with practicable windows above.[2] But there are two scenes (I. 282–428; IV. 207–56) in London, before a tavern (I. 345), which may be supposed to be also the house where Mistress Brabant lies 'private' in an 'inner chamber' (IV. 83, 211). And there are three (II. 170–246; III. 220–413; V) in an open spot, on the way to Highgate (II. 228) and near a house, whence a character emerges (III. 249, 310). It is described as 'the crosse stile' (IV. 338), and is evidently quite near Fortune's house, and still on the green (V. 96, 228). This suggests to me a staging closely analogous to that of *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds*, with Highgate at one end of the stage, London at the other, and the cross stile between them. It is true that there is no very certain evidence of direct transference of action from one spot to another, but the use of two doors at the beginning of the first London scene is consistent, on my theory, with the fact that one entrant comes from Highgate, whither also he goes at the end of the scene, and the similar use at the beginning of the second cross-stile scene is consistent with the fact that the two entrants are wildly seeking the same lady, and one may well have been in London and the other at Highgate. She herself enters from the neighbouring house; that is to say, a third, central, door. With Marston's acknowledged plays, we reach an order of drama in which interior action of the 'hall' type is conspicuous.[1] There are four plays, each limited to a single Italian city, Venice or Urbino. The main action of *1 Antonio and Mellida* is in the hall of the doge's palace, chiefly on 'the lower stage', although ladies discourse 'above', and a chamber can be pointed to from the hall.[2] One short scene (v. 1–94), although near the Court, is possibly in the lodging of a courtier, but probably in the open street. And two (III. i; IV) are in open country, representing 'the Venice marsh', requiring no background, but approachable by more than one door.[3] The setting of *2 Antonio and Mellida* is a little more complicated. There is no open-country scene. The hall recurs and is still the chief place of action. It can be entered by more than one door (v. 17, &c.) and has a 'vault' (II. 44) with a 'grate' (II. ii. 127), whence a speaker is heard 'under the stage' (v. 1). The scenes within it include several episodes discovered by curtains. One is at the window of Mellida's chamber above.[4] Another, in Maria's chamber, where the discovery is only of a bed, might be either above or below.[5] A third involves the appearance of a ghost 'betwixt the musichouses', probably above.[6] Concurrently, a fourth facilitates a murder in a recess below.[1] Nor is the hall any longer the only interior used. Three scenes (II. 1–17; III. 1–212; IV. ii) are in an aisle (III. 128) of St. Mark's, with a trapped grave.[2] As a character passes (ii. 17) directly from the church to the palace in the course of a speech, it is clear that the two 'houses', consistently with actual Venetian topography, were staged together and contiguously. *The Fawn* was originally produced at Blackfriars and transferred to Paul's. I deal with it here, because of the close analogy which it presents to *1 Antonio and Mellida.* It begins with an open-country scene within sight of the 'far-appearing spires' of Urbino. Thereafter all is within the hall of the Urbino palace. It is called a 'presence' (I. ii. 68), but one must conceive it as of the nature of an Italian colonnaded *cortile*, for there is a tree visible, up which a lover climbs to his lady's chamber, and although both the tree and the chamber window might have occupied a bit of façade in the plane of the aperture showing the hall, they appear in fact to have been within the hall, since the lovers are later 'discovered' to the company there.[3] *What You Will*, intermediate in date between *Antonio and Mellida* and *The Fawn*, has a less concentrated setting than either of them. The principal house is Albano's (I; III. ii; IV; V. 1–68), where there is action at the porch, within the hall, and in a discovered room behind.[4] But there are also scenes in a shop (III. ii), in Laverdure's lodging (II. ii), probably above, and in a schoolroom (II. ii). The two latter are also discovered.[5]

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[1] *Faery Pastoral*, p. 162, 'A Scrolle fell into her lap from above'.

[2] *Jack Drum*, II. 27, 'The Casement opens, and Katherine appeares'; 270, 'Winifride lookes from aboue'; 286, 'Camelia, from her window'.

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[1] I give s.ds. with slight corrections from Bullen, who substantially follows 1633. But he has re-divided his scenes; 1633 has acts only for *1 Antonio and Mellida* (in spite of s.d. 'and so the scene begins' with a new speaker at III. ii. 120); acts and scenes, by speakers, for *2 Antonio and Mellida*; and acts and scenes or acts and first scenes only, not by speakers and very imperfectly, for the rest.

[2] *1 Ant. and Mell.* I. 100, 'Enter above . . . Enter below' . . . (117) 'they two stand . . . whilst the scene passeth above' . . . (140) 'Exeunt all on the lower stage' . . . (148) '*Rossaline.* Prithee, go down!' . . . (160) 'Enter Mellida, Rossaline, and Flavia'; III. ii. 190 'Enter Antonio and Mellida' . . . (193) '*Mellida.* A number mount my stairs; I'll straight return. *Exit*' . . . (222) '*Feliche.* Slink to my chamber; look you, that is it'.

[3] IV. 220, 'Enter Piero (&c.) . . . Balurdo and his Page, at another door'.

[4] *2 Ant. and Mell.* I. ii. 194, '*Antonio.* See, look, the curtain stirs' . . . (s.d.) 'The curtains drawn, and the body of Feliche, stabb'd thick with wounds, appears hung up' and '*Antonio.* What villain bloods the window of my love?'

[5] III. ii. 1, 'Enter . . . Maria, her hair loose' . . . (59) '*Maria.* Pages, leave the room' . . . (65) 'Maria draweth the curtain: and the ghost of Andrugio is displayed, sitting on the bed' . . . (95) 'Exit Maria to her bed, Andrugio drawing the curtains'.

[6] V. ii. 50, 'While the measure is dancing, Andrugio's ghost is placed

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betwixt the music-houses' . . . (115) 'The curtaine being drawn, exit Andrugio'.

[1] V. ii. 112, 'They run all at Piero with their rapiers'. This is while the ghost is present above, but (152) 'The curtains are drawn, Piero departeth'.

[2] III. i. 33, 'And, lo, the ghost of old Andrugio Forsakes his coffin' . . . (125) 'Ghosts . . . from above and beneath' . . . (192) 'From under the stage a groan'; IV. ii. 87, 'They strike the stage with their daggers, and the grave openeth'. The church must have been shown open, and part of the crowded action of these scenes kept outside; at IV. ii. 114, 'yon bright stars' are visible.

[3] *Fawn*, IV. 638, '*Dulcimel.* Father, do you see that tree, that leans just on my chamber window? . . . (V. 1) 'whilst the Act is a-playing, Hercules and Tiberio enters; Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received above by Dulcimel, Philocalia, and a Priest: Hercules stays beneath'. After a mask and other action in the presence, (461) 'Tiberio and Dulcimel above, are discovered hand in hand'.

[4] *W. You Will*, IV. 373, after a dance, '*Celia.* Will you to dinner?' . . . (V. 1) 'The curtains are drawn by a Page, and Celia (&c.) displayed, sitting at dinner'.

[5] II. 1, 'One knocks: Laverdure draws the curtains, sitting on his bed, apparelling himself; his trunk of apparel standing by him' . . . (127)

Nevertheless, I do not think that shifting scenes of the public theatre type are indicated. Albano's house does not lend itself to public theatre methods. Act I is beneath his wife Celia's window.[1] Similarly III. ii is before his porch. But III. iv is in his hall, whence the company go to dinner within, and here they are disclosed in V. Hence, from V. 69 onwards, they begin to pass to the street, where they presently meet the duke's troop. I do not know of any public play in which the porch, the hall, and an inner room of a house are all represented, and my feeling is that Albano's occupied the back corner of a stage, with the porch and window above to one side, at right angles to the plane of the hall. At any rate I do not see any definite obstacle to the hypothesis that all Marston's plays for Paul's had continuous settings. For *What You Will* the 'little' stage would have been rather crowded. The induction hints that it was, and perhaps that spectators were on this occasion excluded, while the presenters went behind the back curtains.

Most of the other Paul's plays need not detain us as long as Marston's. He has been thought to have helped in *Satiromastix*, but that must be regarded as substantially Dekker's. Obviously it must have been capable of representation both at Paul's and at the Globe. It needs the houses of Horace, Shorthose, and Vaughan, Prickshaft's garden with a 'bower' in it, and the palace. Interior action is required in Horace's study, which is discovered,[2] the presence-chamber at the palace, where a 'chaire is set under a canopie',[3] and Shorthose's hall.[4] The ordinary methods at the Globe would be adequate. On the other hand, London, in spite of Horace, is the locality throughout, and at Paul's the setting may have been continuous, just as well as in *What You Will*. Dekker is also the leading spirit in *Westward Ho!* and *Northward Ho!*, and in these we get, for the first time at Paul's, plays for which a continuous setting seems quite impossible. Not only does *Westward Ho!* require no less than ten houses and

'Bidet, I'll down'; II. ii. 1, 'Enter a schoolmaster, draws the curtains behind, with Battus, Nous, Slip, Nathaniel, and Holophernes Pippo, schoolboys, sitting, with books in their hands'.

[1] I. 110, 'He sings and is answered; from above a willow garland is flung down, and the song ceaseth'.

[2] *Satiromastix*, I. ii. 1, 'Horrace sitting in a study behinde a curtaine, a candle by him burning, bookes lying confusedly'.

[3] V. ii. 23, where the 'canopie', if a Paul's term, may be the equivalent of the public theatre alcove (cf. pp. 82, 120). The 'bower' in IV. iii holds eight persons, and a recess may have been used.

[4] Shorthose says (V. i. 60) 'Thou lean'st against a poast', but obviously posts supporting a heavens at Paul's cannot be inferred.

Northward Ho! seven, but also, although the greater part of both plays takes place in London, *Westward Ho!* has scenes at Brentford and *Northward Ho!* at Ware.[1] The natural conclusion is that, for these plays at least, the procedure of the public theatres was adopted. It is, of course, the combination of numerous houses and changes of locality which leads me to this conclusion. Mahelot shows us that the 'multiple' staging of the Hôtel de Bourgogne permitted inconsistencies of locality, but could hardly accommodate more than five, or at most six, *maisons*. Once given the existence of alternative methods at Paul's, it becomes rather difficult to say which was applied in any particular case. Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* begins, like *The Fawn*, with an open-country scene, and thereafter uses only three houses, all in Paris; the presence-chamber at the palace (I. ii; II. i; III. ii; IV. i), Bussy's chamber (V. iii), and Tamyra's chamber in another house, Montsurry's (II. ii; III. i; IV. ii; V. i, ii, iv). Both chambers are trapped for spirits to rise, and Tamyra's has in it a 'gulfe', apparently screened by a 'canopie', which communicates with Bussy's.[2] As the interplay of scenes in Act V requires transit through the passage from one chamber to the other, it is natural to assume an unchanged setting.[3]

The most prolific contributor to the Paul's repertory was Middleton. His first play, *Blurt Master Constable*, needs five houses. They are all in Venice, and as in certain scenes more than one of them appears to be visible, they were probably all set together.[1] Similarly, *The Phoenix* has six houses, all in Ferrara ;[2] and *Michaelmas Term* has five houses, all in London.[3] On the other hand, although *A Mad World, my Masters* has only four houses,[4] and *A Trick to Catch the Old One* seven,[5] yet both these plays resemble Dekker's, in that the action is divided between London and one or more places in the country ; and this, so far as it goes, seems to suggest settings on public theatre lines. I do not know whether Middleton wrote *The Puritan*, but I think that this play clearly had a continuous setting with only four houses, in London.[6] And although Beaumont's *Woman Hater* requires seven houses, these are all within or hard by the palace in Milan, and action seems to pass freely from one to another.[1]

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[1] *Westward Ho!* uses the houses of Justiniano (I. i), Wafer (III. iii), Ambush (III. iv), the Earl (II. ii; IV. ii), and a Bawd (IV. i), the shops of Tenterhook (I. ii; III. i) and Honeysuckle (II. i), and inns at the Steelyard (II. iii), Shoreditch (II. iii), and Brentford (V). Continuous setting would not construct so many houses for single scenes. There is action above at the Bawd's, and interior action below in several cases; in IV. ii, 'the Earle drawes a curten and sets forth a banquet'. The s.ds. of this scene seem inadequate; at a later point Moll is apparently 'discovered', shamming death. *Northward Ho!* uses the houses of Mayberry (I. iii; II. ii) and Doll (II. i; III. i), a garden house at Moorfields (III. ii), Bellamont's study (IV. i), Bedlam (IV. iii, iv), a 'tavern entry' in London (I. ii), and an inn at Ware (I. i; V. i). Action above is at the last only, interior action below in several.

[2] *B. d'Ambois*, II. ii. 177, '*Tamyra*. See, see the gulfe is opening' . . . (183) 'Ascendit Frier and D'Ambois' . . . (296) 'Descendit Fryar'; IV. ii. 63, 'Ascendit [Behemoth]' . . . (162) 'Descendit cum suis'; V. i. 155, 'Ascendit Frier' . . . (191) '*Montsurry*. In, Ile after, To see what guilty light gives this cave eyes'; V. iv. 1, 'Intrat umbra Comolet to the Countesse, wrapt in a canapie' . . . (23) 'D'Amboys at the gulfe'.

[3] The Q of 1641, probably representing a revival by the King's men, alters the scenes in Montsurry's house, eliminating the characteristic Paul's 'canapie' of V. iv. 1 and placing spectators above in the same scene. It is also responsible for the proleptic s.d. (cf. ch. xxii) at I. i. 153 for I. ii. 1, 'Table, Chesbord and Tapers behind the Arras'.

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[1] *Blurt Master Constable* has (*a*) Camillo's (I. i ; II. i) with a hall ; (*b*) Hippolyto's (III. i) where (136) ‘ Violetta appears above ’, and (175) ‘ Enter Truepenny above with a letter ’ ; (*c*) a chapel (III. ii) with a ‘ pit-hole ’ dungeon, probably also visible in II. i and III. i ; (*d*) Blurt's (I. ii) which is ‘ twelve score off ’ ; (*e*) Imperia's, where is most of the action (II. ii ; III. iii ; IV. i, ii, iii ; V. ii, iii). Two chambers below are used ; into one Lazarillo is shown in III. iii. 201, and here in IV. ii he is let through a trap into a sewer, while (38) ‘ Enter Frisco above laughing ’ and (45) ‘ Enter Imperia above ’. At IV. iii. 68 Lazarillo crawls from the sewer into the street. In IV. i and IV. iii tricks are played upon Curvetto with a cord and a rope-ladder hanging from a window above.

[2] *Phoenix* has (*a*) the palace (I. i ; V. i) with hall ; (*b*) Falso's (I. vi ; II. iii ; III. i) ; (*c*) the Captain's (I. ii ; II. ii) ; (*d*) a tavern (I. iv ; IV. iii) with interior action ; (*e*) a law court (IV. i) ; (*f*) a jeweller's (III. ii ; IV. i, ii, iii) with interior action. It will be observed that (*f*) is needed both with (*d*) and (*e*). There is no action above.

[3] *M. Term* has (*a*) Paul's (I. i, ii) ; (*b*) Quomodo's shop, the Three Knaves (II. iii ; III. iv ; IV. i, iii, iv ; V. i) ; (*c*) a tavern (II. i) ; (*d*) a law court (V. iii) ; (*e*) a courtesan's (III. i ; IV. ii). All have interior action and (*b*) eavesdropping above in a balcony (II. iii. 108, 378, 423 ; III. iv). Much action is merely in the streets.

[4] *A Mad World* has (*a*) Harebrain's (I. ii ; III. i ; IV. iv) ; (*b*) Penitent Brothel's (IV. i), with interior action ; (*c*) a courtesan's (I. i ; II. iii, vi ; III. ii ; IV. v), with a bed and five persons at once, perhaps above, in III. ii ; (*d*) Sir Bounteous Progress's in the country (II. i ; II. ii, iv, v, vii ; III. iii ; IV. ii, iii ; V. i, ii). The action here is rather puzzling, but apparently a hall, a lodging next it, where are ‘ Curtains drawn ’ (II. vii. 103), the stairs, and a ‘ closet ’ or ‘ matted chamber ’ (IV. ii. 27 ; IV. iii. 3) are all used. If the scenes were shifted, the interposition of a scene of only 7 lines (II. iii) at London amongst a series of country scenes is strange.

[5] *A Trick to Catch* has (*a*) Lucre's (I. iii, iv ; II. i, ii ; IV. ii, iii ; V. i) ; (*b*) Hoard's (III. ii ; IV. iv ; V. ii) ; (*c*) a courtesan's (III. i) ; (*d*) an inn (III. iii) ; (*e*) Dampit's (III. iv ; IV. v) ; and away from London, (*f*) Witgood Hall, with (*g*) an inn (I. i, ii) ; (*h*) Cole Harbour (IV. i). Nearly all the action is exterior, but a window above is used at (*b*) in IV. iv, and at (*e*) there is interior action both below in III. iv and perhaps above (cf. III. iv. 72), with a bed and eight persons at once in IV. v.

[6] *Puritan* has (*a*) the Widow's (I. i ; II. i, ii ; III. i, ii ; IV. i, ii, iii ; V. i, ii), with a garden and rosemary bush ; (*b*) a gentleman's house (III. iv) ; (*c*) an apothecary's (III. iii) ; (*d*) a prison (I. iv ; III. v). There is interior action below in all ; action above only in (*a*) at V. ii. 1, ‘ Enter Sir John Penidub, and Moll aboue lacing of her clothes ’ in a balcony.

The evidence available does not dispose one to dogmatism. But this is the general impression which I get of the history of the Paul's staging. When the performances were revived in 1599, the master had, as in the days before Lyly took the boys to Blackfriars, to make the best of a room originally designed for choir-practices. This was circular, and only had space for a comparatively small stage. At the back of this, entrance was given by a curtained recess, corresponding to the alcove of the public theatres, and known at Paul's as the 'canopy'.[2] Above the canopy was a beam, which bore the post of the music-tree. On this post was a small stand, perhaps for the conductor of the music, and on each side of it was a music-house, forming a gallery,[3] which could represent a window or balcony. There were at least two other doors, either beneath the music-houses or at right angles to these, off the sides of the stage. The master began with continuous settings on the earlier sixteenth-century court model, using the doors and galleries as far as he could to represent houses, and supplementing these by temporary structures; and this plan fitted in with the general literary trend of his typical dramatists, especially Marston, to unity of locality. But in time the romantic element proved too much for him, and when he wanted to enlist the services of writers of the popular school, such as Dekker, he had to compromise. It may be that some structural change was carried out during the enforced suspension of performances in 1603. I do not think that there is any Paul's play of earlier date which could not have been given in the old-fashioned manner. In any event, the increased number of houses and the not infrequent shiftings of locality from town to country, which are apparent in the Jacobean plays, seem to me, taken together, to be more than can be accounted for on a theory of clumsy foreshortening, and to imply the adoption, either generally or occasionally, of some such principle of convertible houses, as was already in full swing upon the public stage.[1]

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[1] *Woman Hater* has (*a*) the Duke's palace (I. i, iii; IV. i; V. ii); (*b*) the Count's (I. iii); (*c*) Gondarino's (II. i; III. i, ii); (*d*) Lazarillo's lodging (I. i, ii); (*e*) a courtesan's (II. i; IV. ii, iii; V. ii); (*f*) a mercer's shop (III. iv); (*g*) Lucio's study (V. i). There is interior action below in (*a*), (*e*), (*f*), and (*g*), where 'Enter Lazarello, and two Intelligencers, Lucio being at his study. . . . Secretary draws the Curtain'. A window above is used at (*e*), and there is also action above at (*c*), apparently in a loggia within sight and earshot of the street.

[2] The term is used in *The Faery Pastoral*, *Satiromastix*, and *Bussy d'Ambois* (*vide supra*); but also in *Sophonisba* (*vide infra*), which is a Blackfriars play.

[3] I take it that it was in this stand that Andrugio's ghost was placed 'betwixt the music-houses' in *2 Antonio and Mellida*.

I do not think that the history of the Blackfriars was materially different from that of Paul's. There are in all twenty-four plays to be considered; an Elizabethan group of seven produced by the Children of the Chapel, and a Jacobean group of seventeen produced by the successive incarnations of the Revels company.[2] Structural alterations during 1603 are here less probable, for the house only dated from Burbadge's enterprise of 1596. Burbadge is said to have intended a 'public' theatre, and it may be argued on *a priori* grounds that he would have planned for the type of staging familiar to him at the Theatre and subsequently elaborated at the Globe. The actual character of the plays does not, however, bear out this view. Like Paul's, the Blackfriars relied at first in part upon revivals. One was *Love's Metamorphosis*, already produced by Lyly under Court conditions with the earlier Paul's boys, and *tout en pastoralle.*[3] Another, or if not, quite an archaistic play, was *Liberality and Prodigality*, the abstract plot of which only needs an equally abstract scene, with a 'bower' for Fortune, holding a throne and scaleable by a ladder (30, 290, 903, 932, 953), another 'bower' for Virtue (132), an inn (47, 192, 370), and a high seat for a judge with his clerks beneath him (1245).[4] The two new playwrights may reasonably be supposed to have conformed to the traditional methods. Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* has a preliminary act of open country, by the Fountain of Self Love, in Gargaphia. The rest is all at the Gargaphian palace, either in the presence, or in an ante-chamber thereto, perhaps before a curtain, or for one or two scenes in the nymphs' chamber (IV. i–v), and in or before the chamber of Asotus (III. v).[1] *Poetaster* is all at Rome, within and before the palace, the houses of Albius and Lupus, and the chamber of Ovid.[2] There is certainly no need for any shifting of scenes so far. Nor does Chapman demand it. *Sir Giles Goosecap*, except for one open-country scene, has only two houses, which are demonstrably contiguous and used together.[3] *The Gentleman Usher* has only two houses, supposed to be at a little distance from each other, and entailing a slight foreshortening, if they were placed at opposite ends of the stage.[4] *All Fools* adopts the Italian convention of action in an open city space before three houses.[5]

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[1] The four plays which seem most repugnant to continuous staging, *Westward Ho!*, *Northward Ho!*, *A Mad World, my Masters*, and *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, are all datable in 1604–6.

[2] Elizabethan Plays: *Love's Metamorphosis*, *Liberality and Prodigality*, *Cynthia's Revels*, *Poetaster*, *Sir Giles Goosecap*, *Gentleman Usher*, and probably *All Fools*; Jacobean Plays: *M. d'Olive*, *May Day*, *Widow's Tears*, *Conspiracy of Byron*, *Tragedy of Byron*, *Case is Altered*, *Malcontent*, *Dutch Courtesan*, *Sophonisba*, *Eastward Ho!*, *Your Five Gallants*, *Philotas*, *Isle of Gulls*, *Law Tricks*, *Fleir*, *Faithful Shepherdess*, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*. In addition *Fawn* and *Trick to Catch an Old One*, already dealt with under Paul's, were in the first case produced at, and in the second transferred to, Blackfriars.

[3] Cf. p. 34.

[4] *Lib. and Prod.* 903, 'Here Prod. scaleth. Fortune claps a halter about his neck, he breaketh the halter and falles'; 1245, 'The Judge placed, and the Clerkes under him'.

To the Jacobean repertory not less than nine writers contributed. Chapman still takes the lead with three more comedies and two tragedies of his own. In the comedies he tends somewhat to increase the number of his houses, although without any change of general locality. *M. d'Olive* has five houses.[6]

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[1] The fountain requires a trap. There is no action above. I cite the scenes of Q_1, which are varied by Jonson in F_1.

[2] In the prol. 27, Envy says, 'The scene is, ha! Rome? Rome? and Rome?' (cf. p. 154). The only action above is by Julia in IV. ix. 1, before the palace, where (F_1) 'Shee appeareth above, as at her chamber window', and speaks thence.

[3] *Sir G. G.* has, besides the London and Barnet road (III. i), the houses of (*a*) Eugenia (I. i–iii; II; IV. i) and (*b*) Momford (I. iv; II; III. ii; IV. iii; V). Both have action within, none above. In IV. ii. 140 persons on the street are met by pages coming from Momford's 'on the other side', but (*b*) is near enough to (*a*) to enable Clarence in II to overhear from it (as directed in I. iv. 202) a talk between Momford and Eugenia, probably in her porch, where (ii. 17) 'Enter Wynnefred, Anabell, with their sowing workes and sing', and Momford passes over to Clarence at ii. 216. Two contiguous rooms in (*b*) are used for V. i, ii (a single scene). One is Clarence's; from the other he is overheard. They are probably both visible to the audience, and are divided by a curtain. At V. ii. 128 'He draws the curtains and sits within them'. Parrott adds other s.ds. for curtains at 191, 222, 275, which are not in Q_1.

[4] *Gent. Usher* has (*a*) Strozza's (I. i; IV. i, iii; V. ii), where only a porch or courtyard is needed, and (*b*) Lasso's (I. ii; II; III; IV. ii, iv; V. i, iii, iv), with a hall, overlooked by a balcony used in V. i. 1 and V. iii. 1, and called 'this tower' (V. iii. 5).

[5] The visible houses of *All Fools* are (*a*) Gostanzo's, (*b*) Cornelio's, and (*c*) the Half Moon tavern, where drawers set tables (V. ii. 1), but not necessarily inside. Both (*a*) and (*b*) are required in II. i and IV. i, and (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) in III. i.

[6] *M. d'Olive* has (*a*) a hall at Court (II. ii); (*b*) Hieronyme's chamber, also at Court (V. ii); (*c*) d'Olive's chamber (III. ii; IV. ii); (*d*) Vaumont's (I; II. i; IV. i; V. i); (*e*) St. Anne's (III. i); of which (*b*) and (*d*) are used together in V. i, ii (a continuous scene), and probably (*c*) and (*e*) in III. i. There is action within at (*a*), (*c*), and (*d*), and above at (*d*), which has curtained windows lit by tapers (I. 48), at one of which a page above 'looks out with a light', followed by ladies who are bidden 'come down' (V. i. 26, 66).

May Day has four.[1] *The Widow's Tears* has four.[2] But in all cases there is a good deal of interplay of action between one house and another, and all the probabilities are in favour of continuous setting. The tragedies are perhaps another matter. The houses are still not numerous; but the action is in each play divided between two localities. The *Conspiracy of Byron* is partly at Paris and partly at Brussels; the *Tragedy of Byron* partly at Paris and partly at Dijon.[3] Jonson's *Case is Altered* has one open-country scene (V. iv) near Milan. The other scenes require two houses within the city. One is Farneze's palace, with a *cortile* where servants come and go, and a colonnade affording a private 'walk' for his daughters (II. iii; IV. i). Hard by, and probably in Italian fashion forming part of the structure of the palace itself, is the cobbler's shop of Farneze's retainer, Juniper.[4] Near, too, is the house of Jaques, with a little walled backside, and a tree in it.[5] A link with Paul's is provided by three Blackfriars plays from Marston. Of these, the *Malcontent* is in his characteristic Italian manner. There is a short hunting scene (III. ii) in the middle of the play. For nearly all the rest the scene is the 'great chamber' in the palace at Genoa, with a door to the apartment of the duchess at the back (II. i. 1) and the chamber of Malevole visible above.[6] Part of the last act, however, is before the citadel of Genoa, from which the action passes direct to the palace.[1] *The Dutch Courtesan* is a London comedy with four houses, of the same type as *What You Will*, but less crowded.[2] In the tragedy of *Sophonisba*, on the other hand, we come for the first time at Blackfriars to a piece which seems hopelessly unamenable to continuous setting. It recalls the structure of such early public plays as the *Battle of Alcazar*. 'The scene is Libya', the prologue tells us. We get the camps of Massinissa (II. ii), Asdrubal (II. iii), and Scipio (III. ii; V. iv). We get a battle-field with a 'mount' and a 'throne' in it (V. ii). We get the forest of Belos, with a cave's mouth (IV. i). The city scenes are divided between Carthage and Cirta. At Carthage there is a council-chamber (II. i) and also the chamber of Sophonisba (I. ii), where her bed is 'discovered'.[3] At Cirta there is the similar chamber of Syphax (III. i; IV. ii) with a trapped altar.[4] A curious bit of continuous action, difficult to envisage, comprehends this and the forest at the junction of Acts IV and V. From a vault within it, a passage leads to the cave. Down this, in III. i, Sophonisba descends, followed by Syphax. A camp scene intervenes, and at the beginning of IV Sophonisba emerges in the forest, is overtaken by Syphax, and sent back to Cirta. Then Syphax remembers that 'in this desert' lives the witch Erichtho. She enters, and promises to charm Sophonisba to his bed. Quite suddenly, and without any *Exit* or other indication of a change of locality, we are back in the chamber at Cirta. Music sounds within 'the canopy' and 'above'. Erichtho, disguised as Sophonisba, enters the canopy, as to bed. Syphax follows, and only discovers his misadventure at the beginning of Act v.[1] Even if the play was staged as a whole on public theatre methods, it is difficult not to suppose that the two entrances to the cave, at Cirta and in the forest, were shown together. It is to be added that, in a note to the print, Marston apologizes for 'the fashion of the entrances' on the ground that the play was 'presented by youths and after the fashion of the private stage'. Somewhat exceptional also is the arrangement of *Eastward Ho!*, in which Chapman, Jonson, and Marston collaborated. The first three acts, taken by themselves, are easy enough. They need four houses in London. The most important is Touchstone's shop, which is 'discovered'.[2] The others are the exteriors of Sir Petronel's house and Security's house, with a window or balcony above, and a room in the Blue Anchor tavern at Billingsgate.[3] But throughout most of Act IV the whole stage seems to be devoted to a complicated action, for which only one of these houses, the Blue Anchor, is required. A place above the stage represents Cuckold's Haven, on the Surrey side of the Thames near Rotherhithe, where stood a pole bearing a pair of ox-horns, to which butchers did a folk-observance. Hither climbs Slitgut, and describes the wreck of a boat in the river beneath him.[4] It is the boat in which an elopement was planned from the Blue Anchor in Act III. Slitgut sees passengers landed successively 'even just under me', and then at St. Katharine's, Wapping, and the Isle of Dogs. These are three places on the north bank, all to the east of Billingsgate and on the other side of the Tower, but as each rescue is described, the passengers enter the stage, and go off again. Evidently a wild foreshortening is deliberately involved. Now, although the print obscures the fact, must begin a new scene.[1] A night has passed, and Winifred, who landed at St. Katharine's, returns to the stage, and is now before the Blue Anchor.[2] From IV. ii onwards the setting is normal again, with three houses, of which one is Touchstone's. But the others are now the exterior of the Counter and of the lodging of Gertrude. One must conclude that in this play the Blackfriars management was trying an experiment, and made complete, or nearly complete, changes of setting, at the end of Act III and again after IV. i. Touchstone's, which was discovered, could be covered again. The other houses, except the tavern, were represented by mere doors or windows, and gave no trouble. The tavern, the introduction of which in the early acts already entailed foreshortening, was allowed to stand for IV. i, and was then removed, while Touchstone's was discovered again.

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[1] *May Day* has (*a*) Quintiliano's, (*b*) Honorio's, (*c*) Lorenzo's, and (*d*) the Emperor's Head, with an arbour (III. iii. 203). The only interior action is in Honorio's hall (V). Windows above are used at Lorenzo's, with a rope ladder, over a terrace (III. iii), and at Quintiliano's (III. ii). The action, which is rather difficult to track, consists largely of dodging about the pales of gardens and backsides (II. i. 180; III. iii. 120, 185; IV. ii. 83, 168). Clearly (*a*), (*c*), and (*d*) are all used in the latter part of II. i, where a new scene may begin at 45; and similarly (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) in III. iii, and (*b*) and (*c*) in IV. ii.

[2] *Widow's Tears* has (*a*) Lysander's (I. i; II. i; III. i); (*b*) Eudora's (I. ii; II. ii, iv; III. ii; IV. i); (*c*) Arsace's (II. iii); all of which are required in I. iii; and (*d*), a tomb (IV. ii, iii; V). There is interior action in a hall of (*b*), watched from a 'stand' (I. i. 157; I. iii. 1) without, and the tomb opens and shuts; no action above.

[3] In the *Conspiracy* the Paris scenes are all at Court, vaguely located, and mainly of hall type, except III. iii, which is at an astrologer's; the only Brussels scene is I. ii, at Court. The *Tragedy* is on the same lines, but for V. ii, in the Palace of Justice, with a 'bar', V. iii, iv, in and before the Bastille, with a scaffold, and I. ii and III. i at Dijon, in Byron's lodging. In II. i. 3 there is 'Music, and a song above', for a mask.

[4] *C. Altered*, I. i. 1, 'Iuniper a Cobler is discouered, sitting at worke in his shoppe and singing'; IV. v. 1, 'Enter Iuniper in his shop singing'.

[5] *C. A.* I. v. 212; II. i; III. ii, iii, v, 'Enter Iaques with his gold and a scuttle full of horse-dung'. '*Jaques*. None is within. None ouerlookes my wall'; IV. vii. 62, 'Onion gets vp into a tree'; V. i. 42. In I. v action passes directly from the door of Farneze to that of Jaques.

[6] *Malc.* I. i. 11, 'The discord . . . is heard from . . . Malevole's chamber' . . . (19) 'Come down, thou rugged cur' . . . (43) 'Enter Malevole below'.

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[1] *Malc.* V. ii. 163. This transition is both in Q_1 and Q_2, although Q_2 inserts a passage (164–94) here, as well as another (10–39) earlier in the scene, which entails a contrary transition from the palace to the citadel.

[2] *Dutch C.* has (*a*) Mulligrub's (I. i; II. iii; III. iii) with action in a 'parlour' (III. iii. 53); (*b*) Franceschina's (I. ii; II. ii; IV. iii, v; V. i), with action above, probably in a *loggia* before Franceschina's chamber, where she has placed an ambush at V. i. 12, 'She conceals them behind the curtain'; (*c*) Subboy's (II. i; III. i; IV. i, ii, iv; V. ii), with a ring thrown from a window above (II. i. 56); (*d*) Burnish's shop (III. ii; V. iii), with an inner and an outer door, for (III. ii. 1) 'Enter Master Burnish [&c.] . . . Cocledemoy stands at the other door . . . and overhears them'.

[3] *Soph.* I. ii. 32, 'The Ladies lay the Princess in a fair bed, and close the curtains, whilst Massinissa enters' . . . (35) 'The Boys draw the curtains, discovering Sophonisba, to whom Massinissa speaks' . . . (235) 'The Ladies draw the curtains about Sophonisba; the rest accompany Massinissa forth'.

[4] *Soph.* III. i. 117, 'The attendants furnish the altar' . . . (162) 'They lay Vangue in Syphax' bed and draw the curtains' . . . (167) *Soph.* 'Dear Zanthia, close the vault when I am sunk' . . . (170) 'She descends' . . . (207) '[Syphax] descends through the vault'.

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[1] *Soph.* IV. i, 'Enter Sophonisba and Zanthia, as out of a cave's mouth' . . . (44) 'Through the vaut's mouth, in his night-gown, torch in his hand, Syphax enters just behind Sophonisba' . . . (126) 'Erichtho enters' . . . (192) 'Infernal music, softly' . . . (202) 'A treble viol and a base lute play softly within the canopy' . . . (212) 'A short song to soft music above' . . . (215) 'Enter Erichtho in the shape of Sophonisba, her face veiled, and hasteth in the bed of Syphax' . . . (216) 'Syphax hasteneth within the canopy, as to Sophonisba's bed' . . . (V. i. 1) 'Syphax draws the curtains, and discovers Erichtho lying with him' . . . (24) 'Erichtho slips into the ground' . . . (29) 'Syphax kneels at the altar' . . . (40) 'Out of the altar the ghost of Asdrubal ariseth'. There is no obvious break in IV. Erichtho promises to bring Sophonisba with music, and says 'I go' (181), although there is no *Exit*. We must suppose Syphax to return to his chamber through the vault either here or after his soliloquy at 192, when the music begins.

[2] *E. Ho!*, I. i. 1, 'Enter Maister Touch-stone and Quick-silver at severall dores. . . . At the middle dore, enter Golding, discovering a gold-smiths shoppe, and walking short turns before it'; II. i. 1, 'Touchstone, Quick-silver; Goulding and Mildred sitting on eyther side of the stall'.

[3] At the end of II. ii, which is before Security's, with Winifred 'above' (241), Quicksilver remains on the stage, for II. iii, before Petronel's. The tavern is first used in III. iii, after which III. iv, of one 7-line speech only, returns to Security's and ends the act. Billingsgate should be at some little distance from the other houses.

[4] *E. Ho!*, IV. i. 1, 'Enter Slitgut, with a paire of oxe hornes, discovering Cuckolds-Haven above'.

Middleton's tendency to multiply his houses is noticeable, as at Paul's, in *Your Five Gallants*. There are eight, in London, with an open-country scene in Combe Park (III. ii, iii), and one cannot be confident of continuous setting.[3] But a group of new writers, enlisted at Blackfriars in Jacobean days, conform well enough to the old traditions of the house. Daniel's *Philotas* has the abstract stage characteristic of the closet tragedies to the type of which it really belongs. Any Renaissance façade would do; at most a hall in the court and the lodging of Philotas need be distinguished. Day's *Isle of Gulls* is *tout en pastoralle*.[4] His *Law Tricks* has only four houses, in Genoa.[1] Sharpham's *Fleir*, after a prelude at Florence, which needs no house, has anything from three to six in London.[2] Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, again, is *tout en pastoralle.*[3] Finally, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is, in the strict sense, an exception which proves the rule. Its shifts of locality are part of the burlesque, in which the popular plays are taken off for the amusement of the select audience of the Blackfriars. Its legitimate houses are only two, Venturewell's shop and Merrithought's dwelling, hard by one another.[4] But the adventures of the prentice heroes take them not only over down and through forest to Waltham, where the Bell Inn must serve for a knightly castle, and the barber's shop for Barbaroso's cave, but also to the court of Moldavia, although the players regret that they cannot oblige the Citizen's Wife by showing a house covered with black velvet and a king's daughter standing in her window all in beaten gold, combing her golden locks with a comb of ivory.[5] What visible parody of public stage methods heightened the fun, it is of course impossible to say.

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[1] Clearly IV. i. 346–64 (ed. Schelling) has been misplaced in the Q_q; it is a final speech by Slitgut, with his *Exit*, but without his name prefixed, and should come after 296. The new scene begins with 297.

[2] *E. Ho!*, IV. i. 92, 'Enter the Drawer in the Taverne before [i.e. in III. iii], with Wynnyfrid'; he will shelter her at 'a house of my friends heere in S. Kath'rines' . . . (297) 'Enter Drawer, with Wynifrid new attird', who says 'you have brought me nere enough your taverne' and 'my husband stale thither last night'. Security enters (310) with 'I wil once more to this unhappy taverne'.

[3] *Y. F. Gallants* has (*a*) Frippery's shop (I. i); (*b*) Katherine's (I. ii; V. ii); (*c*) Mitre inn (II. iii); (*d*) Primero's brothel (II. i; III. iv; V. i); (*e*) Tailby's lodging (IV. i, ii); (*f*) Fitzgrave's lodging (IV. iii); (*g*) Mrs. Newcut's dining-room (IV. vii); (*h*) Paul's (IV. vi). There is action within in all these, and in V. i, which is before (*d*), spies are concealed 'overhead' (124).

[4] In *Isle of Gulls* the park or forest holds a lodge for the duke (I. i),

I do not propose to follow the Queen's Revels to the Whitefriars, or to attempt any investigation into the characteristics of that house. It was occupied by the King's Revels before the Queen's Revels, and probably the Lady Elizabeth's

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a 'queach of bushes' (II. ii), Diana's oak (II. ii; IV. iv), Adonis' bower (II. ii; V. i), a bowling green with arbours (II. iii–v), and the house of Manasses (IV. iii).

[1] *Law Tricks* has (*a*) the palace (I. i; II; IV. i, ii; V. ii), within which (p. 64, ed. Bullen) 'Discover Polymetes in his study', and (p. 78) 'Polymetes in his study'; (*b*) an arrased chamber in Lurdo's (III. i), entered by a vault (cf. p. 148, *supra*); (*c*) Countess Lurdo's (III. ii); (*d*) the cloister vaults (V. i, ii) where (p. 90) 'Countesse in the Tombe'. Action passes direct from (*a*) to (*d*) at p. 89.

[2] *Fleir* has (*a*) the courtesans' (I. 26–188; II; III. 1–193; IV. 1–193); (*b*) Alunio's (IV. 194–287); (*c*) Ferrio's (V. 1–54); (*d*) a prison (V. 55–87); (*e*) a law court (V. 178–end); (*f*) possibly Susan and Nan's (I. 189–500). Conceivably (*c*), (*d*), (*e*) are in some way combined: there is action within at (*b*), 'Enter Signior Alunio the Apothecarie in his shop with wares about him' (194), (*d*) 'Enter Lord Piso . . . in prison' (55), and (*e*); none above.

[3] The action of *F. Shepherdess* needs a wood, with rustic cotes and an altar to Pan (I. ii, iii; V. i, iii), a well (III. i), and a bower for Clorin (I. i; II. ii; IV. ii, v; V. ii, v), where is hung a curtain (V. ii. 109).

[4] *K. B. P.* I. 230, 'Enter Rafe like a Grocer in 's shop, with two Prentices Reading Palmerin of England'; at 341 the action shifts to Merrithought's, but the episode at Venturewell's is said to have been 'euen in this place' (422), and clearly the two houses were staged together. Possibly the conduit head on which Ralph sings his May Day song (IV. 439) was also part of the permanent setting.

[5] *K. B. P.* II. 71–438; III. 1–524; IV. 76–151.

joined the Queen's Revels there at a later date. But the number of plays which can definitely be assigned to it is clearly too small to form the basis of any satisfactory induction.[1] So far as the Blackfriars is concerned, my conclusion must be much the same as for Paul's—that, when plays began in 1600, the Chapel revived the methods of staging with which their predecessors had been familiar during the hey-day of the Court drama under Lyly; that these methods held their own in the competition with the public theatres, and were handed on to the Queen's Revels; but that in course of time they were sometimes variegated by the introduction, for one reason or another, of some measure of scene-shifting in individual plays. This reason may have been the nature of the plot in *Sophonisba*, the desire to experiment in *Eastward Ho!*, the restlessness of the dramatist in *Your Five Gallants*, the spirit of raillery in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Whether Chapman's tragedies involved scene-shifting, I am not quite sure. The analogy of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, where a continuous setting was not inconsistent with the use of widely distant localities, must always be kept in mind. On the other hand, what did not appear absurd in Paris, might have appeared absurd in London, where the practice of the public theatres had taught the spectators to expect a higher degree of consistency. I am far from claiming that my theory of the survival of continuous setting at Paul's and the Blackfriars has been demonstrated. Very possibly the matter is not capable of demonstration. Many, perhaps most, of the plays could be produced, if need be, by alternative methods. It is really on taking them in the mass that I cannot resist the feeling that 'the fashion of the private stage', as Marston called it, was something different from the fashion of the public stage. The technique of the dramatists corresponds to the structural conditions. An increased respect for unity of place is not the only factor, although it is the most important. An unnecessary multiplicity of houses is, except by Dekker and Middleton, avoided. Sometimes one or two suffice. There is much more interior action than in the popular plays. One hall or chamber scene can follow upon another more freely. A house may be used for a scene which would seem absurdly short if the setting were altered for it. More doors are perhaps available, so that some can be spared for entrance behind the houses. There is more coming and going between one house and another, although I have made it clear that even the public stage was not limited to one house at a time.[1] One point is, I think, quite demonstrable. Marston has a reference to 'the lower stage' at Paul's, but neither at Paul's nor at the Blackfriars was there an upper stage capable of holding the action of a complete scene, such as we found at the sixteenth-century theatres, and apparently on a still larger scale at the Globe and the Fortune. A review of my notes will show that, although there is action 'above' in many private house plays, it is generally a very slight action, amounting to little more than the use by one or two persons of a window or balcony. Bedchamber scenes or tavern scenes are provided for below; the public theatre, as often as not, put them above.[2] I may recall, in confirmation, that the importance of the upper stage in the plays of the King's men sensibly diminishes after their occupation of the Blackfriars.[3]

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[1] The certain plays are *Epicoene*, *Woman a Weathercock*, *Insatiate Countess*, and *Revenge of Bussy*. I have noted two unusual s.ds.: *W. a W.* III. ii, 'Enter Scudmore . . . Scudmore passeth one doore, and entereth the other, where Bellafront sits in a Chaire, under a Taffata Canopie'; *Insatiate C.* III. i, 'Claridiana and Rogero, being in a readiness, are received in at one anothers houses by their maids. Then enter Mendoza, with a Page, to the Lady Lentulus window'. There is some elaborate action with contiguous rooms in *Epicoene*, IV, V.

There are enigmas still to be solved, and I fear insoluble. Were the continuous settings of the type which we find in Serlio, with the unity of a consistent architectural picture, or of the type which we find at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, with independent and sometimes incongruous juxtaposed *mansions*? The taste of the dramatists for Italian cities and the frequent recurrence of buildings which fit so well into a Serliesque scheme as the tavern, the shop, the house of the *ruffiana* or courtesan, may tempt one's imagination towards the former. But Serlio does not seem to contemplate much interior action, and although the convention of a half out-of-doors *cortile* or *loggia* may help to get over this difficulty, the often crowded presences and the masks seem to call for an arrangement by which each *mansion* can at need become in its turn the background to the whole of the stage and attach to itself all the external doors. How were the open-country scenes managed, which we have noticed in several plays, as a prelude, or even an interruption, to the strict unity of place?[1] Were these merely played on the edge of the stage, or are we to assume a curtain, cutting off the background of houses, and perhaps painted with an open-country or other appropriate perspective? And what use, if any, can we suppose to have been made of title or locality labels? The latter would not have had much point where the locality was unchanged; but Envy calls out 'Rome' three times in the prologue to the *Poetaster*, as if she saw it written up in three places. Percy may more naturally use them in *Cuckqueans and Cuckolds*, on a stage which represents a foreshortening of the distance between three distinct towns. Title-labels seem fairly probable. *Cynthia's Revels* and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* bear testimony to them at the Blackfriars; *Wily Beguiled* perhaps at Paul's.[2] And if the prologues none the less thought it necessary to announce 'The scene is Libya', or 'The scene Gargaphia, which I do vehemently suspect for some fustian country', why, we must remember that there were many, even in a select Elizabethan audience, that could not hope to be saved by their book.

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[1] Cf. pp. 98, 117.

[2] I have noted bedchamber scenes as 'perhaps above' at Paul's in *A Mad World, my Masters* and *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, but the evidence is very slight and may be due to careless writing. In *A Mad World*, III. ii. 181, Harebrain is said to 'walke below'; later 'Harebrain opens the door and listens'. In *A Trick*, III. iv. 72, Dampit is told that his bed waits 'above', and IV. v is in his bedchamber.

[3] Cf. p. 116.

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[1] Cf. *Dr. Dodipoll*, *1 Antonio and Mellida*, *The Fawn*, and *Bussy d'Ambois* for Paul's, and *Sir Giles Goosecap* and *Fleir* for Blackfriars. The early Court plays had similar scenes; cf. p. 43.

[2] *C. Revels*, ind. 54, 'First the Title of his Play is *Cynthias Revels*, as any man (that hath hope to be sau'd by his Booke) can witnesse; the Scene *Gargaphia*'; *K. B. P.* ind. 10, 'Now you call your play, The London Marchant. Downe with your Title, boy, downe with your Title'. For *Wily Beguiled*, cf. p. 126.

BOOK V

PLAYS AND PLAYWRIGHTS

Tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable or poem unlimited.—*Hamlet.*

XXII

THE PRINTING OF PLAYS

[*Bibliographical Note*.—The records of the Stationers' Company were utilized by W. Herbert in *Typographical Antiquities* (1785–90), based on an earlier edition (1749) by J. Ames, and revised, but not for the period most important to us, by T. F. Dibdin (1810–19). They are now largely available at first hand in E. Arber, *Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company, 1554–1640* (1875–94), and G. E. B. Eyre, *Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1640–1708* (1913–14). Recent investigations are to be found in the *Transactions* and other publications of the Bibliographical Society, and in the periodicals *Bibliographica* and *The Library*. The best historical sketches are H. R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing* (1900), E. G. Duff, *The Introduction of Printing into England* (1908, *C. H.* ii. 310), H. G. Aldis, *The Book-Trade, 1557–1625* (1909, *C. H.* iv. 378), and R. B. McKerrow, *Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationers' Trade* (1916, *Sh. England*, ii. 212). Of somewhat wider range is H. G. Aldis, *The Printed Book* (1916). Records of individual printers are in E. G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade, 1457–1557* (1905), R. B. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557–1640* (1910), and H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641–67* (1907). Special studies of value are R. B. McKerrow, *Printers and Publishers' Devices* (1913), and *Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students* (1914). P. Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age* (1909), is not very accurate. The early history of the High Commission (1558–64) is studied in H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion* (1898). The later period awaits fuller treatment than that in *An Account of the Courts Ecclesiastical* by W. Stubbs in the *Report of the Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts* (1883), i. 21. J. S. Burn, *The High Commission* (1865), is scrappy.

For plays in particular, W. W. Greg, *List of English Plays* (1900), gives the title-pages, and Arber the registration entries. Various problems are discussed by A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909) and *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (1917, ed. 2, 1920), and in connexion with the Shakespearian quartos of 1619 (cf. ch. xxiii). New ground is opened by A. W. Pollard and J. D. Wilson, *The 'Stolne and Surreptitious' Shakespearian Texts* (*T. L. S.* Jan.–Aug. 1919), and J. D. Wilson, *The Copy for Hamlet, 1603, and the Hamlet Transcript, 1593* (1918). Other studies are C. Dewischeit, *Shakespeare und die Stenographie* (1898, *Jahrbuch*, xxxiv. 170), B. A. P. van Dam and C. Stoffel, *William Shakespeare, Prosody and Text* (1900), *Chapters in English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation* (1902), P. Simpson, *Shakespearian Punctuation* (1911), E. M. Albright, '*To be Staied*' (1915, *M. L. A.* xxx. 451 ; cf. *M. L. N.*, Feb. 1919), A. W. Pollard, *Ad Imprimendum Solum* (1919, *3 Library*, x. 57), H. R. Shipheard, *Play-Publishing in Elizabethan Times* (1919, *M. L. A.* xxxiv. 580) ; M. A. Bayfield, *Shakespeare's Versification* (1920) ; cf. *T. L. S.* (1919–20).

The nature of stage-directions is considered in many works on staging (cf. *Bibl. Note* to ch. xviii), and in N. Delius, *Die Bühnenweisungen in den alten Shakespeare-Ausgaben* (1873, *Jahrbuch*, viii. 171), R. Koppel, *Scenen-Einteilung und Orts-Angaben in den Shakespeareschen Dramen* (1874, *Jahrbuch*, ix. 269), *Die unkritische Behandlung dramaturgischer Angaben* *und Anordnungen in den Shakespeare-Ausgaben* (1904, *E. S.* xxxiv. 1), The documents printed by Arber are so fundamental as to justify a short description. Each of his vols. i–iv gives the text, or most of the text, of four books, lettered A–D in the Company's archives, interspersed with illustrative documents from other sources; vol. v consists of indices. Another series of books, containing minutes of the Court of Assistants from 1603 onwards, remains unprinted (ii. 879). Book A contains the annual accounts of the wardens from 1554 to 1596. The Company's year began on varying dates in the first half of July. From 1557 to 1571 the accounts include detailed entries of the books for which fees were received and of the fines imposed upon members of the Company for irregularities. Thereafter they are abstracts only, and reference is made for the details of fees to 'the register in the clarkes booke' (i. 451). Unfortunately this book is not extant for 1571–6. After the appointment of Richard Collins in place of George Wapull as clerk in 1575, a new 'booke of entrances' was bought for the clerk (i. 475). This is Book B, which is divided into sections for records of different character, including book entries for 1576–95, and fines for 1576–1605. There are also some decrees and ordinances of the Court, most of which Arber does not print, and a few pages of miscellaneous memoranda at the beginning and end (ii. 33–49, 884–6). Book C, bought 'for the entrance of copies' in 1594–5 (i. 572), has similar memoranda (iii. 35–8, 677–98). It continues the book entries, and these alone, for 1595–1620. Book D continues them for 1620–45. Arber's work stops at 1640. Eyre prints a transcript by H. R. Plomer of the rest of D and of Books E, F, and G, extending to 1708.]

A HISTORIAN of the stage owes so much of his material to the printed copies of plays, with their title-pages, their prefatory epistles, and their stage-directions, that he can hardly be dispensed from giving some account of the process by which plays got into print. Otherwise I should have been abundantly content to have left the subject with a reference to the researches of others, and notably of that accomplished bibliographer, my friend Mr. A. W. Pollard, to whom in any event the debt of these pages must be great. The earliest attempts to control the book-trade are of the nature of commercial restrictions, and concern themselves with the regulation of alien craftsmanship.[1] But when Tudor policy had to deal with expressions of political and religious opinion, and in particular when the interlude as well as the pamphlet, not without encouragement from Cranmer and Cromwell, became an instrument of ecclesiastical controversy, it was not long before the State found itself committed to the methods of a literary censorship. We have already followed in detail the phases of the control to which the spoken play was subjected.[2] The story of the printed play was closely analogous; and in both cases the ultimate term of the evolution, so far as our period is concerned, was the establishment of the authority of the Master of the Revels. The printing and selling of plays, however, was of course only one fragment of the general business of book-production. Censorship was applied to many kinds of books, and was also in practice closely bound up with the logically distinct problem of copyright. This to the Elizabethan mind was a principle debarring one publisher from producing and selling a book in which another member of his trade had already a vested interest. The conception of a copyright vested in the author as distinct from the publisher of a book had as yet hardly emerged.

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[1] Duff, xi.

[2] Ch. ix; cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 221.

The earliest essay in censorship in fact took the form of an extension of the procedure, under which protection had for some time past been given to the copyright in individual books through the issue of a royal privilege forbidding their republication by any other than the privileged owner or printer.[1] Three proclamations of Henry VIII against heretical or seditious books, in 1529, 1530, and 1536, were followed in 1538 by a fourth, which forbade the printing of any English book except with a licence given 'upon examination made by some of his gracis priuie counsayle, or other suche as his highnes shall appoynte', and further directed that a book so licensed should not bear the words 'Cum priuilegio regali' without the addition of 'ad imprimendum solum', and that 'the hole copie, or els at the least theffect of his licence and priuilege be therwith printed'.[2] The intention was apparently to distinguish between a merely regulative privilege or licence to print, and the older and fuller type of privilege which also conveyed a protection of copyright. Finally, in 1546, a fifth proclamation laid down that every 'Englishe boke, balet or playe' must bear the names of the printer and author and the 'daye of the printe', and that an advance copy must be placed in the hands of the local mayor two days before publication.[3] It is not quite clear whether these requirements were intended to replace, or merely to reinforce, that of a licence. Henry's proclamations lost their validity upon his death in 1547, but the policy of licensing was continued by his successors. Under Edward VI we get, first a Privy Council order of 1549, directing that all English books printed or sold should be examined and allowed by 'M^r^ Secretary Peter, M^r^ Secretary Smith and M^r^ Cicill, or the one of them', and secondly a proclamation of 1551, requiring allowance 'by his maiestie, or his priuie counsayl in writing signed with his maiesties most gratious hand or the handes of sixe of his sayd priuie counsayl'.[1] Mary in her turn, though with a different emphasis on the kind of opinion to be suppressed, issued three proclamations against heretical books in 1553, 1555, and 1558, and in the first of these limited printers to books for which they had 'her graces speciall licence in writynge'.[2] It is noteworthy that both in 1551 and in 1553 the printing and the playing of interludes were put upon exactly the same footing.

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[1] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 2. 'Cum priuilegio' is in the colophons of Rastell's 1533 prints of *Johan Johan, The Pardoner and the Friar*, and *The Wether*, and 'Cum priuilegio regali' in those of his undated *Gentleness and Nobility* and *Beauty and Good Properties of Women*.

[2] *Procl.* 114, 122, 155, 176. The texts of 1529 and 1530 are in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 737, 740; that of 1538 in Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, vi. 220; cf. Pollard, *Sh. F.* 6, and in *3 Library*, x. 57. I find 'Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum' in the colophon of *Acolastus* (1540) and in both t.p. and colophon of *Troas* (1559); also 'Seen and allowed &c' in the t.p. of Q_2 of *Gorboduc* (*c.* 1570), 'Perused and Alowed' at the end of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1575), and 'Seen and allowed, according to the order appointed in the Queenes maiesties Injunctions' in the t.p. of *The Glass of Government* (1575). Otherwise these precautions became dead letters, so far as plays were concerned.

[3] *Procl.* 295 (part only in Wilkins, iv. 1; cf. Pollard, *Sh. F.* 7). The

Mary, however, took another step of the first importance for the further history of publishing, by the grant on 4 May 1557 of a charter of incorporation to the London Company of Stationers.[3] This was an old organization, traceable as far back as 1404.[4] By the sixteenth century it had come to include the printers who manufactured, as well as the stationers who sold, books; and many, although not all of its members, exercised both avocations. No doubt the issue of the charter had its origin in mixed motives. The stationers wanted the status and the powers of economic regulation within their trade which it conferred; the Government wanted the aid of the stationers in establishing a more effective control over the printed promulgation of inconvenient doctrines. This preoccupation is clearly manifested in the preamble to the charter, with its assertion that 'seueral seditious and heretical books' are 'daily published'; and the objects of both parties were met by a provision that 'no person shall practise or exercise the art or mystery of printing or stamping any book unless the same person is, or shall be,

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'daye of the printe' is in the t.ps. of *Thyestes* (1560), *Oedipus* (1563), *Gordobuc* (1565), *Four Ps* (1569), and the colophon of *Promos and Cassandra* (1578); the year and month in the t.p. of *King Darius* (1565). Earlier printers had given the day in the colophons of *Mundus et Infans* (1522), *Johan Johan* (1533), and *The Pardoner and the Friar* (1533).

[1] Dasent, ii. 312; *Procl.* 395 (text in Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 9; cf. Pollard, *Sh. F.* 8).

[2] *Procl.* 427 (cf. Pollard, *Sh. F.* 9); *Procl.* 461 (text in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 128; Arber, i. 52); *Procl.* 488 (text in Arber, i. 92).

[3] Arber, i. xxviii, xxxii.

[4] Duff, xi.

one of the society of the foresaid mystery of a stationer of the city aforesaid, or has for that purpose obtained our licence'. This practically freed the associated stationers from any danger of outside competition, and it immensely simplified the task of the heresy hunters by enlisting the help of the Company against the establishment of printing-presses by any but well-known and responsible craftsmen. Registration is always half-way towards regulation. The charter did not, however, dispense, even for the members of the Company, with the requirement of a licence; nor did it give the Company any specific functions in connexion with the issue of licences, and although Elizabeth confirmed her sister's grant on 10 November 1559, she had already, in the course of the ecclesiastical settlement earlier in the year, taken steps to provide for the continuance of the old system, and specifically laid it down that the administration of the Company was to be subordinate thereto. The licensing authority rested ultimately upon the *Act of Supremacy*, by which the power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the 'reformation, order, and correction' of all 'errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities' was annexed to the Crown, and the Crown was authorized to exercise its jurisdiction through the agency of a commission appointed under letters patent.[1] This Act received the royal assent on 8 May 1559, together with the *Act of Uniformity* which established the Book of Common Prayer, and made it an offence 'in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by other open words' to 'declare or speak anything in the derogation, depraving, or despising' of that book.[2] In the course of June followed a body of *Injunctions*, intended as a code of ecclesiastical discipline to be promulgated at a series of diocesan visitations held by commissioners under the *Act of Supremacy*. One of these *Injunctions* is directly concerned with the abuses of printers of books.[3] It begins by forbidding any book or paper to be printed without an express written licence either from the Queen herself or from six of the Privy Council, or after perusal from two persons being either the Archbishop of Canterbury or York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellor of Oxford or Cambridge, or the Bishop or Archdeacon for the place of printing. One of the two must always be the Ordinary, and the names of the licensers are to be 'added in the end' of every book. This seems sufficiently to cover the ground, but the *Injunction* goes on to make a special reference to 'pamphlets, plays and ballads', from which anything

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[1] *1 Eliz.* c. 1 (*Statutes*, iv. 1. 350).

[2] App. D, No. ix.

[3] App. D, No. xii.

'heretical, seditious, or unseemly for Christian ears' ought to be excluded; and for these it prescribes a licence from 'such her majesty's commissioners, or three of them, as be appointed in the city of London to hear and determine divers causes ecclesiastical'. These commissioners are also to punish breaches of the *Injunction*, and to take and notify an order as to the prohibition or permission of 'all other books of matters of religion or policy, or governance'. An exemption is granted for books ordinarily used in universities or schools. The Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company are 'straitly' commanded to be obedient to the *Injunction*. The commission here referred to was not one of those entrusted with the diocesan visitations, but a more permanent body sitting in London itself, which came to be known as the High Commission. The reference to it in the *Injunction* reads like an afterthought, but as the principal members of this commission were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, there is not so much inconsistency between the two forms of procedure laid down as might at first sight appear. The High Commission was not in fact yet in existence when the *Injunctions* were issued, but it was constituted under a patent of 19 July 1559, and was renewed from time to time by fresh patents throughout the reign.[1] The original members, other than the two prelates, were chiefly Privy Councillors, Masters of Requests, and other lawyers. The size of the body was considerably increased by later patents, and a number of divines were added. The patent of 1559 conferred upon the commissioners a general power to exercise the royal jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical. It does not repeat in terms the provisions for the 'allowing' of books contained in the *Injunctions*, but merely recites that 'divers seditious books' have been set forth, and empowers the commissioners to inquire into them.

The *Injunctions* and the Commission must be taken as embodying the official machinery for the licensing of books up to the time of the well-known Star Chamber order of 1586, although the continued anxiety of the government in the matter is shown by a series of proclamations and orders which suggest that no absolutely effective method of suppressing undesirable publications had as yet been attained.[2]

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[1] App. D, No. xiii.

[2] *Procl.* 638, 656, 659, 687, 688, 702, 740, 752, 775; Arber, i. 430, 452, 453, 461, 464, 474, 502; cf. McKerrow, xiii. A draft Bill by William Lambarde prepared in 1577–80 for the establishment of a mixed body of ecclesiastics and lawyers as Governors of the English Print (Arber, ii. 751) never became law.

Mr. Pollard, who regards the procedure contemplated by the *Injunctions* as 'impossible', believes that in practice the Stationers' Company, in ordinary cases, itself acted as a licensing authority.[1] Certainly this is the testimony, as regards the period 1576–86, of a note of Sir John Lambe, Dean of the Arches, in 1636, which is based wholly or in part upon information derived from Felix Kingston, then Master of the Company.[2] Kingston added the detail that in the case of a divinity book of importance the opinion of theological experts was taken. Mr. Pollard expresses a doubt whether Lambe or Kingston had much evidence before them other than the registers of the Company which are still extant, and to these we are in a position to turn for confirmation or qualification of their statements.[3] Unfortunately, the ordinances or constitutions under which the master and wardens acted from the time of the incorporation have not been preserved, and any additions made to these by the Court of Assistants before the Restoration have not been printed.[4] We have some revised ordinances of 1678–82, and these help us by recording as of 'ancient usage' a practice of entering all publications, other than those under letters patent, in 'the register-book of this company'.[5]

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[1] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 15; *F. and Q.* 4. Mr. Pollard stresses the difficulty of obtaining the hands of six Privy Councillors. Perhaps this is somewhat exaggerated. Six was the ordinary quorum of that body, which sat several times a week, while many of its members resided in court, were available for signing documents daily, and did in fact sign, in sixes, many, such as warrants to the Treasurer of the Chamber, of no greater moment than licences (cf. ch. ii). The signatures were of course ministerial, and would be given to a licence on the report of an expert reader. In any case the *Injunction* provides alternatives.

[2] Arber, iii. 690; Pollard, *Sh. F.* 23, 'From 19° Elizabethe [1576–7] till the Starre-chamber Decree 28° Elizabeth [1586], many were licensed by the Master and Wardens, some few by the Master alone, and some by the Archbishop and more by the Bishop of London. The like was in the former parte of the Quene Elizabeth's time. They were made a corporacon but by P. and M. Master Kingston, y^e now master, sayth that before the Decree the master and wardens licensed all, and that when they had any Divinity booke of muche importance they would take the advise of some 2 or 3 ministers of this towne'.

[3] The references in the following notes, unless otherwise specified, are to the vols. and pages of Arber's *Transcript*.

[4] i. 106; ii. 879.

[5] i. 17, 'No member or members of this Company shall hereafter knowingly imprint or cause to be imprinted any book, pamphlet, portraicture, picture or paper whereunto the law requires a license, without such license as by the law is directed for the imprinting of the same (1678)'; 22, 'By ancient usage of this company, when any book or copy is duly entred in the register book of this company, to any member or members of this company, such person to whom such entry is made, is,

It is in fact this register, incorporated from 1557 to 1571 in the annual accounts of the wardens and kept from 1576 onwards as a subsidiary book by the clerk, which furnishes our principal material. During 1557–71 the entries for each year are collected under a general heading, which takes various forms. In 1557–8 it is 'The entrynge of all such copyes as be lycensed to be prynted by the master and wardyns of the mystery of stacioners'; in 1558–9 simply 'Lycense for pryntinge'; in 1559–60, for which year the entries are mixed up with others, 'Receptes for fynes, graunting of coppyes and other thynges'; in 1560–1 'For takynge of fynes for coppyes'. This formula lasts until 1565–6, when 'The entrynge of coopyes' takes its place. The wording of the individual entries also varies during the period, but generally it indicates the receipt of a money payment in return for a license.[1] In a very few cases, by no means always of divinity books, the licence is said to be 'by', or the licence or perhaps the book itself, to be 'authorized' or 'allowed' or 'perused' or 'appointed' by the Bishop of London; still more rarely by the Archbishop of Canterbury or by both prelates; once by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; once by the Council.[2]

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and always hath been reputed and taken to be proprietor of such book or copy, and ought to have the sole printing thereof (1681)'; 26, 'It hath been the ancient usage of the members of this company, for the printer or printers, publisher or publishers of all books, pamphlets, ballads, and papers, (except what are granted by letters pattents under the great seal of England) to enter into the publick register-book of this company, remaining with the clerk of this company for the time being, in his or their own name or names, all books, pamphlets, ballads, and papers whatsoever, by him or them to be printed or published, before the same book, pamphlet, ballad, or paper is begun to be printed, to the end that the printer or publisher thereof may be known, to justifie whatsoever shall be therein contained, and have no excuse for the printing or publishing thereof (1682)'.

[1] Typical examples are i. 75 (1557–8), 'To master John Wally these bokes called Welth and helthe, the treatise of the ffrere and the boy, stans puer ad mensam, another of youghte charyte and humylyte, an a. b. c. for cheldren in englesshe with syllabes, also a boke called an hundreth mery tayles ij^{s}'; 77 (1557–8), 'To Henry Sutton to prynte an enterlude vpon the history of Jacobe and Esawe out of the xxvij chapeter of the fyrste boke of Moyses called Genyses and for his lycense he geveth to the howse iiij^{d}'; 128 (1559–60), 'Recevyd of John Kynge for his lycense for pryntinge of these copyes Lucas urialis, nyce wanton, impaciens poverte, the proude wyves pater noster, the squyre of low degre and syr deggre graunted ye x of June anno 1560 ij^{s}'. The last becomes the normal form, but without the precise date.

[2] i. 155, 177, 204, 205, 208, 209, 231, 263, 268, 269, 272, 299, 302, 308, 312, 334, 336, 343, 378, 382, 385, 398, 399, 415. It is possible that the wardens, intent on finance, did not always transcribe into their accounts notes of authorizations. Only half a dozen of the above are ascribed to

Richard Collins, on his appointment as Clerk of the Company in 1575, records that one of his duties was to enter 'lycences for pryntinge of copies' and one section of his register is accordingly devoted to this purpose.[1] It has no general heading, but the summary accounts of the wardens up to 1596 continue to refer to the receipts as 'for licencinge of copies'.[2] The character of the individual entries between 1576 and 1586 is much as in the account books. The name of a stationer is given in the margin and is followed by some such formula as 'Receyved of him for his licence to prynte' or more briefly 'Lycenced vnto him', with the title of the book, any supplementary information which the clerk thought relevant, and a note of the payment made. Occasional alternatives are 'Allowed', 'Admitted', 'Graunted' or 'Tolerated' 'vnto him', of which the three first appear to have been regarded as especially appropriate to transfers of existing copyrights;[3] and towards the end of the period appears the more important variant 'Allowed vnto him for his copie'.[4] References to external authorizers gradually become rather more frequent, although they are still the exception and not the rule; the function is fulfilled, not only by the bishop, the archbishop, or the Council, but also upon occasion by the Lord Chancellor or the Secretary, by individual Privy Councillors, by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder or the Remembrancer of the City, and by certain masters and doctors, who may be the ministers mentioned by Felix Kingston, and who probably held regular deputations from a proper ecclesiastical authority as 'correctors' to the printers.[5] It is certain that such a post was held in 1571 by one Talbot, a servant of the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the other hand the clerk, at first tentatively and then as a matter of

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the archbishop, yet a mention of 'one Talbot, servant of the archbishop of Canterbury, a corrector to the printers' in an examination relative to the Ridolfi plot (Haynes-Murdin, ii. 30) shows that he had enough work in 1571 to justify the appointment of a regular deputy.

[1] ii. 35, 301. Collins remained clerk to 1613, when he was succeeded by Thomas Mountfort, who became a stationer (McKerrow, 196), and is of course to be distinguished from the prebendary of Paul's and High Commissioner of a similar name, who acted as 'corrector' (cf. p. 168).

[2] i. 451 *sqq.* [3] ii. 302, 359, 371, 377, 378, 414, &c. [4] ii. 440, 444.

[5] ii. 334, 'vnder the hande of Master Recorder'; 341, 'vnder thandes of Doctour Redman and the wardens'; 342, 'master Recorder and the wardens'; 346, 'the lord maiour and the wardens'; 357, 'sub manibus comitum Leicester et Hunsdon'; 372, 'master Crowley'; 375, 'master Vaughan'; 386, 'master Secretary Wilson'; 403, 'master Thomas Norton [Remembrancer]'; 404, 'the Lord Chancellor'; 409, 'master Cotton'; 417, 'by aucthoritie from the Counsell'; 434, 435, 'pervsed by master Crowley'; 447, 'master Recorder'. For Talbot, cf. *supra.*

regular practice, begins to record the part taken by the master and wardens. The first example is a very explicit entry, in which the book is said to be 'licensed to be printed' by the archbishop and 'alowed' by the master and a warden.[1] But the formula which becomes normal does not dwell on any differentiation of functions, and merely states the licence as being 'under the hands of' the wardens or of one of them or the master, or of these and of some one who may be presumed to be an external corrector. To the precise significance of 'under the hands of' I must return. Increased caution with regard to dangerous books is also borne witness to during this period by the occasional issue of a qualified licence. In 1580 Richard Jones has to sign his name in the register to a promise 'to bring the whole impression' of *The Labyrinth of Liberty* 'into the Hall in case it be disliked when it is printed'.[2] In 1583 the same stationer undertakes 'to print of his own perill'.[3] In 1584 it is a play which is thus brought into question, Lyly's *Sapho and Phao*, and Thomas Cadman gets no more than 'yt is graunted vnto him yat yf he gett ye commedie of Sappho laufully alowed vnto him, then none of this cumpanie shall interrupt him to enjoye yt'. Other entries direct that lawful authority must be obtained before printing, and in one case there is a specific reference to the royal *Injunctions*.[4] Conditions of other kinds are also sometimes found in entries; a book must be printed at a particular press, or the licence is to be voided if it prove to be another man's copy.[5] The caution of the Stationers may have been motived by dissatisfaction on the part of the government which finally took shape in the issue of the Star Chamber order of 23 June 1586. This was a result of the firmer policy towards Puritan indiscipline initiated by Whitgift and the new High Commission which he procured on his succession to the primacy in 1583.[6] It had two main objects. One, with which we are not immediately concerned, was to limit the number of printers and their presses; the other, to concentrate the censorship of all ordinary books, including plays, in the hands of the archbishop and the bishop. It is not clear whether the prelates were to act in their ordinary capacity or as High Commissioners; anyhow they had the authority of the High Commission, itself backed by the Privy Council, behind them. The effect of the order is shown in a bustle amongst the publishers to get on to the register a number of ballads and other trifles which they had hitherto neglected to enter, and in a considerable increase in the submissions of books for approval, either to the prelates themselves, or to persons who are now clearly acting as ecclesiastical deputies.[1] On 30 June 1588 an official list of deputies was issued by the archbishop, and amongst these were several who had already authorized books before and after 1586. These deputies, and other correctors whose names appear in the register at later dates, are as a rule traceable as episcopal chaplains, prebendaries of St. Paul's, or holders of London benefices.[2] Some of them were themselves

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[1] ii. 304; cf. ii. 447 (1586), 'Entred by commaundement from master Barker in wrytinge vnder his hand. Aucthorised vnder the Archbishop of Canterbury his hand'. 'Licenced', as well as 'authorised' or 'alowed', now sometimes (ii. 307, 447) describes the action of a prelate or corrector.

[2] ii. 366.

[3] ii. 428.

[4] ii. 424, 'alwaies provided that before he print he shall get the bishop of London his alowance to yt'; 424, 'upon condicon he obtaine the ordinaries hand thereto'; 429, 'provyded alwaies and he is enioyned to gett this booke laufully alowed before he print yt'; 431, 'yt is granted vnto him that if he gett the card of phantasie lawfullie alowed vnto him, that then he shall enioye yt as his owne copie'; 431, 'so it be or shalbe by laufull aucthoritie lycenced vnto him'; 444, 'to be aucthorised accordinge to her maiesties Iniunctions'. The wardens' hands are not cited to any of these conditional entries.

[5] ii. 307, 308, 336, 353, 430, 438, 439.

[6] App. D, No. lxxvii; cf. Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, i. 268; Pierce,

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Introduction to Mar Prelate Tracts, 74. Confirmations and special condemnations of offending books are in *Procl.* 802, 812, 1092, 1362, 1383 (texts of two last in G. W. Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 169, 395).

[1] ii. 459, 'Master Hartwell certifying it to be tollerated'; 460, 'authorised or alowed as good vnder thand of Doctour Redman &c'; 461, 'certified by Master Hartwell to be alowed leavinge out the ij staues yat are crossed'; 464, 'master Crowleys hand is to yt, as laufull to be printed'; 475, 'aucthorised by tharchbishop of Canterbury as is reported by Master Cosin'; 479, 'which as master Hartwell certifyithe by his hande to the written copie, my Lordes grace of Canterbury is content shall passe without anie thinge added to yt before it be pervsed'; 487, 'sett downe as worthie to be printed vnder thand of Master Gravet'; 489, 'Master Crowleys hand is to yt testyfying it to be alowable to ye print'; 491, 'vnder the Bishop of London, Master Abraham Fraunce, and the wardens hands'; 493, 'Master Hartwells hand beinge at the wrytten copie testifyinge his pervsinge of the same'; 493, 'alowed vnder D^r^ Stallers hand as profitable to be printed', &c.

[2] Lambe notes (iii. 690) in 1636 that on 30 June 1588, 'the archbishop gave power to Doctor Cosin, Doctor Stallard, Doctor Wood, master Hartwell, master Gravett, master Crowley, master Cotton, and master Hutchinson, or any one of them, to license books to be printed: Or any 2 of those following master Judson, master Trippe, master Cole and master Dickens'. It will be observed that most of the first group of these had already acted as 'correctors', together with William Redman and Richard Vaughan, chaplains respectively to Archbishop Grindal and Bishop Aylmer. William Hutchinson and George Dickens were also chaplains to Aylmer. Hutchinson was in the High Commission of 1601. Richard Cosin was Dean of the Arches and a High Commissioner. Abraham Hartwell was secretary and Cole chaplain (Arber, ii. 494) to Archbishop Whitgift. Hutchinson, William Gravett, William Cotton, and George Dickins were or became prebendaries of St. Paul's. Thomas Stallard was rector of All Hallows'

members of the High Commission. Occasionally laymen were appointed.[1] The main work of correction now fell to these officials, but books were still sometimes allowed by the archbishop or bishop in person, or by the Privy Council or some member of that body.

The reaction of the changes of 1586–88 upon the entries in the register is on the whole one of degree rather than of kind. Occasionally the wording suggests a differentiation between the functions of the wardens and those of the ecclesiastical licensers, but more often the clerk contents himself with a mere record of what 'hands' each book was under.[2] Some shifting of the point of view is doubtless involved in the fact that 'Entered vnto him for his copie' and 'Allowed vnto him for his copie' now become the normal formulas, and by 1590–1 'Licenced vnto him' has disappeared altogether.[3] But a great number of books, including most ballads and pamphlets and some plays, are still entered without note of any authority other than that of the wardens, and about 1593 the proportion of cases submitted to the ecclesiastical deputies sensibly begins to slacken, although the continuance of conditional entries shows that some caution was exercised. An intervention of the prelates in 1599 reversed the tendency again.[4] As regards plays in particular,

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and St. Mary's at Hill; Henry Tripp of St. Faith's and St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Most of this information is from Hennessy. Crowley was presumably Robert Crowley, vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and himself a stationer, although his activity as a Puritan preacher and pamphleteer makes his appointment an odd one for Whitgift. Moreover, he died on 18 June 1588. There may have been two Robert Crowleys, or the archbishop's list may have been drawn up earlier than Lambe dates it.

[1] Amongst the correctors who appear later in the Register are Richard Bancroft, John Buckeridge, and Michael Murgatroyd, secretaries or chaplains to Whitgift, Samuel Harsnett, William Barlow, Thomas Mountford, John Flower, and Zacharias Pasfield, prebendaries of St. Paul's, William Dix, Peter Lyly, chaplain of the Savoy and brother of the dramatist, Lewis Wager, rector of St. James's, Garlickhithe, and dramatist, John Wilson, and Gervas Nidd. Mountford and Dix were in the High Commission of 1601. I have not troubled to trace the full careers of these men in Hennessy and elsewhere. Thomas Morley (Arber, iii. 93) and William Clowes (ii. 80) seem to have been applied to as specialists on musical and medical books respectively.

[2] ii. 463, 464, 508, 509, 'Alowed by the Bishop of London vnder his hand and entred by warrant of Master [warden] Denhams hand to the copie'.

[3] A typical entry is now

'xiii^{to} die Augusti [1590].
Richard Jones. Entred vnto him for his Copye The twooe commicall discourses of Tomberlein the Cithian shepparde vnder the handes of Master Abraham Hartewell and the Wardens. vj^{d}.'

[4] iii. 677. A number of satirical books were condemned by name to

the wardens received a sharp reminder, 'that noe playes be printed except they be allowed by suche as haue authority'; and although they do not seem to have interpreted this as requiring reference to a corrector in every case, conditional entries of plays become for a time numerous.[1] They stop altogether in 1607, when the responsibility for play correction appears to have been taken over, presumably under an

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be burnt, and direction given to the master and wardens, 'That no Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter; That noe Englishe historyes be printed excepte they bee allowed by some of her maiesties privie Counsell; That noe playes be printed excepte they bee allowed by suche as haue aucthoritie; That all Nasshes bookes and Doctor Harvyes bookes be taken wheresoeuer they maye be found and that none of theire bookes be euer printed hereafter; That thoughe any booke of the nature of theise heretofore expressed shalbe broughte vnto yow vnder the hands of the Lord Archebisshop of Canterburye or the Lord Bishop of London yet the said booke shall not be printed vntill the master or wardens haue acquainted the said Lord Archbishop or the Lord Bishop with the same to knowe whether it be theire hand or no'.

[1] *Hunting of Cupid* (R. Jones, 26 July 1591), 'provyded alwayes that yf yt be hurtfull to any other copye before lycenced, then this to be voyde'; *Merchant of Venice* (J. Robertes, 22 July 1598), 'prouided, that yt bee not prynted by the said James Robertes or anye other whatsoeuer without lycence first had from the Right honorable the lord chamberlen'; *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (W. Jones, 15 Aug. 1598), 'vppon condicion that yt belonge to noe other man'; *Spanish Tragedy* (transfer from A. Jeffes to W. White, 13 Aug. 1599), 'saluo iure cuiuscunque'; *Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose* (J. Robertes, 27 May 1600), 'prouided that he is not to putt it in prynte without further and better aucthority'; *A Larum for London* (J. Robertes, 29 May 1600), 'prouided that yt be not printed without further aucthoritie'; *Antonio and Mellida* (M. Lownes and T. Fisher, 24 Oct. 1601), 'prouided that he gett laufull licence for yt'; *Satiromastix* (J. Barnes, 11 Nov. 1601), 'vppon condicon that yt be lycensed to be printed'; *Troilus and Cressida* (J. Robertes, 7 Feb. 1603), 'to print when he hath gotten sufficient aucthoritie for yt'; *When You See Me, You Know Me* (N. Butter, 12 Feb. 1605), 'yf he gett good alowance for the enterlude of King Henry the 8th before he begyn to print it. And then procure the wardens handes to yt for the entrance of yt: He is to haue the same for his copy'; *Westward Hoe* (H. Rocket, 2 March 1605), 'prouided yat he get further authoritie before yt be printed' (entry crossed out, and marked 'vacat'); *Dutch Courtesan* (J. Hodgets, 26 June 1605), 'provyded that he gett sufficient aucthoritie before yt be prynted' (with later note, 'This is alowed to be printed by aucthoritie from Master Hartwell'); *Sir Giles Goosecap* (E. Blount, 10 Jan. 1606), 'prouided that yt be printed accordinge to the copie wherevnto Master Wilsons hand ys at'; *Fawn* (W. Cotton, 12 March 1606), 'provided that he shall not put the same in prynte before he gett alowed lawfull aucthoritie'; *Fleire* (J. Trundle and J. Busby, 13 May 1606), 'provided that they are not to printe yt tell they bringe good aucthoritie and licence for the doinge thereof' (with note to transfer of Trundle's share to Busby and A. Johnson on 21 Nov. 1606, 'This booke is aucthorised by Sir George Bucke Master Hartwell and the wardens').

arrangement with the prelates, by the Master of the Revels.[1] Henceforward and to the end of Buck's mastership, nearly all play entries are under the hands not only of the wardens, but of the Master or of a deputy acting on his behalf. Meanwhile, for books other than plays, the ecclesiastical authority succeeded more and more in establishing itself, although even up to the time of the Commonwealth the wardens never altogether ceased to enter ballads and such small deer on their own responsibility.

A little more may be gleaned from the ' Fynes for breakinge of good orders ', which like the book entries were recorded by the wardens in their annual accounts up to 1571 and by the clerk in his register from 1576 to 1605.[2] But many of these were for irregularities in apprenticeship and the like, and where a particular book was concerned, the book is more often named than the precise offence committed in relation to it. The fine is for printing ' contrary to the orders of this howse ', ' contrary to our ordenaunces ', or merely ' disorderly '. Trade defects, such as ' stechyng ' of books, are sometimes in question, and sometimes the infringement of other men's copies.[3] But the character of the books concerned suggests that some at least of the fines for printing ' without lycense ', ' without aucthoritie ', ' without alowance ', ' without entrance ', ' before the wardyns handes were to yt ' were due to breaches of the regulations for censorship, and in a few instances the information is specific.[4] The book is a ' lewde ' book, or ' not tolerable ', or has already been condemned to be burnt, or the printing is contrary to ' her maiesties prohibicon ' or ' the decrees of the star chamber '.[5] More rarely a fine was accompanied by the sequestration of the offending books, or the breaking up of a press, or even imprisonment. In these cases the company may have been acting under stimulus from higher powers; in dealing with a culprit in 1579, they direct that 'for his offence, so farre as it toucheth ye same house only, he shall paye a fine '.[1]

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[1] Buck's hand first appears to *Claudius Tiberius Nero* (10 Mar. 1607), and thereafter to all London (but not University) plays up to his madness in 1622, except *Cupid's Whirligig* (29 June 1607), which has Tilney's, *Yorkshire Tragedy* (2 May 1608), which has Wilson's, some of those between 4 Oct. 1608 and 10 March 1609, which have Segar's, who is described as Buck's deputy, and *Honest Lawyer* (14 Aug. 1615), which has Taverner's.

[2] i. 45, 69, 93, 100, &c.; ii. 821, 843. In 1558–9, only, the heading is ' Fynes for defautes for Pryntynge withoute lycense '.

[3] See the case of Jeffes and White in 1593 given in ch. xxiii, s.v. Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*.

[4] i. 93, 100; ii. 853 (21 Jan. 1583), ' This daye, Ric. Jones is awarded to paie x^{s} for a fine for printinge a thinge of the fall of the gallories at Paris Garden without licence and against commandement of the Wardens. And the said Jones and Bartlet to be committed to prison viz Bartlet for printing it and Jones for sufferinge it to be printed in his house '.

[5] ii. 824, 826, 832, 837, 849, 851.

Putting together the entries and the fines, we can arrive at an approximate notion of the position occupied by the Stationers' Company as an intermediary between the individual stationers and the higher powers in Church and State. That it is only approximate and that many points of detail remain obscure is largely due to the methods of the clerk. Richard Collins did not realize the importance, at least to the future historian, of set diplomatic formulas, and it is by no means clear to what extent the variations in the phrasing of his record correspond to variations in the facts recorded. But it is my impression that he was in substance a careful registrar, especially as regards the authority under which his entries were made, and that if he did not note the presence in any case of a corrector's 'hand' to a book, it is fair evidence that such a hand was not before him. On this assumption the register confirms the inference to be drawn from the statements of Lambe and Kingston in 1636, that before 1586 the provision of the *Injunctions* for licensing by the High Commission for London was not ordinarily operative, and that as a rule the only actual licences issued were those of the Stationers' Company, who used their own discretion in submitting books about which they felt doubtful to the bishop or the archbishop or to an authorized corrector.[2] That books licensed by the Company without such reference were regarded as having been technically licensed under the *Injunctions*, one would hesitate to say. Licence is a fairly general term, and as used in the Stationers' Register it does not necessarily cover anything more than a permit required by the internal ordinances of the Company itself. Certainly its officials claimed to issue licences to its members for other purposes than printing.[3] What Lambe and Kingston do not tell us, and perhaps ought to have told us, is that, when the master and wardens did call in the assistance of expert referees, it was not to 'ministers' merely chosen by themselves that they applied, but to official correctors nominated by the High Commission, or by the archbishop or bishop on its behalf. Nor must it be supposed that no supervision of the proceedings of the company was exercised by the High Commission itself. We find that body writing to the Company to uphold a patent in 1560.[1] It was upon its motion in 1566 that the Privy Council made a Star Chamber order calling attention to irregularities which had taken place, and directing the master and wardens to search for the offenders.[2] And its authority, concurrent with that of the Privy Council itself, to license books, is confirmed by a letter of the Council to the company in 1570.[3] So much for the period before 1586. Another thing which Lambe and Kingston do not tell us, and which the register, if it can be trusted, does, is that the effective change introduced by the Star Chamber of that year was only one of degree and not of kind. It is true that an increasing number of books came, after one set-back, to be submitted to correctors; that the clerk begins to lay emphasis in his wording upon entrance rather than upon licence; that there are some hints that the direct responsibility of the wardens was for a kind of 'allowance' distinct from and supplementary to that of censorship. But it does not appear to be true that, then or at any later time, they wholly refused to enter any book except after taking cognizance of an authority beyond their own.

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[1] ii. 850.

[2] The testimony only relates strictly to the period 1576–86, which is nearly coincident with the slack ecclesiastical rule of Archbishop Grindal (1576–83). Parker (1559–75) may have been stricter, as Whitgift (1583–1604) certainly was.

[3] i. 95, 'Master Waye had lycense to take the lawe of James Gonnell for a sarten dett due vnto hym'; 101, 'Owyn Rogers for . . . kepynge of a forren with out lycense ys fyned'.

In fact the register, from the very beginning, was not purely, or perhaps even primarily, one of allowances. It had two other functions, even more important from the point of view of the internal economy of the Company. It was a fee-book, subsidiary to the annual accounts of the wardens, and showing the details of sums which they had to return in those accounts.[4] And it was a register of copyrights. A stationer brought his copy to the wardens and paid his fee, in order that he might be protected by an official acknowledgement of his interest in the book against any infringement by a trade competitor. No doubt the wardens would not, and under the ordinances of the company might not, give this acknowledgement, unless they were satisfied that the book was one which might lawfully be printed. But copyright was what the stationer wanted, for after all most books were not dangerous in the eyes even of an Elizabethan censorship, whereas there would be little profit in publishing, if any rival were at liberty to cut in and reprint for himself the result of a successful speculation. It is a clear proof of this that the entrances include, not only new books, but also those in which rights had been transferred from one stationer to another.[1] Obviously no new allowance by a corrector would be required in such cases. And as regards copyright and licence alike, the entry in the register, although convenient to all concerned, was in itself no more than registration, the formal putting upon record of action already taken upon responsible authority. This authority did not rest with the clerk. In a few cases, indeed, he does seem to have entered an unimportant book at his own discretion.[2] But his functions were really subordinate to those of the wardens, as is shown by his practice from about 1580, of regularly citing the ' hands ' or signed directions of those officers, as well as of the correctors, upon which he was acting. These ' hands ' are not in the register, and there is sufficient evidence that they were ordinarily endorsed upon the manuscript or a printed copy of the book itself.[3]

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[1] ii. 62.

[2] i. 322.

[3] v. lxxvi, 'we do will and commande yowe that from hence forthe yowe suffer neither booke ballett nor any other matter to be published . . . until the same be first seene and allowed either by us of her M^{tes} pryvie Counsell or by thee [*sic*] Commissioners for cawses ecclesyastical there at London'.

[4] The fee seems at first to have been 4*d.* for 'entraunce' (i. 94), with a further sum for books above a certain size at the rate of 'euery iij leves a pannye' (i. 97); plays ran from 4*d.* to 12*d.* But from about 1582 plays and most other books are charged a uniform fee of 6*d.*, and only ballads and other trifles escape with 4*d.* Payments were sometimes in arrear; often there is no note of fee to a title; and in some of these cases the words 'neuer printed' have been added. On the other hand, the receipt of fees is sometimes recorded, and the title remains unentered; at the end of the entries for 1585–6 (ii. 448) is a memorandum that one of the wardens 'brought in about iiij^{s} moore which he had receved for copies yat were not brought to be entred into the book this yere'. A similar item is in the wardens' accounts for 1592–3 (i. 559). Fees were charged for entries of transferred as well as of new copies.

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[1] Various formulae are used, such as ' assigned vnto him ' (ii. 310, 351), ' turned ouer to him ' (ii. 369), ' putt ouer vnto him ' (ii. 431), ' sold and sett ouer vnto him ' (ii. 350), ' which he affyrmeth yat he bought of ' (ii. 351), ' by assent of ' (ii. 415), ' by thappointment of ' (ii. 667), ' by the consent of ' (ii. 608), ' which he bought of ' (ii. 325), &c. A transfer of ' plaiebookes ' from Sampson Awdeley to John Charlewood on 15 Jan. 1582 (ii. 405) included, besides two plays, *Youth* and *Impatient Poverty*, which had been formerly registered, four others, *Weather*, *Four Ps*, *Love*, and *Hickscorner*, which had been printed before the Register came into existence. I suppose that Charlwood secured copyright in these, but was there any copyright before the entry of 1582 ?

[2] ii. 377, ' Tollerated vnto him but not vnder the wardens handes ', 472, ' beinge broughte to enter by John Woulf without the wardens handes to the copy '. Even in the seventeenth century ballads are sometimes entered without any citation of hands, and in 1643 it was the clerk and not the wardens whom Parliament authorized to license ' small pamphletts, portratures, pictures, and the like ' (v. liv).

[3] ii. 365, ' Translated by a French copie whereat was the bishop of Londons hand and master Harrisons '; 440, ' by commaundement from master warden Newbery vnder his own handwrytinge on the backside of ye wrytten copie '; 443, ' vnder his hand to the printed copie '; 449, ' by

Exceptionally there might be an oral direction, or a separate letter or warrant of approval, which was probably preserved in a cupboard at the company's hall.[1] Here too were kept copies of prints, although not, I think, the endorsed copies, which seem to have remained with the stationers.[2] I take it that the procedure was somewhat as follows. The stationer would bring his book to a warden together with the fee or some plausible excuse for deferring payment to a later date. The warden had to consider the questions both of property and of licence. Possibly the title of each book was published in the hall, in order that any other stationer who thought that he had an interest in it might make his claim.[3] Cases of disputed interest would go for determination to the Court of Assistants, who with the master and wardens for the year formed the ultimate governing body of the company, and had power in the last resort to revoke an authority to print already granted.[4] But if no difficulty as to ownership arose,

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warrant of master warden Bisshops hand to the former copie printed anno 1584'; 449, 'by warrant of master warden Bishops hand to the wrytten copie'; 457, 'by warrant of the wardens handes to thold copie'; 521, 'with master Hartwelles hand to the Italyan Booke'; 534, 'alowed vnder master Hartwelles hand, entred by warrant of the subscription of the wardens', &c.

[1] ii. 434, 'entred vpon a special knowen token sent from master warden Newbery'; 437, 'allowed by tharchbishop of Canterbury, by testymonie of the Lord Chenie'; 460, 'by the wardens appointment at the hall'; 504, 'by warrant of a letter from Sir Ffrauncis Walsingham to the master and wardens of the Cumpanye'; 523, 'alowed by a letter or note vnder master Hartwelles hand'; 524, 'reported by master Fortescue to be alowed by the archbishop of Canterbury'; 633, 'The note vnder master Justice Ffenners hand is layd vp in the wardens cupbord'; iii. 160, 'John Hardie reporteth that the wardens are consentinge to thentrance thereof', &c.

[2] An inventory of 1560 (i. 143) records 'The nombre of all suche Copyes as was lefte in the Cubberde in our Counsell Chambre at the Compte . . . as apereth in the whyte boke for that yere . . . xliiij. Item in ballettes . . . vij^{c} iiij^{x} and xvj'. From 1576 to 1579 'and a copie' is often added to the notes of fees. The wardens accounts from 1574 to 1596 (i. 470, 581) regularly recite that they had 'deliuered into the hall certen copies which haue been printed this yeare, as by a particular booke thereof made appearithe'.

[3] ii. 452, 'Receaved of him for printinge 123 ballades which are filed vp in the hall with his name to euerie ballad'. The order of 1592 about *Dr. Faustus* (cf. ch. xxiii) suggests preliminary entry of claims in a Hall book distinct from the Clerk's book.

[4] ii. 414, 'Graunted by the Assistants'; 449, 'entred in full court'; 462, 'entred in plena curia'; 465, 'intratur in curia': 477, 'by the whole consent of thassistantes'; 535, 'aucthorysed to him at the hall soe that yt doe not belonge to any other of the Cumpanye'; 535, 'This is allowed by the consent of the whole table'; 663, 'in open court'; 344, 'memorandum that this lycence is revoked and cancelled'; 457, 'This copie is forbydden by the Archbishop of Canterbury', with marginal note 'Ex-

and if the book was already endorsed as allowable by a corrector, the warden would add his own endorsement, and it was then open to the stationer to take the book to the clerk, show the 'hands', pay the fee if it was still outstanding, and get the formalities completed by registration.[1] If, however, the warden found no endorsement by a corrector on the copy, then there were three courses open to him. He might take the risk of passing an obviously harmless book on his own responsibility. He might refuse his 'hand' until the stationer had got that of the corrector. Or he might make a qualified endorsement, which the clerk would note in the register, sanctioning publication so far as copyright was concerned, but only upon condition that proper authority should first be obtained. The dates on the title-pages of plays, when compared with those of the entries, suggest that, as would indeed be natural, the procedure was completed before publication; not necessarily before printing, as the endorsements were sometimes on printed copies.[2] Several cases of re-entry after a considerable interval may indicate that copyright lapsed unless it was exercised within a reasonable time. As a rule, a play appeared within a year or so after it was entered, and was either printed or published by the stationer who had entered it, or by some other to whom he is known, or may plausibly be supposed, to have transferred his interest. Where a considerable interval exists between the date of an entry and that of the first known print, it is sometimes possible that an earlier print has been lost.[3]

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punctum in plena curia'; 514, 'so yat he first gett yt to be laufully and orderly alowed as tollerable to be printed and doo shewe thaucthoritie thereof at a Court to be holden'; 576, 'Cancelled out of the book, for the vndecentnes of it in diuerse verses'; iii. 82, 'Entred . . . in full court . . . vppon condicon that yt be no other mans copie, and that . . . he procure it to be aucthorised and then doo shew it at the hall to the master and wardens so aucthorised'.

[1] The register indicates that even at the time of entry the fee sometimes remained unpaid. But probably it had to be paid before the stationer could actually publish with full security of copyright.

[2] Cf. p. 173.

[3] I note twenty-two cases (1586–1616) in which the earliest print known falls in a calendar year later than the next after that of entry: *Spanish Tragedy*, 1592–4 (N.D. probably earlier); *Soliman and Perseda*, 1592–9 (N.D. probably earlier); *James IV*, 1594–8; *Famous Victories*, 1594–8; *David and Bethsabe*, 1594–9; *King Leire*, 1594–1605 (re-entry 1605); *Four Prentices*, 1594–1615 (one or more earlier editions probable); *Jew of Malta*, 1594–1633 (re-entry 1632); *Woman in the Moon*, 1595–7; *George a Greene*, 1595–9; *Merchant of Venice*, 1598–1600 (conditional entry); *Alarum for London*, 1600–2 (conditional entry); *Patient Grissell*, 1600–3 (stayed by Admiral's); *Stukeley*, 1600–5; *Dr. Faustus*, 1601–4; *Englishmen*

I do not think that it can be assumed that the absence of an entry in the register is evidence that the book was not duly licensed, so far as the ecclesiastical authorities were concerned. If its status was subsequently questioned, the signed copy could itself be produced. Certainly, when a conditional entry had been made, requiring better authority to be obtained, the fulfilment of the condition was by no means always, although it was sometimes, recorded. Possibly the 'better authority' was shown to the warden rather than the clerk. On the other hand, it is certain that, under the ordinances of the Company, publication without entrance exposed the stationer to a fine, and it is therefore probable that entrance was also necessary to secure copyright.[1] Sometimes the omission was repaired on the occasion of a subsequent transfer of interest. So far as plays are concerned, there seems to have been greater laxity in this respect as time went on. Before 1586, or at any rate before 1584, there are hardly any unentered plays, if we make the reasonable assumption that certain prints of 1573 and 1575 appeared in the missing lists for 1571–5.[2] Between 1584 and 1615 the number is considerable, being over fifty, or nearly a quarter of the total number of plays printed during that period. An examination of individual cases does not disclose any obvious reason why some plays should be entered and others not. The unentered plays are spread over the whole period concerned. They come from the repertories of nearly all the theatres. They include 'surreptitious' plays, which may be supposed to have been printed without the consent of the authors or owners, but they also include plays to which prefaces by authors or owners are prefixed. They were issued by publishers of good standing as well as by others less reputable; and as a rule their publishers appear to have been entering or not entering, quite indifferently, at about the same

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for my Money, 1601–16; *Troilus and Cressida*, 1603–9 (re-entry 1609); *Westward Ho*, 1605–7 (conditional entry cancelled); *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1608–23, (re-entry 1623); *2 Honest Whore*, 1608–30 (re-entry 1630); *Epicoene*, 1610–20 (earlier edition probable; *Ignoramus*, 1615–30 (re-entry 1630). The glutting of the book-market in 1594 accounts for some of the delays.

[1] ii. 829 (1599), 833 (1601), 835 (1602), 837 (1603).

[2] I find no entries of *Enough is as Good as a Feast* (N.D.), *Thyestes* (1560), *Hercules Furens* (1561), *Trial of Treasure* (1567), *God's Promises* (1577), perhaps reprints; of *Orestes* (1567); or of *Abraham's Sacrifice* (1577) or *Conflict of Conscience* (1581), perhaps entered in 1571–5. The method of exhaustions suggests that Copland's *Robin Hood* (N.D.) is the 'newe playe called ——' which he entered on 30 Oct. 1560, and that Colwell's *Disobedient Child* (N.D.) is the unnamed 'interlude for boyes to handle and to passe tyme at christenmas', which he entered in 1569–70.

date. To this generalization I find an exception, in Thomas Archer, who printed six plays without entry between 1607 and 1613 and entered none.[1] The large number of unentered plays is rather a puzzle, and I do not know the solution. In some cases, as we shall see, the publishers may have preferred not to court publicity for their enterprises by bringing them before the wardens. In others they may merely have been unbusinesslike, or may have thought that the chances of profit hardly justified the expenditure of sixpence on acquiring copyright. Yet many of the unentered plays went through more than one edition, including *Mucedorus*, a book of enduring popularity, and they do not appear to have been particularly subject to invasion by rival publishers. I will leave it to Mr. Pollard.

These being the conditions, let us consider what number and what kinds of plays got into print. It will be convenient to deal separately with the two periods 1557–85 and 1586–1616. The operations of the Company under their charter had hardly begun before Mary died. The Elizabethan printing of plays opens in 1559 and for the first five years is of a retrospective character. Half a dozen publishers, led by John King, who died about 1561, and Thomas Colwell, who started business in the same year, issued or entered seventeen plays. Of these one is not extant. One is a 'May-game', perhaps contemporary. Five are translations; four are Marian farces of the school of Udall, one a *débat* by John Heywood, and five Protestant interludes of the reigns of Henry and Edward, roughly edited in some cases so as to adapt them to performance under the new queen.[2] One more example of earlier Tudor drama, *Ralph Roister Doister*, in addition to mere reprints, appeared after 1565.[3] And with that year, after a short lull of activity, begins the genuine Elizabethan harvest, which by 1585 had yielded forty-two plays, of which thirty-nine are extant, although two only in the form of fragments. On analysis, the greater number of these, seventeen in all, fall into a group of moral interludes, often controversial in tone, and in some cases approximating, through the intermingling of concrete with abstract personages, on the one hand to classical comedy, on the other to the mediaeval miracle-play. There are also twelve translations or adaptations, including two from Italian comedy. There is one neo-classical tragedy. And there are nine plays which can best be classified as histories, of which seven have a classical and two a romantic colouring.[1] It is of interest to compare this output of the printing-press with the chronicle of Court performances over the same years which is recorded in the Revels Accounts.[2] Here we get, so far of course as can be judged from a bare enumeration of titles, fourteen morals, twenty-one classical histories, mainly shown by boys, twenty-two romantic histories, mainly shown by men, and perhaps three farces, two plays of contemporary realism, with one 'antick' play and two groups of short dramatic episodes. It is clear that the main types are the same in both lists. But only one of the printed plays, *Orestes*, actually appears in the Court records, although *Damon and Pythias*, *Gorboduc*, *Sapho and Phao*, *Campaspe*, and *The Arraignment of Paris* were also given at Court, and the Revels Accounts after all only cover comparatively few years out of the whole period.[1] And there is a great discrepancy in the proportions in which the various types are represented. The morals, which were obsolescent at Court, are far more numerous in print than the classical and romantic histories, which were already in enjoyment of their full vogue upon the boards. My definite impression is that these early printed morals, unlike the prints of later date, were in the main not drawn from the actual repertories of companies, but were literary products, written with a didactic purpose, and printed in the hope that they would be bought both by readers and by schoolmasters in search of suitable pieces for performance by their pupils. They belong, like some similar interludes, both original and translated, of earlier date, rather to the tradition of the humanist academic drama, than to that of the professional, or even quasi-professional, stage. There are many things about the prints which, although not individually decisive, tend when taken in bulk to confirm this theory. They are 'compiled', according to their title-pages; sometimes the author is declared a 'minister' or a 'learned clerke'.[2] Nothing is, as a rule, said to indicate that they have been acted.[3] They are advertised, not only as 'new', 'merry', 'pretty', 'pleasant', 'delectable', 'witty', 'full of mirth and pastime', but also as 'excellent', 'worthy', 'godly', 'pithy', 'moral', 'pityfull', 'learned', and 'fruitfull', and occasionally the precise didactic intention is more elaborately expounded either on the title-page or in a prologue.[4] They are furnished with analyses showing the number of actors necessary to take all the parts, and in one case there is a significant note that the arrangement is 'most convenient for such as be disposed, either to shew this comedie in priuate houses, or otherwise'.[5] They often conclude with a generalized prayer for the Queen and the estates of the realm, which omits any special petition for the individual lord such as we have reason to believe the protected players used.[1] The texts are much better than the later texts based upon acting copies. The stage-directions read like the work of authors rather than of book-keepers, notably in the use of ' out ' rather than of ' in ' to indicate exits, and in the occasional insertion both of hints for ' business ' and of explanatory comments aimed at a reader rather than an actor.[2] It should be added that this type of play begins to disappear at the point when the growing Calvinist spirit led to a sharp breach between the ministry and the stage, and discredited even moral play-writing amongst divines. The latest morals, of which there are some even during the second period of play-publication, have much more the look of rather antiquated survivals from working repertories.[3] The ' May-game ' of

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[1] His plays were *Sir Thomas Wyat* (1607), *Every Woman in her Humour* (1609), *Two Maids of Moreclack* (1609), *Roaring Girl* (1611), *White Devil* (1612), and *Insatiate Countess* (1613).

[2] In *Nice Wanton* a prayer for a king has been altered by sacrificing a rhyme into one for a queen. The prayer of *Impatient Poverty* seems also to have been for Mary and clumsily adapted for Elizabeth. Wager's *Enough is as Good as a Feast* may be Elizabethan or pre-Elizabethan. *Jacob and Esau* (1568), entered in 1557–8, is pre-Elizabethan.

[3] Reprints of 1559–85 include Heywood's *Weather* and *Four Ps*, printed in England before the establishment of the Stationers' Register, and Bale's *Three Laws* and *God's Promises*, printed, probably abroad, in 1538. John Walley, who seems to have printed 1545–86, failed to date his books. I cannot therefore say whether his reprints of the pre-Register *Love* and *Hickscorner*, or the prints of *Youth* and *Wealth and Health* (if it is his), which he entered in 1557–8, are Elizabethan or not.

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[1] Cf. App. L.

[2] Cf. App. B. I classify as follows: (a) Companies of Men: (i) Morals (3), *Delight, Beauty and Housewifery, Love and Fortune*; (ii) Classical (7), *Tully, A Greek Maid, Four Sons of Fabius, Sarpedon, Telomo, Phillida and Corin, Rape of the Second Helen*; (iii) Romantic (17), *Lady Barbara, Cloridon and Radiamanta, Predor and Lucia, Mamillia, Herpetulus the Blue Knight and Perobia, Philemon and Philecia, Painter's Daughter, Solitary Knight, Irish Knight, Cynocephali, Three Sisters of Mantua, Knight in the Burning Rock, Duke of Milan and Marquess of Mantua, Portio and Demorantes, Soldan and Duke, Ferrar, Felix and Philiomena*; (iv) Farce (1), *The Collier*; (v) Realistic (2), *Cruelty of a Stepmother, Murderous Michael*; (vi) Antic Play (1); (vii) Episodes (2), *Five Plays in One, Three Plays in One*; (b) Companies of Boys: (i) Morals (6), *Truth, Faithfulness and Mercy, 'Vanity', Error, Marriage of Mind and Measure, Loyalty and Beauty, Game of Cards*; (ii) Classical (12), *Iphigenia, Ajax and Ulysses, Narcissus, Alcmaeon, Quintus Fabius, Siege of Thebes, Perseus and Andromeda, 'Xerxes', Mutius Scaevola, Scipio Africanus, Pompey, Agamemnon and Ulysses*; (iii) Romantic (4), *Paris and Vienna, Titus and Gisippus, Alucius, Ariodante and Genevora*; (c) Unknown Companies: (i) Morals (5), *As Plain as Can Be, Painful Pilgrimage, Wit and Will, Prodigality, 'Fortune'*; (ii) Classical (2), *Orestes, Theagenes and Chariclea*; (iii) Romantic (1), *King of Scots*; (iv) Farces (2), *Jack and Jill, Six Fools*. The moral and romantic elements meet also in the list of pieces played by companies of men at Bristol from 1575 to 1579: *The Red Knight, Myngo, What Mischief Worketh in the Mind of Man, The Queen of Ethiopia, The Court of Comfort, Quid pro Quo* (Murray, ii. 213).

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[1] *Love and Fortune* was printed in the next period.

[2] *Mary Magdalen*; *Conflict of Conscience*. 'Compiled' goes back to Bale, Heywood, and Skelton. Earlier still, *Everyman* is not so much a play as 'a treatyse . . . in maner of a morall playe'.

[3] The prologue of *Mary Magdalen* has 'we haue vsed this feate at the uniuersitie'.

[4] Wynkyn de Worde calls *Mundus et Infans* a 'propre newe interlude', and the advertising title-page is well established from the time of Rastell's press.

[5] *Conflict of Conscience*; cf. *Damon and Pythias*, the prologue of which, though it had been a Court play, 'is somewhat altered for the proper use of them that hereafter shall haue occasion to plaie it, either in Priuate, or open Audience'. The castings, for four, five, or six players, occur in *King Darius, Like Will to Like, Longer Thou Livest, Mary Magdalen, New Custom, Tide Tarrieth for No Man, Trial of Treasure, Conflict of Conscience*. I find a later example from the public stage in *Fair Maid of the Exchange*,

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which has ' Eleauen may easily acte this comedie ', and a division of parts accordingly. There are pre-Elizabethan precedents, while *Jack Juggler* is ' for Chyldren to playe ', the songs in *Ralph Roister-Doister* are for ' those which shall vse this Comedie or Enterlude ', and *The Four Elements* has directions for reducing the time of playing at need from an hour and a half to three-quarters of an hour, and the note ' Also yf ye lyst ye may brynge in a dysgysynge '. Similarly *Robin Hood* is ' for to be played in Maye games '. That books were in fact bought to act from is shown by entries in the accounts of Holy Trinity, Bungay, for 1558 of 4*d.* for ' the interlude and game booke ' and 2*s.* for ' writing the partes ' (*M. S.* ii. 343). A book costing only 4*d.* must clearly have been a print.

[1] There are prayers in *All for Money, Apius and Virginia, Common Conditions, Damon and Pythias, Disobedient Child* (headed ' The Players . . . kneele downe '), *King Darius, Like Will to Like, Longer Thou Livest, New Custom, Trial of Treasure* (epilogue headed ' Praie for all estates '). *Mary Magdalen* and *Tide Tarrieth for No Man* substitute a mere expression of piety. I do not agree with Fleay, 57, that such prayers are evidence of Court performance. The reverence and epilogue to the Queen in the belated moral of *Liberality and Prodigality* (1602), 1314, is different in tone. *The Pedlar's Prophecy*, also belated as regards date of print, adds to the usual prayer for Queen and council ' And that honorable T. N. &c. of N. chiefly : Whom as our good Lord and maister, found we haue '. No doubt any strolling company purchasing the play would fill up the blanks to meet their own case. Probably both the Queen and estates and the ' lord ' of a company were prayed for, whether present or absent, so long as the custom lasted ; cf. ch. x, p. 311 ; ch. xviii, p. 550.

[2] Cf. e. g. *Mary Magdalen* (which refers on the title-page to those who ' heare or read the same '), 56, 1479, 1743 ; *Like Will to Like*, sig. C, ' He . . . speaketh the rest as stammering as may be ', C ij, ' Haunce sitteth in the chaire, and snorteth as though he were fast a sleep ', E ij^{v}, ' Nichol Newfangle lieth on the ground groning ', &c., &c.

[3] *Three Ladies of London* (1584), *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (1590), *Pedlar's Prophecy* (1595), *Contention of Liberality and Prodigality* (1602). *Lingua* (1607) is a piece of academic archaism. I cannot believe that the manuscript fragment of *Love Feigned and Unfeigned* belongs to

Robin Hood seems to me to be of a literary origin similar to that of the contemporary 'morals'.

Towards the end of the period a new element is introduced with Lyly and Peele, who, like Edwardes before them, were not divines but secular scholars, and presumably desired a permanent life for their literary achievements. The publication of Lyly's plays for Paul's carries us on into the period 1586–1616, and the vaunting of their performance before the Queen is soon followed by that of other plays, beginning with *The Troublesome Reign of John*, as publicly acted in the City of London. During 1586–1616 two hundred and thirty-seven plays in all were published or at least entered on the Stationers' Register, in addition to thirteen printed elsewhere than in London. Of many of these, and of some of those earlier published, there were one or more reprints. It is not until the last year of the period that the first example of a collective edition of the plays of any author makes its appearance. This is *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*, which is moreover in folio, whereas the prints of individual plays were almost invariably in quarto.[1] A second volume of Jonson's *Works* was begun in 1631 and completed in 1640. Shakespeare's plays had to wait until 1623 for collective treatment, Lyly's until 1632, Marston's until 1633, and Beaumont and Fletcher's until 1647 and 1679, although a partial collection of Shakespearian plays in quarto has been shown to have been contemplated and abandoned in 1619.[2] Of the two hundred and thirty-seven plays proposed for publication two hundred and fourteen are extant. Twenty-three are only known by entries in the Stationers' Register, and as plays were not always entered, it is conceivable that one or two may have been published, and have passed into oblivion. Of the two hundred and fourteen extant plays, six are translations from the Latin, Italian, or French, and seven may reasonably be suspected of being merely closet plays, intended for the eye of the reader alone. The other two hundred and one may be taken to have undergone the test

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the seventeenth century. Of course there are moral elements in other plays, such as *Histriomastix*, especially in dumb-shows and inductions.

[1] There is little evidence as to the price at which prints were sold; what there is points to 6*d*. for a quarto. A 'testerne' is given in the epistle as the price of *Troilus and Cressida*, and in Middleton, *Mayor of Quinborough*, v. i, come thieves who 'only take the name of country comedians to abuse simple people with a printed play or two, which they bought at Canterbury for sixpence'. The statement that the First Folio cost £1 only rests on Steevens's report of a manuscript note in a copy not now known; cf. McKerrow in *Sh. England*, ii. 229.

[2] Cf. ch. xxiii, s.v. Shakespeare.

of actual performance. Six were given by amateurs, at Court or elsewhere, and eleven, of which three are Latin and eight English, are University plays. So far as the professional companies are concerned, the repertories which have probably been best preserved, owing to the fact that the poets were in a position to influence publication, are those of the boys. We have thirty-one plays which, certainly or probably, came to the press from the Chapel and Queen's Revels boys, twenty-five from the Paul's boys, and eight from the King's Revels boys. To the Queen's men we may assign eleven plays, to Sussex's three, to Pembroke's five, to Derby's four, to Oxford's one, to Strange's or the Admiral's and Henry's thirty-two, to the Chamberlain's and King's thirty-four, to Worcester's and Anne's sixteen, to Charles's one. Some of these had at earlier dates been played by other companies. Fifteen plays remain, not a very large proportion, which cannot be safely assigned.[1] There are twenty-seven manuscript English plays or fragments of plays or plots of plays, and twenty-one Latin ones, mostly of a university type, which also belong to the period 1586–1616. There are fifty-one plays which were certainly or probably produced before 1616, but were not printed until later, many of them in the Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher folios. And there are some twenty-two others, which exist in late prints, but may be wholly, or more often partially, of early workmanship. The resultant total of three hundred and seven is considerable, but there is reason to suppose that it only represents a comparatively small fraction of the complete crop of these thirty pullulating dramatic years. Of over two hundred and eighty plays recorded by Henslowe as produced or commissioned by the companies for whom he acted as banker between 1592 and 1603, we have only some forty and perhaps revised versions of a few others.[2] Thomas Heywood claimed in 1633 to have had ' an entire hand, or at least a maine finger ', in not less than two hundred and twenty plays, and of these we can only identify or even guess at about two score, of which several are certainly lost. That any substantial number of plays got printed, but have failed to reach us, is improbable. From time to time an unknown print, generally of early date, turns up in some bibliographical backwater, but of the seventy-five titles which I have brought together under the head of ' Lost Plays ' some probably rest upon misunderstandings and others represent works which were not plays at all, while a large proportion are derived from late entries in the Stationers' Register by Humphrey Moseley of plays which he may have possessed in manuscript but never actually proceeded to publish.[1] Some of the earlier unfulfilled entries may be of similar type. An interesting piece of evidence pointing to the practically complete survival at any rate of seventeenth-century prints is afforded in a catalogue of his library of plays made by Sir John Harington in or about 1610.[2] Harington possessed 129 distinct plays, as well as a number of duplicates. Only 9 of these were printed before 1586. He had 14 out of 38 printed during 1588–94, and 15 out of 25 printed during 1595–99. His absence in Ireland during 1599 probably led him to miss several belonging to that year, and his most vigorous period as a collector began with 1600. During 1600–10 he secured 90 out of 105; that is to say exactly six-sevenths of the complete output of the London press. I neglect plays printed outside London in these figures. There is only one play among the 129 which is not known to us. Apparently it bore the title *Belinus and Brennus*.

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[1] Cf. App. L. In the above allocation *Leir* and *Satiromastix*, to each of which two companies have equal claims, are counted twice.

[2] Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 148, gives a full list; cf. ch. xiii, s.vv. Queen's, Sussex's, Strange's, Admiral's, Pembroke's, Worcester's.

It is generally supposed, and I think with justice, that the acting companies did not find it altogether to their advantage to have their plays printed. Heywood, indeed, in the epistle to his *English Traveller* (1633) tells us that this was sometimes the case.[3] Presumably the danger was not so much that readers would not become spectators, as that other companies might buy the plays and act them; and of this practice there are some dubious instances, although at any rate by Caroline times it had been brought under control by the Lord Chamberlain.[4] At any rate, we find the Admiral's in 1600 borrowing 40*s.* 'to geue vnto the printer, to staye the printing of Patient Gresell'.[1] We find the King's Revels syndicate in 1608 entering into a formal agreement debarring its members from putting any of the play-books jointly owned by them into print. And we find the editor and publisher of *Troilus and Cressida*, although that had in fact never been played, bidding his readers in 1609 'thanke fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you; since by the grand possessors wills I beleeue you should have prayd for them rather than beene prayd'. The marked fluctuation in the output of plays in different years is capable of explanation on the theory that, so long as the companies were prosperous, they kept a tight hold on their 'books', and only let them pass into the hands of the publishers when adversity broke them up, or when they had some special need to raise funds. The periods of maximum output are 1594, 1600, and 1607. In 1594 the companies were reforming themselves after a long and disastrous spell of plague; and in particular the Queen's, Pembroke's, and Sussex's men were all ruined, and their books were thrown in bulk upon the market.[2] It has been suggested that the sales of 1600 may have been due to Privy Council restrictions of that year, which limited the number of companies, and forbade them to play for more than two days in the week.[3] But it is very doubtful whether the limitation of days really became operative, and many of the plays published belonged to the two companies, the Chamberlain's and the Admiral's, who stood to gain by the elimination of competitors. An alternative reason might be found in the call for ready money involved by the building of the Globe in 1599 and the Fortune in 1600. The main factor in 1607 was the closing of Paul's and the sale of the plays acted there.

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[1] Cf. App. M. Can Moseley have been trying in some way to secure plays of which he possessed manuscripts from being *acted* without his consent? On 30 Aug. 1660 (*Variorum*, iii. 249; Herbert, 90) he wrote to Sir Henry Herbert, denying that he had ever agreed with the managers of the Cockpit and Whitefriars that they 'should act any playes that doe belong to mee, without my knowledge and consent had and procured'.

[2] Printed from *Addl. MS.* 27632, f. 43, by F. J. Furnivall in *7 N. Q.* (1890), ix. 382. Harington died in 1612. An earlier leaf (30) has the date '29th of Jan. 1609'. The latest datable play in the collection is *The Turk* (1610, S. R. 10 Mar. 1609). There are four out of six plays printed in 1609, as well as *The Faithful Shepherdess* (N.D.), of which on this evidence we can reasonably put the date of publication in 1609 or 1610.

[3] Cf. ch. xxiii, s.v. Heywood.

[4] *M. S. C.* i. 364; *Variorum*, iii. 159. The King's men played *The Malcontent*, probably after its first issue in 1604, as a retort for the appropriation of *Jeronimo* by its owners, the Queen's Revels. The earliest extant print of *1 Jeronimo* is 1605, but the play, which is not in S. R., may have been printed earlier. The Chapel boys seem to have revived

Sometimes the companies were outwitted. Needy and unscrupulous stationers might use illegitimate means to

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one at least of Lyly's old Paul's plays in 1601. The Chamberlain's adopted *Titus Andronicus*, which had been Sussex's, and Shakespeare revised for them *Taming of A Shrew* and *The Contention*, which had been Pembroke's, and based plays which were new from the literary, and in the case of the last also from the publisher's, standpoint on the *Troublesome Reign of John* and the *Famous Victories of Henry V*, which had been the Queen's, and upon *King Leir*. But of course Sussex's, Pembroke's, and the Queen's had broken.

[1] Henslowe, i. 119.

[2] A single printer, Thomas Creede, entered or printed ten plays between 1594 and 1599, all of which he probably acquired in 1594, although he could not get them all in circulation at once. These include four (*T. T. of Rich. III*, *Selimus*, *Famous Victories*, *Clyomon and Clamydes*) from the Queen's; it is therefore probable that some of those on whose t.ps. no company is named (*Looking Glass*, *Locrine*, *Pedlar's Prophecy*, *James IV*, *Alphonsus*) were from the same source. The tenth, *Menaechmi*, was not an acting play.

[3] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 44; cf. ch. ix.

acquire texts for which they had not paid as a basis for 'surreptitious' or 'piratical' prints.[1] A hired actor might be bribed to disclose his 'part' and so much as he could remember of the 'parts' of others. Dr. Greg has made it seem probable that the player of the Host was an agent in furnishing the text of the *Merry Wives*.[2] A player of Voltimand and other minor parts may have been similarly guilty as regards *Hamlet*.[3] Long before, the printer of *Gorboduc* had succeeded in 'getting a copie thereof at some yongmans hand that lacked a little money and much discretion'. Or the poet himself might be to blame. Thomas Heywood takes credit in the epistle to *The Rape of Lucrece* that it had not been his custom 'to commit my playes to the presse', like others who 'have vsed a double sale of their labours, first to the stage, and after to the presse'. Yet this had not saved his plays from piracy, for some of them had been 'copied only by the eare' and issued in a corrupt and mangled form. A quarter of a century later, in writing a prologue for a revival of his *If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody*, he tells us that this was one of the corrupt issues, and adds that

> Some by Stenography drew
> The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word trew).

Modern critics have sought in shorthand the source of other 'bad' and probably surreptitious texts of plays, and one has gone so far as to trace in them the peculiarities of a particular system expounded in the *Characterie* (1588) of Timothy Bright.[4] The whole question of surreptitious prints has naturally been explored most closely in connexion with the textual criticism of Shakespeare, and the latest investigator, Mr. Pollard, has come to the conclusion that, in spite of the general condemnation of the Folio editors, the only Shakespearian Quartos which can reasonably be labelled as surreptitious or as textually 'bad' are the First Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, and

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[1] The Folio editors of Shakespeare condemn the Quartos, or some of them, as 'stolne, and surreptitious copies'; 'piratical', although freely used by Mr. Pollard and others, is not a very happy term, since no piracy of copyright is involved. The authorized Q_2 of *Roxana* (1632) claims to be 'a plagiarii unguibus vindicata'.

[2] Introduction, xxxvi of his edition.

[3] R. B. McKerrow in *Bibl. Soc. Trans.* xii. 294; J. D. Wilson, *The Copy for Hamlet 1603 and the Hamlet Transcript 1593* (1918).

[4] C. Dewischeit, *Shakespeare und die Stenographie* (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, xxxiv. 170); cf. Lee, 113, quoting Sir G. Buck's *Third Universitie of England* (1612; cf. ch. iii), 'They which know it [brachygraphy] can readily take a Sermon, Oration, Play, or any long speech, as they are spoke, dictated, acted, and uttered in the instant'.

Pericles, although he strongly suspects that there once existed a similar edition of *Love's Labour 's Lost.*[1] I have no ground for dissenting from this judgement.

The question whether the actors, in protecting their property from the pirates, could look for any assistance from the official controllers of the press is one of some difficulty. We may perhaps infer, with the help of the conditional entries of *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, and the special order made in the case of *Dr. Faustus*, that before assigning a ' copy ' to one stationer the wardens of the Company took some steps to ascertain whether any other stationer laid a claim to it. It does not follow that they also inquired whether the applicant had come honestly or dishonestly by his manuscript.[2] Mr. Pollard seems inclined to think that, although they were under no formal obligation to intervene, they would not be likely, as men of common sense, to encourage dishonesty.[3] If this argument stood alone, I should not have much confidence in it. There is a Publishers' Association to-day, doubtless composed of men of common sense, but it is not a body to which one would naturally commit interests which might come into conflict with those of members of the trade. It would be another matter, however, if the actors were in a position to bring outside interest to bear against the pirates, through the licensers, or through the Privy Council on whom ultimately the licensers depended. And this in fact seems to have been the way in which a solution of the problem was gradually arrived at. Apart altogether from plays, there are instances upon record in which individuals, who were in a position to command influence, successfully adopted a similar method. We find Fulke Greville in 1586 writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, on the information of the stationer Ponsonby, to warn him that the publication of the *Arcadia* was being planned, and to advise him to get 'made stay of that mercenary book' by means of an application to the Archbishop or to Dr. Cosin, 'who have, as he says, a copy to peruse to that end'.[1] Similarly we find Francis Bacon, in the preface to his *Essayes* of 1597, excusing himself for the publication on the ground that surreptitious adventurers were at work, and 'to labour the staie of them had bin troublesome and subiect to interpretation'. Evidently he had come to a compromise, of which the Stationers' Register retains traces in the cancellation by a court of an entry of the *Essayes* to Richard Serger, and a re-entry to H. Hooper, the actual publisher, 'under the handes of Master Francis Bacon, Master Doctor Stanhope, Master Barlowe, and Master Warden Lawson'.[2] The actors, too, were not wholly without influence. They had their patrons and protectors, the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Admiral, in the Privy Council, and although, as Mr. Pollard points out, it certainly would not have been good business to worry an important minister about every single forty-shilling piracy, it may have been worth while to seek a standing protection, analogous to the old-fashioned 'privilege', against a series of such annoyances. At any rate, this is what, while the Admiral's contented themselves with buying off the printer of *Patient Grissell*, the Chamberlain's apparently attempted, although at first with indifferent success, to secure. In 1597 John Danter, a stationer of the worst reputation, had printed a surreptitious and 'bad' edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, and possibly, if

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[1] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 48 ; *F. and Q.* 64. More recently A. W. Pollard and J. D. Wilson have developed a theory (*T. L. S.* Jan.–Aug. 1919) that the ' bad quartos ' rest upon pre-Shakespearian texts partly revised by Shakespeare, of which shortened transcripts had been made for a travelling company in 1593, and which had been roughly adapted by an actor-reporter so as to bring them into line with the later Shakespearian texts current at the time of publication. Full discussion of this theory belongs to a study of Shakespeare. The detailed application of it in J. D. Wilson, *The Copy for Hamlet 1603 and the Hamlet Transcript 1593* (1918), does not convince me that Shakespeare had touched the play in 1593, although I think that the reporter was in a position to make some slight use of a pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet*. And although travelling companies were doubtless smaller than the largest London companies (cf. chh. xi and xiii, s.v. Pembroke's), there is no external evidence that special ' books ' were prepared for travelling. For another criticism of the theory, cf. W. J. Lawrence in *T. L. S.* for 21 Aug. 1919. Causes other than travelling might explain the shortening of play texts : prolixity, even in an experienced dramatist (cf. t.p. of *Duchess of Malfi*), the approach of winter afternoons, an increased popular demand for jigs.

[2] Cf. G. Wither, *Schollers Purgatory* (*c.* 1625), 28, ' Yea, by the lawes and Orders of their Corporation, they can and do setle upon the particuler members thereof a perpetuall interest in such Bookes as are Registred by them at their Hall, in their several Names : and are secured in taking the ful benefit of those books, better then any Author can be by vertue of the Kings Grant, notwithstanding their first Coppies were purloyned from the true owner, or imprinted without his leave '.

[3] Pollard, *F. and Q.* 10. Mr. Pollard seems to suggest (*F. and Q.* 3) that copyright in a printed book did not hold as against the author. He cites the case of Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse*, but there seems no special reason to assume that in this case, or in those of *Gorboduc* and *Hamlet*, the authorized second editions were not made possible by an arrangement, very likely involving blackmail, with the pirate.

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[1] Letter in Grosart, *Poems of Sidney* (1877), i. xxiii. Pollard, *F. and Q.* 8, says that on other occasions Sidney's friends approached the Lord Treasurer and the Star Chamber.

[2] Pollard, *F. and Q.* 7, 11. I am not sure that the appearance of Bacon's name can be regarded as a recognition of the principle of author's copyright. He may have been already in the High Commission; he was certainly in that of 1601.

Mr. Pollard's conjecture is right, another of *Love's Labour 's Lost.* He had made no entry in the Register, and it was therefore open to another publisher, Cuthbert Burby, to issue, without breach of copyright, ' corrected ' editions of the same plays.[1] This he did, with suitable trumpetings of the corrections on the title-pages, and presumably by arrangement with the Chamberlain's men. It was this affair which must, I think, have led the company to apply for protection to their lord. On 22 July 1598 an entry was made in the Stationers' Register of *The Merchant of Venice* for the printer James Roberts. This entry is conditional in form, but it differs from the normal conditional entries in that the requirement specified is not an indefinite ' aucthoritie ' but a ' lycence from the Right honorable the lord chamberlen '. Roberts also entered *Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose* on 27 May 1600, *A Larum for London* on 29 May 1600, and *Troilus and Cressida* on 7 February 1603. These also are all conditional entries but of a normal type. No condition, however, is attached to his entry of *Hamlet* on 26 July 1602. Now comes a significant piece of evidence, which at least shows that in 1600, as well as in 1598, the Stationers' Company were paying particular attention to entries of plays coming from the repertory of the Chamberlain's men. The register contains, besides the formal entries, certain spare pages upon which the clerk was accustomed to make occasional memoranda, and amongst these memoranda we find the following :[2]

My lord chamberlens menns plaies Entred
viz
27 May 1600 To Master Robertes — A moral of ' clothe breches and velvet hose '
27 May To hym — Allarum to London

4 Augusti
As you like yt, a booke
Henry the ffift, a booke
Every man in his humour, a booke
The commedie of ' muche A doo about nothing ', a booke
} to be staied

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[1] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 49, 51, speaks of Burby as ' regaining the copyright ' by his publications, and as, moreover, saving his sixpences ' as a license was only required for new books '. But surely there was no copyright, as neither Danter nor Burby paid for an entry. I take it that when, on 22 Jan. 1607, *R. J.* and *L. L. L.* were entered to Nicholas Ling, ' by direccõn of a Court and with consent of Master Burby in wrytinge ', the entry of the transfer secured the copyright for the first time.

[2] Arber, iii. 37. The ink shows that there are two distinct entries.

There are possibly two notes here, but we may reasonably date them both in 1600, as *Every Man In his Humour* was entered to Cuthbert Burby and Walter Burre on 14 August 1600 and *Much Ado about Nothing* to Andrew Wise and William Aspley on 23 August 1600, and these plays appeared in 1601 and 1600 respectively. *Henry V* was published, without entry and in a 'bad' text by Thomas Millington and John Busby, also in 1600, while *As You Like It* remained unprinted until 1623. Many attempts have been made to explain the story of 4 August. Mr. Fleay conjectured that it was due to difficulties of censorship; Mr. Furness that it was directed against James Roberts, whom he regarded on the strength of the conditional entries as a man of 'shifty character'.[1] But there is no reason to read Roberts's name into the August memorandum at all; and I agree with Mr. Pollard that the evidence of dishonesty against him has been exaggerated, and that the privilege which he held for printing all play-bills for actors makes it prima facie unlikely that his relations with the companies would be irregular.[2] On the other hand, I hesitate to accept Mr. Pollard's counter-theory that the four conditional Roberts entries were of the nature of a deliberate plan 'in the interest of the players in order to postpone their publication till it could not injure the run of the play and to make the task of the pirates more difficult'. One would of course suppose that any entry, conditional or not, might serve such a purpose, if the entering stationer was in league with the actors and deliberately reserved publication. This is presumably what the Admiral's men paid Cuthbert Burby to do for *Patient Grissell*. Mr. Pollard applies the same theory to Edward Blount's unconditional entries of *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1608, and it would certainly explain the delays in the publication of *Troilus and Cressida* from 1603 to 1609 and of *Antony and Cleopatra* from 1608 to 1623, and the absence of any edition of *Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose*. But it does not explain why *Hamlet*, entered by Roberts in 1602, was issued by others in the 'bad' text of 1603, or why *Pericles* was issued by Henry Gosson in the 'bad' text of 1609.[3] Mr. Pollard's interpretation of the facts appears to be influenced by the conditional character of four out of Roberts's five entries during 1598–1603, and I understand him to believe that the 'further aucthoritie' required for *Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose* and *A Larum for London* and the 'sufficient aucthoritie' required for *Troilus and Cressida* were of the same nature as the licence from the Lord Chamberlain specifically required for *The Merchant of Venice.*[1] It is not inconceivable that this may have been so, but one is bound to take the Roberts conditional entries side by side with the eight similar entries made between 1601 and 1606 for other men, and in three at least of these (*The Dutch Courtesan*, *Sir Giles Goosecap*, *The Fleir*) it is obvious that the authority demanded was that of the official correctors. Of course, the correctors may themselves have had a hint from the Lord Chamberlain to keep an eye upon the interests of his servants, but if the eleven conditionally entered plays of 1600–6 be looked at as a group, it will be seen that they are all plays of either a political or a satirical character, which might well therefore call for particular attention from the correctors in the discharge of their ordinary functions. I have already suggested that the normal conditional entries represent cases in which the wardens of the Stationers' Company, while not prepared to license a book on their own responsibility, short-circuited as far as they could the procedure entailed. Properly they ought to have seen the corrector's hand before adding their own endorsement. But if this was not forthcoming, the applicant may have been allowed, in order to save time, to have the purely trade formalities completed by a conditional entry, which would be a valid protection against a rival stationer, but would not, until the corrector's hand was obtained, be sufficient authority for the actual printing. No doubt the clerk should have subsequently endorsed the entry after seeing the corrector's hand, but he did not always do so, although in cases of transfer the transferee might ask for a record to be made, and in any event the owner of the copy had the book with the 'hand' to it. The Lord Chamberlain's 'stay' was, I think, another matter. I suppose it to have been directed, not to the correctors, but to the wardens, and to have taken the form of a request not to enter any play of the Chamberlain's men, otherwise entitled to licence or not, without satisfying themselves that the actors were assenting parties to the transaction. Common sense would certainly dictate compliance with such a request, coming from such a source. The plan seems to have worked well enough so far as *As You Like It*, *Every Man In his*

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[1] Fleay, *L. and W.* 40; Furness, *Much Ado*, ix.

[2] Pollard, *F. and Q.* 66; *Sh. F.* 44.

[3] Roberts did not print the 1603 *Hamlet*, although he did that of 1604: but it must have been covered by his entry of 1602, and this makes it a little difficult to regard him (or Blount in 1609) as the 'agent' of the Chamberlain's.

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[1] Pollard, *F. and Q.* 66; *Sh. F.* 45.

Humour, and *Much Ado about Nothing* were concerned, for we have no reason to doubt that the subsequent publication of two of these plays had the assent of the Chamberlain's men, and the third was effectively suppressed. But somehow not only *Hamlet* but also *The Merry Wives of Windsor* slipped through in 1602, and although the actors apparently came to some arrangement with Roberts and furnished a revised text of *Hamlet*, the other play seems to have gone completely out of their control. Moreover, it was an obvious weakness of the method adopted, that it gave no security against a surreptitious printer who was in a position to dispense with an entry. Danter, after all, had published without entry in 1597. He had had to go without copyright; but an even more audacious device was successfully tried in 1600 with *Henry V*. This was one of the four plays so scrupulously 'staied' by the Stationers' clerk on 4 August. Not merely, however, was the play printed in 1600 by Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington and John Busby, but on 21 August it was entered on the Register as transferred to Thomas Pavier amongst other 'thinges formerlye printed and sett ouer to' him. I think the explanation is that the print of 1600 was treated as merely a reprint of the old play of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, which was indeed to some extent Shakespeare's source, and of which Creede held the copyright.[1] Similarly, it is conceivable that the same John Busby and Nathaniel Butter forced the hands of the Chamberlain's men into allowing the publication of *King Lear* in 1608 by a threat to issue it as a reprint of *King Leir*.[2] Busby was also the enterer of *The Merry Wives*, and he and Butter, at whose hands it was that Heywood suffered, seem to have been the chief of the surreptitious printers after Danter's death.

The Chamberlain's men would have been in a better position if their lord had brought his influence to bear, as Sidney's friends had done, upon the correctors instead of the Stationers' Company. Probably the mistake was retrieved in 1607 when the 'allowing' of plays for publication passed to the Master of the Revels, and he may even have extended his protection to the other companies which, like the Chamberlain's, had now passed under royal protection. I do not suggest that the convenience of this arrangement was the sole motive for the change; the episcopal correctors must have got into a good deal of hot water over the affair of *Eastward Ho!*[1] Even the Master of the Revels did not prevent the surreptitious issue of *Pericles* in 1609. In Caroline times we find successive Lord Chamberlains, to whom the Master of the Revels continued to be subordinate, directing the Stationers' Company not to allow the repertories of the King's men or of Beeston's boys to be printed, and it is implied that there were older precedents for these protections.[2]

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[1] There are analogies in *Taming of the Shrew*, *2*, *3 Henry VI*, and *King John*, which were not entered in S. R. with the other unprinted plays in 1623, and were probably regarded as covered by copyright in the plays on which they were based, although, as a matter of fact, the *Troublesome Reign* was itself not entered.

[2] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 53.

A point might come at which it was really more to the advantage of the actors to have a play published than not. The prints were useful in the preparation of acting versions, and they saved the book-keepers from the trouble of having to prepare manuscript copies at the demand of stage-struck amateurs.[3] The influence of the poets again was on the side of publication, and it is perhaps due to the greater share which they took in the management of the boys' companies that so disproportionate a number of the plays preserved are of their acting. Heywood hints that thereby the poets sold their work twice. It is more charitable to assume that literary vanity was also a factor; and it is with playwrights of the more scholarly type, Ben Jonson and Marston, that a practice first emerges of printing plays at an early date after publication, and in the full literary trappings of dedicatory epistles and commendatory verses. Actor-playwrights, such as Heywood himself and Dekker, followed suit; but not Shakespeare, who had long ago dedicated his literary all to Southampton and penned no prefaces. The characteristic Elizabethan apologies, on such grounds as the pushfulness of publishers or the eagerness of friends to see the immortal work in type, need not be taken at their full face value.[4] Opportunity was afforded on publication to restore passages which had been 'cut' to meet the necessities of stage-presentation, and of this, in the Second Quarto of *Hamlet*, even Shakespeare may have availed himself.[5]

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[1] They had risks to run. The Star Chamber fined and imprisoned William Buckner, late chaplain to the archbishop, for licensing Prynne's *Histriomastix* in 1633 (Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, ii. 234).

[2] *M. S. C.* i. 364; *Variorum*, iii. 159.

[3] Moseley's *Epistle* to F_1 (1647) of Beaumont and Fletcher says, 'When these *Comedies* and *Tragedies* were presented on the Stage, the *Actours* omitted some *Scenes* and Passages (with the *Authour's* consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends desir'd a Copy, they then (and justly too) transcribed what they Acted'.

[4] See *Epistles* to Armin, *Two Maids of Moreclack*; Chapman, *Widow's Tears*; Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece*, *Golden Age*; Marston, *Malcontent*; Middleton, *Family of Love*.

[5] Jonson, *E. M. O.* (1600), 'As it was first composed by the Author

The conditions of printing therefore furnish us with every variety of text, from the carefully revised and punctuated versions of Ben Jonson's *Works* of 1616 to the scrappy notes, from memory or shorthand, of an incompetent reporter. The average text lies between these extremes, and is probably derived from a play-house 'book' handed over by the actors to the printer. Mr. Pollard has dealt luminously with the question of the nature of the 'book', and has disposed of the assumption that it was normally a copy made by a 'play-house' scrivener of the author's manuscript.[1] For this assumption there is no evidence whatever. There is, indeed, little direct evidence, one way or other; but what there is points to the conclusion that the 'original' or standard copy of a play kept in the play-house was the author's autograph manuscript, endorsed with the licence of the Master of the Revels for performance, and marked by the book-keeper or for his use with indications of cuts and the like, and with stage-directions for exits and entrances and the disposition of properties, supplementary to those which the author had furnished.[2] Most of the actual manuscripts of this type which remain in existence are of Caroline, rather than Elizabethan or Jacobean, date.[3] But we have one of *The Second Maid's Tragedy*, bearing Buck's licence of 1611, and one of *Sir Thomas More*, belonging to the last decade of the sixteenth century, which has been submitted for licence without success, and is marked with instructions by the

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B. I. Containing more than hath been publikely spoken or acted'; Barnes, *Devil's Charter* (1607), 'As it was plaide. . . . But more exactly reuewed, corrected, and augmented since by the Author, for the more pleasure and profit of the Reader'; Webster, *Duchess of Malfi* (1623), 'with diuerse things Printed, that the length of the Play would not beare in the Presentment'.

[1] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 57; *F. and Q.* 117.

[2] The editors of the Shakespeare F_1 claim that they are replacing 'stolne, and surreptitious copies' by plays 'absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued them', and that 'wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers'; and those of the Beaumont and Fletcher F_1 say they 'had the Originalls from such as received them from the Authors themselves' and lament 'into how many hands the Originalls were dispersed'. The same name 'original' was used for the authoritative copy of a civic miracle-play; cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 143.

[3] The manuscripts of *Sir John Barnevelt* (*Addl. MS.* 18653), *Believe As You List* (*Egerton MS.* 2828), *The Honest Man's Fortune* (*Dyce MS.* 9), *The Faithful Friends* (*Dyce MS.* 10), and *The Sisters* (*Sion College MS.*) appear to be play-house copies, with licensing corrections, and in some cases the licences endorsed, and some of them may be in the authors' autographs; cf. Pollard, *Sh. F.* 59; Mönkemeyer, 72. Several of the copies in *Egerton MS.* 1994, described by F. S. Boas in *3 Library* (July 1917), including that of *1 Richard II*, are of a similar type.

Master for the excision or alteration of obnoxious passages. It is a curious document. The draft of the original author has been patched and interpolated with partial redrafts in a variety of hands, amongst which, according to some palaeographers, is to be found that of Shakespeare. One wonders that any licenser should have been complaisant enough to consider the play at all in such a form; and obviously the instance is a crucial one against the theory of scrivener's copies.[1] It may also be argued on *a priori* grounds that such copies would be undesirable from the company's point of view, both as being costly and as tending to multiply the opportunities for 'surreptitious' transmission to rivals or publishers. Naturally it was necessary to copy out individual parts for the actors, and Alleyn's part in *Orlando Furioso*, with the 'cues', or tail ends of the speeches preceding his own, can still be seen at Dulwich.[2] From these 'parts' the 'original' could be reconstructed or 'assembled' in the event of destruction or loss.[3] Apparently the book-keeper also made a 'plot' or scenario of the action, and fixed it on a peg for his own guidance and that of the property-man in securing the smooth progress of the play.[4] Nor could the companies very well prevent the poets from keeping transcripts or at any rate rough copies, when they handed over their 'papers', complete or in instalments, as they drew their 'earnests' or payments 'in full'.[5] It does not follow that they always did so. We know that Daborne made fair copies for Henslowe;[6] but the Folio editors tell us that what Shakespeare thought 'he vttered with that easinesse, that we haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers', and Mr. Pollard points out that there would have been little meaning in this praise if what Shakespeare sent in had been anything but his first drafts.[1]

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[1] Sir Henry Herbert noted in his office-book in 1633 (*Variorum*, iii. 208), 'The Master ought to have copies of their new playes left with him, that he may be able to shew what he hath allowed or disallowed', but it was clearly not the current practice. In 1640 (*Variorum*, iii. 241) he suppressed an unlicensed play, and noted, 'The play I cald for, and, forbiddinge the playinge of it, keepe the booke', which suggests that only one copy existed.

[2] Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 155, prints it; cf. *1 Antonio and Mellida*, ind. 1, 'Enter . . . with parts in their hands'; *Wily Beguiled*, prol. 1, 'Where are these paltrie Plaiers? stil poaring in their papers and neuer perfect?' By derivation, the words assigned to an actor became his 'part'; cf. Dekker, *News from Hell* (1606, *Works*, ii. 144), 'with pittifull action, like a Plaier, when hees out of his part'.

[3] In 1623 Herbert re-allowed *The Winter's Tale*, 'thogh the allowed booke was missinge', and in 1625 *The Honest Man's Fortune*, 'the originall being lost' (*Variorum*, iii. 229).

[4] Cf. App. N.

[5] The handing over of 'papers' is referred to in several letters to Henslowe; cf. *Henslowe Papers*, 56, 69, 75, 76, 81, 82.

[6] He sends Henslowe an instalment 'fayr written', and on another occasion says, 'I send you the foule sheet and y^{e} fayr I was wrighting as your man can testify' (*Henslowe Papers*, 72, 78).

The character of the stage-directions in plays confirm the view that many of them were printed from working play-house 'originals'. They are primarily directions for the stage itself; it is only incidentally that they also serve to stimulate the reader's imagination by indicating the action with which the lines before him would have been accompanied in a representation.[2] Some of them are for the individual guidance of the actors, marginal hints as to the 'business' which will give point to their speeches. These are not very numerous in play-house texts; the 'kneeling' and 'kisses her' so frequent in modern editions are merely attempts of the editors to show how intelligently they have interpreted the quite obvious implications of the dialogue. The more important directions are addressed rather to the prompter and the tire-man; they prescribe the exits and the entrances, the ordering of a procession or a dumb-show, the use of the curtains or other structural devices, the introduction of properties, the precise moment for the striking up of music or sounds 'within'. It is by no means always possible, except where a manuscript betrays differences of handwriting, to distinguish between what the author, often himself an actor familiar with the possibilities of the stage, may have originally written, and what the book-keeper may have added. Either may well use the indicative or the imperative form, or merely an adverbial, participial, or substantival expression.[3] But it is natural to trace the hand of the book-keeper where the direction reduces itself to the bare name of a property noted in the margin; even more so when it is followed by some such phrase as 'ready', 'prepared', or 'set out';[4] and still more so when the note occurs at the point when the property has to be brought from the tire-room, and some lines before it is actually required for use.[1] The book-keeper must be responsible, too, for the directions into which, as not infrequently happens, the name of an actor has been inserted in place of that of the personage whom that actor represented.[2] On the other hand, we may perhaps safely assign to the author directions addressed to some one else in the second person, those which leave something to be interpreted according to discretion, and those which contain any matter not really necessary for stage guidance.[3] Such superfluous matter is only rarely found in texts of pure play-house origin, although even here an author may occasionally insert a word or two of explanation or descriptive colouring, possibly taken from the source upon which he has been working.[4] In the main, however, descriptive stage-directions are characteristic of texts which, whether ultimately based upon play-house copies or not, have undergone a process of editing by the author or his representative, with an eye to the reader, before publication. Some literary rehandling of this sort is traceable, for example, in the First Folio of Shakespeare, although the hearts of the editors seem to have failed them before they had got very far with the task.[1] Yet another type of descriptive stage-direction presents itself in certain 'surreptitious' prints, where we find the reporter eking out his inadequately recorded text by elaborate accounts of the details of the business which he had seen enacted before him.[2] So too William Percy, apparently revising plays some of which had already been acted and which he hoped to see acted again, mingles his suggestions to a hypothetical manager with narratives in the past tense of how certain actors had carried out their parts.[3]

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[1] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 62.

[2] *Birth of Hercules*, 3, 'Notae marginales inseruiant dirigendae histrion[ic]ae'; Nashe, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, 1813, 'You might haue writ in the margent of your play-booke, Let there be a fewe rushes laide in the place where *Back-winter* shall tumble, for feare of raying his cloathes: or set downe, Enter *Back-winter*, with his boy bringing a brush after him, to take off the dust if need require. But you will ne're haue any ward-robe wit while you live. I pray you holde the booke well, that we be not *non plus* in the latter end of the play.'

[3] 'Exit' and 'Exeunt' soon became the traditional directions for leaving the stage, but I find 'Exite omnes' in Peele, *Edw. I*, 1263.

[4] Mönkemeyer, 73.

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[1] *T. N. K.* I. iii. 69, '2 Hearses ready with Palamon: and Arcite: the 3 Queenes. Theseus: and his Lordes ready', i.e. ready for I. iv, which begins 42 lines later; and again I. iv. 29, '3 Hearses ready', for I. v, beginning 24 lines later. So too *Bussy D'Ambois* (1641, not 1607 ed.), I. i. 153, 'Table, Chesbord and Tapers behind the Arras', ready for I. ii.

[2] *A Shrew*, ind. i, 'San.' for speaker; *The Shrew* (F_1), ind. i. 88, 'Sincklo' for speaker; *3 Hen. VI* (F_1), I. ii. 48, 'Enter Gabriel'; III. i. 1, 'Enter Sinklo, and Humfrey'; *R. J.* (Q_2), IV. v. 102, 'Enter Will Kemp'; *M. N. D.* (F_1), V. i. 128, 'Tawyer with a Trumpet before them'; *1 Hen. IV* (Q_1), I. ii. 182 (text, not s.d.), 'Falstaffe, Haruey, Rossill, and Gadshil, shall rob those men that we haue already way-laid' (cf. II. ii); *2 Hen. IV* (Q_1), V. iv. 1, 'Enter Sincklo and three or foure officers'; *M. Ado* (F_1), II. iii. 38, 'Enter Prince, Leonato, Claudio and Iacke Wilson'; *M. Ado* (Q and F), IV. ii, 'Cowley' and 'Kemp' for speakers; *T. N. K.* V. 3, 'T. Tucke: Curtis', IV. ii. 75, 'Enter Messenger, Curtis'; *1 Antonio and Mellida*, IV. i. 30, 'Enter Andrugio, Lucio, Cole, and Norwood'; for other examples, cf. pp. 227, 271, 285, 295, 330, and vol. iv, p. 43. The indications of speakers by the letters E. and G. in *All's Well*, II. i; III. i, ii, vi, may have a similar origin. The names of actors are entered in the 'plots' after those of the characters represented (cf. *Henslowe Papers*, 127).

[3] *Alphonsus*, prol. 1, 'after you haue sounded thrise'; 1938, 'Exit Venus. Or, if you can conueniently, let a chaire come down from the top of the stage'; *James IV*, 1463, 'Enter certaine Huntsmen, if you please, singing'; 1931, 'Enter, from the widdowes house, a seruice, musical songs of marriages, or a maske, or what prettie triumph you list'; *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, sig. C, 'Here Simp[licitie] sings first, and Wit after, dialoguewise, both to musicke if ye will'; *Locrine*, I. i. 1, 'Let there come foorth a Lion running after a Beare or any other beast'; *Death of R. Hood*, III. ii, 'Enter or aboue [Hubert, Chester]'; *2 Hen. VI*, IV. ii.33,' Enter Cade [etc.] with infinite numbers'; IV. ix. 9,' Enter Multitudes with Halters about their Neckes'; *T. A.* I. i. 70, 'as many as can be'; *Edw. I*, 50, 'Enter . . . and others as many as may be'; *Sir T. More*, sc. ix. 954, 'Enter . . . so many Aldermen as may'; *What You Will*, V. 193, 'Enter as many Pages with torches as you can'.

[4] Mönkemeyer, 63, 91.

It must not be assumed that, because a play was printed from a stage copy, the author had no chance of editing it. Probably the compositors treated the manuscript put before them very freely, modifying, if they did not obliterate, the individual notions of the author or scribe as to orthography and punctuation; and the master printer, or some press corrector in his employment, went over and 'improved' their work, perhaps not always with much reference to the original 'copy'.[4] This process of correction continued during the printing off of the successive sheets, with the result that different examples of the same imprint often show the same sheet in corrected and in uncorrected states.[5] The trend of modern criticism is in the direction of regarding Shakespeare's plays as printed, broadly speaking, without any editorial assistance from him; the early quartos from play-house manuscripts, the later quartos from the earlier quartos, the folio partly from play-house manuscripts, partly from earlier quartos used in the play-house instead of manuscripts, and bearing marks of adaptation to shifting stage requirements.[6] On this theory, the aberrations of the printing-house, even with the author's original text before them, have to account in the main for the unsatisfactory condition in which, in spite of such posthumous editing, not very extensive, as was done for the folio, even the best texts of the plays have reached us. Whether it is sound or not—I think that it probably is—there were other playwrights who were far from adopting Shakespeare's attitude of detachment from the literary fate of his works. Jonson was a careful editor. Marston, Middleton, and Heywood all apologize for misprints in various plays, which they say were printed without their knowledge, or when they were urgently occupied elsewhere; and the inference must be that in normal circumstances the responsibility would have rested with them.[1] Marston, indeed, definitely says that he had 'perused' the second edition of *The Fawn*, in order 'to make some satisfaction for the first faulty impression'.[2]

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[1] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 79.

[2] e.g. *R. J.* (Q_1), III. i. 94, 'Tibalt vnder Romeos arme thrusts Mercutio in and flyes'; III. ii. 32, 'Enter Nurse wringing her hands, with the ladder of cordes in her lap'; IV. v. 95, 'They all but the Nurse goe foorth, casting Rosemary on her and shutting the Curtens'.

[3] Cf. ch. xxi, pp. 133, 136.

[4] Pollard, *Sh. F.* 71; Van Dam and Stoffel, *William Shakespeare, Prosody and Text*, 274; *Chapters on English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation.*

[5] R. B. McKerrow, introd. xiv, to Barnes, *Devil's Charter.*

[6] Pollard ,*Sh. F.* 74; cf. his introd. to *A New Shakespeare Quarto* (1916).

The modern editions, with their uniform system of acts and scenes and their fanciful notes of locality—'A room in the palace', 'Another room in the palace'—are again misleading in their relation to the early prints, especially those based upon the play-house. Notes of locality are very rare. Occasionally a definite shift from one country or town to another is recorded;[3] and a few edited plays, such as Ben Jonson's, prefix, with a 'dramatis personae', a general indication of 'The scene'.[4] For the rest, the reader is left to his own inferences, with such help as the dialogue and the presenters give him; and the modern editors, with a post-Restoration tradition of staging in their minds, have often inferred wrongly. Even the shoulder-notes appended to the accurate reprints of the Malone Society, although they do not attempt localities, err by introducing too many new scenes. In the early prints the beginnings of scenes are rarely marked, and the beginnings of acts are left unmarked to an extent which is rather surprising. The practice is by no means uniform, and it is possible to distinguish different tendencies in texts of different origin. The Tudor interludes and the early Elizabethan plays of the more popular type are wholly undivided, and there was probably no break in the continuity of the performances.[1] Acts and scenes, which are the outward form of a method of construction derived from the academic analysis of Latin comedy and tragedy, make their appearance, with other notes of neo-classic influence, in the farces of the school of Udall, in the Court tragedies, in translated plays, in Lyly's comedies, and in a few others belonging to the same *milieu* of scholarship.[2] Ben Jonson and a few other later writers adopt them in printing plays of theatrical origin.[3] But the great majority of plays belonging to the public theatres continue to be printed without any divisions at all, while plays from the private houses are ordinarily divided into acts, but not into scenes, although the beginning of each act has usually some such heading as 'Actus Primus, Scena prima'.[4] This distinction corresponds to the greater significance of the act-interval in the performance of the boy companies; but, as I have pointed out in an earlier chapter, it is difficult to suppose that the public theatres paid no regard to act-intervals, and one cannot therefore quite understand why neither the poets nor the book-keepers were in the habit of showing them in the play-house 'originals' of plays.[5]

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[1] Epistles to Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece*; Marston, *Malcontent, Fawn*; Middleton, *Family of Love*. In *Father Hubburd's Tales* Middleton says, 'I never wished this book a better fortune than to fall into the hands of a truespelling printer'. Heywood, in an Epistle to *Apology for Actors* (1612), praises the honest workmanship of his printer, Nicholas Okes, as against that of W. Jaggard, who would not let him issue *errata* of 'the infinite faults escaped in my booke of *Britaines Troy*, by the negligence of the Printer, as the misquotations, mistaking of sillables, misplacing halfe lines, coining of strange and neuer heard of words'.

[2] 'Proofs' and 'revises' had come into use before 1619, for Jaggard, criticized by Ralph Brooke for his ill printing of Brooke's *Catalogue of Nobility* (1619), issued a new edition as *A Discoverie of Errors in the First Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility* (1622), regretting that his workmen had not given Brooke leave to print his own faulty English, and saying, 'In the time of this his vnhappy sicknesse, though hee came not in person to ouer-looke the Presse, yet the Proofe, and Reuiewes duly attended him, and he perused them (as is well to be iustifyed) in the maner he did before'; cf. p. 261.

[3] Cf. pp. 106, 107, 117, 127.

[4] e.g. *Cynthia's Revels* (F_1), 'The Scene Gargaphie'; *Philaster* (F_2), 'The scene being in Cicilie'; *Coxcomb* (F_2), 'The Scene; England, France' (but in fact there are no scenes in France!).

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[1] *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom* has no acts, but nine scenes. The latish *Jacob and Esau, Respublica, Misogonus, Conflict of Conscience* have acts and scenes.

[2] *Ralph Roister Doister, Gammer Gurton's Needle, Gorboduc, Gismund of Salerne, Misfortunes of Arthur, Jocasta, Supposes, Bugbears, Two Italian Gentlemen, Glass of Government, Promos and Cassandra, Arraignment of Paris*; so, too, as a rule, University plays. *Dido* and *Love and Fortune*, like the later private theatre plays, show acts only.

[3] *Devil's Charter, Duchess of Malfi, Philotas, Sir Giles Goosecap, The Turk, Liberality and Prodigality*, Percy's plays, *The Woman Hater, Monsieur Thomas, 2 Antonio and Mellida.*

[4] Acts and scenes are marked in *Tamburlaine* and *Locrine*; acts, or one or more of them only, sometimes with the first scene, in *Jack Straw, Battle of Alcazar, Wounds of Civil War, King Leire, Alphonsus, James IV, Soliman and Perseda, Spanish Tragedy, John a Kent and John a Cumber*; a few scenes without acts in *Death of Robin Hood.* These exceptions may indicate neo-classic sympathies in the earlier group of scholar playwrights; some later plays, e. g. of Beaumont and Fletcher, have partial divisions. The acts in *Spanish Tragedy* and *Jack Straw* are four only; *Histriomastix*, a private theatre play, has six. Where there are no formal divisions, they are sometimes replaced by passages of induction or dumb-shows.

[5] Cf. ch. xxi.

Had they been shown there, they would almost inevitably have got into the prints. It is a peculiarity of the surreptitious First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, that its later sheets, which differ typographically from the earlier ones, although they do not number either acts or scenes, insert lines of ornament at the points at which acts and scenes may be supposed to begin. It must be added that, so far as an Elizabethan playwright looked upon his work as made up of scenes, his conception of a scene was not as a rule that familiar to us upon the modern stage. The modern scene may be defined as a piece of action continuous in time and place between two falls of a drop-curtain. The Elizabethans had no drop-curtain, and the drawing of an alcove curtain, at any rate while personages remain on the stage without, does not afford the same solution of continuity. The nearest analogy is perhaps in such a complete clearance of the stage, generally with a shift of locality, as enables the imagination to assume a time interval. A few texts, generally of the seventeenth century, are divided into scenes on this principle of clearance; and it was adopted by the editors of the First Folio, when, in a half-hearted way, they attempted to divide up the continuous texts of their manuscripts and quartos.[1] But it was not the principle of the neo-classic dramatists, or of Ben Jonson and his school. For them a scene was a section, not of action, but of dialogue; and they started a new scene whenever a speaker, or at any rate a speaker of importance, entered or left the stage. This is the conception which is in the mind of Marston when he regrets, in the preface to *The Malcontent*, that 'scenes, invented merely to be spoken, should be enforcively published to be read'. It is also the conception of the French classicist drama, although the English playwrights do not follow the French rule of *liaison*, which requires at least one speaker from each scene to remain on into the next, and thus secures continuity throughout each act by making a complete clearance of the stage impossible.[2]

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[1] Pollard, *F. and Q.* 124; *Sh. F.* 79.

[2] Creizenach, 248.

XXIII

PLAYWRIGHTS

[*Bibliographical Note.*—The abundant literature of the drama is more satisfactorily treated in the appendices to F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama* (1908), and vols. v and vi (1910) of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, than in R. W. Lowe, *Bibliographical Account of English Theatrical Literature* (1888), K. L. Bates and L. B. Godfrey, *English Drama: a Working Basis* (1896), or W. D. Adams, *Dictionary of the Drama* (1904). There is an American pamphlet on *Materials for the Study of the English Drama, excluding Shakespeare* (1912, Newbery Library, Chicago), which I have not seen. Periodical lists of new books are published in the *Modern Language Review*, the *Beiblatt* to *Anglia*, and the *Bulletin* of the English Association, and annual bibliographies by the *Modern Humanities Research Association* (from 1921) and in the Shakespeare *Jahrbuch*. The bibliography by H. R. Tedder in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.) s.v. Shakespeare, A. C. Shaw, *Index to the Shakespeare Memorial Library* (1900–3), and W. Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography* (1911), on which, however, cf. C. S. Northup in *J. G. P.* xi. 218, are also useful.

W. W. Greg, *Notes on Dramatic Bibliographers* (1911, *M. S. C.* i. 324), traces from the publishers' advertisements of the Restoration a *catena* of play-lists in E. Phillips, *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), W. Winstanley, *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687), G. Langbaine, *Momus Triumphans* (1688) and *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), C. Gildon, *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* (1698), W. R. Chetwood, *The British Theatre* (1750), E. Capell, *Notitia Dramatica* (1783), and the various editions of the *Biographica Dramatica* from 1764 to 1812. More recent are J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dictionary of Old English Plays* (1860), and W. C. Hazlitt, *Manual of Old English Plays* (1892); but all are largely superseded by W. W. Greg, *A List of English Plays* (1900) and *A List of Masques, Pageants, &c.* (1902). His account of Warburton's collection in *The Bakings of Betsy* (*Library*, 1911) serves as a supplement. A few plays discovered later than 1900 appeared in an Irish sale of 1906 (cf. *Jahrbuch*, xliii. 310) and in the Mostyn sale of 1919 (cf. t.p. facsimiles in Sotheby's sale-catalogue). For the problems of the early prints, the *Bibliographical Note* to ch. xxii should be consulted.

I ought to add that the notices of the early prints of plays in this and the following chapter lay no claim to minute bibliographical erudition, and that all deficiencies in this respect are likely to be corrected when the full results of Dr. Greg's researches on the subject are published.

The fundamental works on the history of the drama are A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature* (1875, 1899), F. G. Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* (1891), F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama* (1908), the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vols. v and vi (1910), and W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, vols. iv, v (1909, 1916). These and others, with the relevant periodicals, are set out in the *General Bibliographical Note* (vol. i); and to them may be added F. S. Boas, *Shakspere and his Predecessors* (1896), B. Matthews, *The Development of the Drama* (1904), F. E. Schelling, *English Drama* (1914), A. Wynne, *The Growth of English Drama* (1914). Less systematic collections of studies are L. M. Griffiths, *Evenings with Shakespeare* (1889), J. R. Lowell, *Old English Dramatists* (1892), A. H. Tolman, *The Views about Hamlet* (1904), C. Crawford, *Collectanea* (1906–7), A. C. Swinburne, *The Age of Shakespeare* (1908). The older critical work of Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, and others cannot be neglected, but need not be detailed here.

Special dissertations on individual plays and playwrights are recorded in the body of this chapter. A few of wider scope may be roughly classified; as dealing with dramatic structure, H. Schwab, *Das Schauspiel im Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares* (1896), F. A. Foster, *Dumb Show in Elizabethan Drama before 1620* (1911, *E. S.* xliv. 8); with types of drama, H. W. Singer, *Das bürgerliche Trauerspiel in England* (1891), J. Seifert, *Wit- und Science Moralitäten* (1892), J. L. McConaughty, *The School Drama* (1913), E. N. S. Thompson, *The English Moral Plays* (1910), R. Fischer, *Zur Kunstentwickelung der englischen Tragödie bis zu Shakespeare* (1893), A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (1904), F. E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play* (1902), L. N. Chase, *The English Heroic Play* (1903), C. G. Child, *The Rise of the Heroic Play* (1904, *M. L. N.* xix), F. H. Ristine, *English Tragicomedy* (1910), C. R. Baskervill, *Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England* (1916, *M. P.* xiv. 229, 467), L. M. Ellison, *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court* (1917), H. Smith, *Pastoral Influence in the English Drama* (1897, *M. L. A.* xii. 355), A. H. Thorndike, *The Pastoral Element in the English Drama before 1605* (1900, *M. L. N.* xiv. 228), J. Laidler, *History of Pastoral Drama in England* (1905, *E. S.* xxxv. 193), W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (1906); with types of plot and characterization, H. Graf, *Der Miles Gloriosus im englischen Drama* (1891), E. Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* (1897), G. B. Churchill, *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare* (1900), L. W. Cushman, *The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare* (1900), E. Eckhardt, *Die lustige Person im älteren englischen Drama* (1902), F. E. Schelling, *Some Features of the Supernatural as Represented in Plays of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James* (1903, *M. P.* i), H. Ankenbrand, *Die Figur des Geistes im Drama der englischen Renaissance* (1906), F. G. Hubbard, *Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama* (1905, *M. L. A.* xx), E. Eckhardt, *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren englischen Dramas* (1910–11), V. O. Freeburg, *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama* (1915); with *Quellenforschung* and foreign influences, E. Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Jonson's, Marston's, und Beaumont und Fletcher's* (1895), *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Chapman's, Massinger's und Ford's* (1897), *Zur Quellen-Kunde der Stuarts-Dramen* (1896, *Archiv*, xcvii), *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle in der englischen Litteratur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1892), L. L. Schücking, *Studien über die stofflichen Beziehungen der englischen Komödie zur italienischen bis Lilly* (1901), A. Ott, *Die italienische Novelle im englischen Drama von 1600* (1904), W. Smith, *The Commedia dell' Arte* (1912), M. A. Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (1916), A. L. Stiefel, *Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts* (1890), *Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England* (1897, *Archiv*, xcix), L. Bahlsen, *Spanische Quellen der dramatischen Litteratur besonders Englands zu Shakespeares Zeit* (1893, *Z. f. vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, N. F. vi), A. S. W. Rosenbach, *The Curious Impertinent in English Drama* (1902, *M. L. N.* xvii), J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Cervantes in England* (1905), J. W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893), O. Ballweg, *Das klassizistische Drama zur Zeit Shakespeares* (1909), O. Ballmann, *Chaucers Einfluss auf das englische Drama* (1902, *Anglia*, xxv), R. M. Smith, *Froissart and the English Chronicle Play* (1915); with the interrelations of dramatists, A. H. Thorndike, *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on*

Shakespeare (1901), E. Koeppel, *Studien über Shakespeares Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* (1905), *Ben Jonson's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* (1906).

The special problem of the authorship of the so-called *Shakespeare Apocrypha* is dealt with in the editions thereof described below, and by Halliwell-Phillipps (ii. 413), Ward (ii. 209), R. Sachs, *Die Shakespeare zugeschriebenen zweifelhaften Stücke* (1892, *Jahrbuch*, xxvii), and A. F. Hopkinson, *Essays on Shakespeare's Doubtful Plays* (1900). The analogous question of the possible non-Shakespearian authorship of plays or parts of plays published as his is too closely interwoven with specifically Shakespearian literature to be handled here; J. M. Robertson, in *Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus?* (1905), *Shakespeare and Chapman* (1917), *The Shakespeare Canon* (1922), is searching; other dissertations are cited under the plays or playwrights concerned. The attempts to use metrical or other 'tests' in the discrimination of authorship or of the chronology of work have been predominantly applied to Shakespeare, although Beaumont and Fletcher (*vide infra*) and others have not been neglected. The broader discussions of E. N. S. Thompson, *Elizabethan Dramatic Collaboration* (1909, *E. S.* xl. 30) and E. H. C. Oliphant, *Problems of Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature* (1911, *M. P.* viii, 411) are of value.

To the general histories of Elizabethan literature named in the *General Bibliographical Note* may be added *Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature* (1901–3), E. Gosse, *Modern English Literature* (1897), G. Saintsbury, *Short History of English Literature* (1900), A. Lang, *English Literature from 'Beowulf' to Swinburne* (1912), W. Minto, *Characteristics of English Poets from Chaucer to Shirley* (1874), G. Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature* (1887), E. Gosse, *The Jacobean Poets* (1894), T. Seccombe and J. W. Allen, *The Age of Shakespeare* (1903), F. E. Schelling, *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (1910); and for the international relations, G. Saintsbury, *The Earlier Renaissance* (1901), D. Hannay, *The Later Renaissance* (1898), H. J. C. Grierson, *The First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (1906), C. H. Herford, *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (1886), L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (1902), S. Lee, *The French Renaissance in England* (1910), J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* (1899).

I append a chronological list of miscellaneous collections of plays, covering those of more than one author. A few of minimum importance are omitted.

(*a*) *Shakespeare Apocrypha*

1664. M^r^ William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. The Third Impression. And unto this Impression is added seven Playes, never before printed in Folio, viz. Pericles Prince of Tyre. The London Prodigall. The History of Thomas L^d^ Cromwell. Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham. The Puritan Widow. A York-shire Tragedy. The Tragedy of Locrine. *For P*[*hilip*] *C*[*hetwinde*]. [A second issue of the Third Folio (F_3) of Shakespeare. I cite these as 'The 7 Plays'.]

1685. M^r^ William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. . . . The Fourth Edition. *For H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley.* [The Fourth Folio (F_4) of Shakespeare, The 7 Plays.]

1709, 1714. N. Rowe, *The Works of Sh.* [The 7 Plays in vol. vi of 1709 and vol. viii of 1714.]

1728, &c. A. Pope, *The Works of Sh.* [The 7 Plays in vol. ix of 1728.]

1780. [E. Malone], *Supplement to the Edition of Sh.'s Plays published in 1778 by S. Johnson and G. Steevens.* [The 7 Plays in vol. ii.]

1848, 1855. W. G. Simms, *A Supplement to the Works of Sh.* (New York). [*T. N. K.* and the 7 Plays, except *Pericles.*]

N.D. [1851 ?]. H. Tyrrell, *The Doubtful Plays of Sh.* [The 7 Plays, *T. A.*, *Edward III*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Fair Em*, *Mucedorus*, *Arden of Feversham*, *Birth of Merlin*, *T. N. K.*]

1852, 1887. W. Hazlitt, *The Supplementary Works of Sh.* [The 7 Plays, *T. A.*]

1854–74. N. Delius, *Pseudo-Shakespere'sche Dramen.* [*Edward III* (1854), *Arden of Feversham* (1855), *Birth of Merlin* (1856), *Mucedorus* (1874), *Fair Em* (1874), separately.]

1869. M. Moltke, *Doubtful Plays of Sh.* (Tauchnitz). [*Edward III*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *Locrine*, *Yorkshire Tragedy*, *London Prodigal*, *Birth of Merlin.*]

1883–8. K. Warnke und L. Proescholdt, *Pseudo-Shakespearian Plays.* [*Fair Em* (1883), *Merry Devil of Edmonton* (1884), *Edward III* (1886), *Birth of Merlin* (1887), *Arden of Feversham* (1888), separately, with *Mucedorus* (1878) outside the series.]

1891–1914. A. F. Hopkinson, *Sh.'s Doubtful Plays* (1891–5). *Old English Plays* (1901–2). *Sh.'s Doubtful Works* (1910–11). [Under the above collective titles were issued some, but not all, of a series of plays bearing separate dates as follows: *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (1891, 1899), *Yorkshire Tragedy* (1891, 1910), *Edward III* (1891, 1911), *Merry Devil of Edmonton* (1891, 1914), *Warning for Fair Women* (1891, 1904), *Locrine* (1892), *Birth of Merlin* (1892, 1901), *London Prodigal* (1893), *Mucedorus* (1893), *Sir John Oldcastle* (1894), *Puritan* (1894), *T. N. K.* (1894), *Fair Em* (1895), *Famous Victories of Henry V* (1896), *Contention of York and Lancaster* (1897), *Arden of Feversham* (1898, 1907), *True Tragedy of Richard III* (1901), *Sir Thomas More* (1902). My list may not be complete.]

1908. C. F. T. Brooke, *The Sh. Apocrypha.* [The 7 Plays except *Pericles*, *Arden of Feversham*, *Edward III*, *Mucedorus*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Fair Em*, *T. N. K.*, *Birth of Merlin*, *Sir Thomas More.*]

(*b*) *General Collections*

1744. *A Select Collection of Old Plays.* 12 vols. (Dodsley). [Cited as *Dodsley*^{1}.]

1750. [W. R. Chetwood], *A Select Collection of Old Plays* (Dublin).

1773. T. Hawkins, *The Origin of the English Drama.* 3 vols.

1779. [J. Nichols], *Six Old Plays.* 2 vols.

1780. *A Select Collection of Old Plays.* The Second Edition . . . by I. Reed. 12 vols. (Dodsley). [Cited as Dodsley^2.]

1810. [Sir W. Scott], *The Ancient British Drama.* 3 vols. (W. Miller). [Cited as *A. B. D.*]

1811. [Sir W. Scott], *The Modern British Drama.* 5 vols. (W. Miller). [Cited as *M. B. D.*]

1814–15. [C. W. Dilke], *Old English Plays.* 6 vols. [Cited as *O. E. P.*]

1825. *The Old English Drama.* 2 vols. (Hurst, Robinson, & Co., and A. Constable). [Most of the plays have the separate imprint of C. Baldwyn, 1824.]

1825–7. *A Select Collection of Old Plays.* A new edition . . . by I. Reed, O. Gilchrist and [J. P. Collier]. 12 vols. [Cited as Dodsley^3.]

1830. *The Old English Drama.* 3 vols. (Thomas White).

1833. J. P. Collier, *Five Old Plays* (W. Pickering). [Half-title has ' Old Plays, vol. xiii ', as a supplement to Dodsley.]

1841–53. *Publications of the Shakespeare Society.* [Include, besides several plays of T. Heywood (q.v.), Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton's

Patient Grissell, Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc*, Merbury's *Marriage between Wit and Wisdom*, and *Sir Thomas More*, *True Tragedy of Richard III*, *1 Contention*, *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, *Taming of A Shrew*, *Timon*, by various editors. Some copies of these plays, not including Heywood's, were bound up in 4 vols., with the general date 1853, as a *Supplement* to Dodsley.]

1848. F. J. Child, *Four Old Plays.*

1851. J. P. Collier, *Five Old Plays* (Roxburghe Club).

1870. J. S. Keltie, *The Works of the British Dramatists.*

[Many of the collections enumerated above are obsolete, and I have not usually thought it worth while to record here the plays included in them. Lists of the contents of most of them are given in Hazlitt, *Manual*, 267.]

1874–6. *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*: Fourth Edition, now first Chronologically Arranged, Revised and Enlarged; with the notes of all the Commentators, and New Notes, by W. C. Hazlitt. Vols. i–ix (1874), x–xiv (1875), xv (1876). [Cited as Dodsley, or Dodsley^4; incorporates with Collier's edition of Dodsley the collections of 1833, 1848, 1851, and 1853.]

1875. W. C. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library.* Second Edition. Part i, 4 vols.; Part ii, 2 vols. [Part i is based on Collier's *Shakespeare's Library* (1844). Part ii, based on the collections of 1779 and 1841–53, adds the dramatic sources, Warner's *Menaechmi*, *True Tragedie of Richard III*, Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, *Troublesome Raigne of John*, *Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, *1 Contention of York and Lancaster*, *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Q_1), Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, *King Leire*, *Timon*, *Taming of A Shrew.*]

1878. R. Simpson, *The School of Shakspere.* 2 vols. [*Captain Thomas Stukeley*, *Nobody and Somebody*, *Histriomastix*, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, *Warning for Fair Women*, *Fair Em*, with *A Larum for London* (1872) separately printed.]

1882–5. A. H. Bullen, *A Collection of Old English Plays.* 4 vols. [Cited as Bullen, *O. E. P.* *Maid's Metamorphosis*, *Noble Soldier*, *Sir Giles Goosecap*, *Wisdom of Doctor Dodipoll*, *Charlemagne or The Distracted Emperor*, *Trial of Chivalry*, Yarington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, *Costly Whore*, *Every Woman in her Humour*, with later plays.]

[1885]–91. *43 Shakspere Quarto Facsimiles.* Issued under the superintendence of F. J. Furnivall. [Photographic facsimiles by W. Griggs and C. Praetorius, with introductions by various editors, including, besides accepted Shakespearian plays, *Pericles* (Q_1, Q_2), *1 Contention* (Q_1), *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (Q_1, *Whole Contention* (Q_3), *Famous Victories of Henry V* (Q_1), *Troublesome Raigne of John* (Q_1), *Taming of A Shrew* (Q_1).]

1888. *Nero and other Plays* (Mermaid Series). [*Nero* (1624), Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, Day's *Parliament of Bees* and *Humour Out of Breath*, Field's *Woman is a Weathercock* and *Amends for Ladies*, by various editors.]

1896–1905. *The Temple Dramatists.* [Cited as *T. D.* Single plays by various editors, including, besides plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, Dekker, Heywood, Jonson, Kyd, Marlowe, Peele, Udall, Webster (q.v.), *Arden of Feversham*, *Edward III*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Selimus*, *T. N. K.*, *Return from Parnassus.*]

1897. J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama.* 2 vols. issued. [Udall's *Roister-Doister*, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Preston's *Cambyses*, Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc*, Lyly's *Campaspe*, Greene's *James IV*, Peele's *David and Bethsabe*, Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* in vol. ii; earlier plays in vol. i.]

1897. H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (Warwick Library). [Ten masks by Jonson (q.v.), Daniel's *Twelve Goddesses*, Campion's *Lords' Mask*, Beaumont's *Inner Temple Mask*, *Mask of Flowers*, and later masks.]

1897–1912. *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vols. xxxiii–xlviii. [Wilson's *Cobbler's Prophecy* (1897), *1 Richard II* (1899), Wager's *The Longer Thou Livest, the More Fool Thou Art* (1900), *The Wars of Cyrus* (1901), Jonson's *E. M. I.* (1902), Lupton's *All for Money* (1904), Wapull's *The Tide Tarrieth No Man* (1907), Lumley's translation of *Iphigenia* (1910), *Caesar and Pompey*, or *Caesar's Revenge* (1911, 1912), by various editors.]

1898. A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare.* Ein Ergänzungsband zu Dodsley's Old English Plays. (*Quellen und Forschungen*, lxxx.) [*King Darius*, *Misogonus*, *Horestes*, Wilmot's *Gismond of Salern*, *Common Conditions*, and earlier plays.]

1902–8. *The Belles Lettres Series.* Section iii. *The English Drama.* General Editor, G. P. Baker. [Cited as *B. L.* Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, Chapman, Dekker, Gascoigne, Jonson, Webster (q.v.), in separate volumes by various editors.]

1902–14. *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas . . .* begründet und herausgegeben von W. Bang. 44 vols. issued. (A. Uystpruyst, Louvain.) [Includes, with other ' material ', text facsimile reprints of plays, &c., of Barnes, Brewer, Daniel, Chettle and Day, Dekker, Heywood, Jonson, Mason, Sharpham (q.v.), with *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, *Sir Giles Goosecap*, the Latin *Victoria* of A. Fraunce and *Pedantius*, and translations from Seneca.]

1903, 1913, 1914. C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies.* 3 vols. [Plays of Udall, Lyly, Peele, Greene, Porter, Jonson, and Dekker, with *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, *Eastward Ho!*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, and later plays, by various editors.]

1905–8. J. S. Farmer, *Publications of the Early English Drama Society.* [Modernized texts, mainly of little value, but including a volume of *Recently Recovered Plays*, from the quartos in the Irish sale of 1906.]

1907–20. *Malone Society Reprints.* 46 vols. issued. [In progress; text-facsimile reprints of separate plays, by various editors, under general editorship of W. W. Greg; cited as *M. S. R.*]

1907–14. J. S. Farmer, *The Tudor Facsimile Texts*, with a Hand List (1914). [Photographic facsimiles, mostly by R. B. Fleming; cited as *T. F. T.* The Hand List states that 184 vols. are included in the collection, but I believe that some were not actually issued before the editor's death. Some or all of these, with reissues of others, appear in *Old English Plays, Student's Facsimile Edition*; cited as *S. F. T.*]

1908–14. *The Shakespeare Classics.* General Editor, I. Gollancz. (*The Shakespeare Library*). [Includes Warner's *Menaechmi* and *Leire*, *Taming of A Shrew*, and *Troublesome Reign of King John.*]

1911. W. A. Neilson, *The Chief Elizabethan Dramatists excluding Shakespeare.* [Plays by Lyly, Peele, Greene, Marlowe, Kyd, Chapman, Jonson, Dekker, Marston, Heywood, Beaumont, Fletcher, Webster, Middleton, and later writers; cited as *C. E. D.*]

1911. R. W. Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian.* [Gascoigne's *Supposes*, *Bugbears*, *Misogonus.*]

1912. J. W. Cunliffe, *Early English Classical Tragedies.* [Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc*, Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh's *Jocasta*, Wilmot's *Gismond of Salerne*, Hughes's *Misfortunes of Arthur.*]

1912. *Masterpieces of the English Drama.* General Editor, F. E. Schelling. [Cited as *M. E. D.* Plays of Marlowe, Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster and Tourneur (q.v.), with Massinger and Congreve, in separate volumes by various editors.]

1915. C. B. Wheeler, *Six Plays by Contemporaries of Shakespeare* (*World's Classics*). [Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *K. B. P.* and *Philaster*, Webster's *White Devil* and *Duchess of Malfi*, Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts*.]

[In this chapter I give under the head of each playwright (*a*) a brief sketch of his life in relation to the stage, (*b*) a list of contemporary and later collections of his dramatic works, (*c*) a list of dissertations (books, pamphlets, articles in journals) bearing generally upon his life and works. Then I take each play, mask, &c., up to 1616 and give (*a*) the MSS. if any; (*b*) the essential parts of the entry, if any, on the Stationers' Register, including in brackets the name of any licenser other than an official of the Company, and occasionally adding a note of any transfer of copyright which seems of exceptional interest; (*c*) the essential parts of the title-page of the first known print; (*d*) a note of its prologues, epilogues, epistles, and other introductory matter; (*e*) the dates and imprints of later prints before the end of the seventeenth century with any new matter from their t.ps. bearing on stage history; (*f*) lists of all important 18th–20th century editions and dissertations, not of the collective or general type already dealt with; (*g*) such notes as may seem desirable on authorship, date, stage history and the like. Some of these notes are little more than compilations; others contain the results of such work as I have myself been able to do on the plays concerned. Similarly, I have in some cases recorded, on the authority of others, editions and dissertations which I have not personally examined. The section devoted to each playwright concludes with lists of work not extant and of work of which his authorship has, often foolishly, been conjectured. I ought to make it clear that many of my title-pages are borrowed from Dr. Greg, and that, while I have tried to give what is useful for the history of the stage, I have no competence in matters of minute bibliographical accuracy.]

WILLIAM ALABASTER (1567–1640)

Alabaster, or Alablaster, was born at Hadleigh, Suffolk, in 1567 and entered Trinity College, Cambridge, from Westminster in 1583. His Latin poem *Eliseis* is mentioned by Spenser in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (1591). He was incorporated M.A. of Oxford in 1592, and went as chaplain to Essex in the Cadiz expedition of 1596. On 22 Sept. 1597 Richard Percival wrote to Sir Robert Cecil (*Hatfield MSS.* vii. 394), 'Alabaster has made a tragedy against the Church of England'. Perhaps this is not to be taken literally, but only refers to his conversion to Catholicism. Chamberlain, 7, 64, records that he was 'clapt up for poperie', had escaped from the Clink by 4 May 1598, but was recaptured at Rochelle. This was about the beginning of Aug. 1599 (*Hatfield MSS.* ix. 282). Later he was reconverted and at his death in 1640 held the living of Therfield, Herts. He wrote on mystical theology, and a manuscript collection of 43 sonnets, mostly unprinted, is described by B. Dobell in *Athenaeum* (1903), ii. 856.

Roxana. c. 1592

[*MSS.*] *T.C.C.MS.* ('Authore Domino Alabaster'); *Camb. Univ. MS.* Ff. ii. 9; *Lambeth MS.* 838 ('finis Roxanae Alabastricae').

S. R. 1632, May 9 (Herbert). 'A Tragedy in Latyn called Roxana &c.' *Andrew Crooke* (Arber, iv. 277).

1632. Roxana Tragædia olim Cantabrigiae, Acta in Col. Trin. Nunc primum in lucem edita, summaque cum diligentia ad castigatissimum exemplar comparata. *R. Badger for Andrew Crook.* [At end is Herbert's imprimatur, dated '1 March, 1632'.]

1632. Roxana Tragædia a plagiarii unguibus vindicata, aucta, & agnita ab Authore Gulielmo Alabastro. *William Jones.* [Epistle by Gulielmus Alabaster to Sir Ralph Freeman; commendatory verses by Hugo Hollandius and Tho. Farnabius; engraved title-page, with representation of a stage (cf. ch. xviii, *Bibl. Note*).]

The Epistle has 'Ante quadraginta plus minus annos, morticinum hoc edidi duarum hebdomadarum abortum, et unius noctis spectaculo destinatum, non aevi integri'. The play is a Latin version of Luigi Groto's *La Dalida* (1567).

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, EARL OF STIRLING (*c.* 1568–1640).

William Alexander of Menstrie, after an education at Glasgow and Leyden and travel in France, Spain, and Italy, was tutor to Prince Henry before the accession of James, and afterwards Gentleman extraordinary of the Privy Chamber both to Henry and to Charles. He was knighted about 1609, appointed a Master of Requests in 1614 and Secretary for Scotland in 1626. He was created Earl of Stirling in 1633. He formed literary friendships with Michael Drayton and William Drummond of Hawthornden, but Jonson complained (Laing, 11) that 'Sir W. Alexander was not half kinde unto him, and neglected him, because a friend to Drayton'. His four tragedies read like closet plays, and his only connexion with the stage appears to be in some verses to Alleyn after the foundation of Dulwich in 1619 (Collier, *Memoirs of Alleyn*, 178).

Collections

S. R. 1604, April 30 (by order of Court). 'A booke Called The Woorkes of William Alexander of Menstrie Conteyninge The Monarchicke Tragedies, Paranethis to the Prince and Aurora.' *Edward Blunt* (Arber, iii. 260).

1604. The Monarchicke Tragedies. By William Alexander of Menstrie. *V. S. for Edward Blount.* [*Croesus* and *Darius* (with a separate t.p.).]

1607. The Monarchick Tragedies; Croesus, Darius, The Alexandraean, Iulius Caesar, Newly enlarged. By William Alexander, Gentleman of the Princes priuie Chamber. *Valentine Simmes for Ed. Blount.* [New issue, with additions. *Julius Caesar* has separate t.p. Commendatory verses, signed 'Robert Ayton'.]

1616. The Monarchicke Tragedies. The third Edition. By S^r. W. Alexander Knight. *William Stansby.* [*Croesus, Darius, The Alex-*

andraean Tragedy, Julius Caesar, in revised texts, the last three with separate t.ps.]

1637. Recreations with the Muses. By William Earle of Sterline. *Tho. Harper.* [*Croesus, Darius, The Alexandraean Tragedy, Julius Caesar.*]

1870–2. *Poetical Works.* 3 vols.

1921. L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling.* Vol. i. The Dramatic Works. —*Dissertations*: C. Rogers, *Memorials of the Earl of S. and the House of A.* (1877); H. Beumelburg, *Sir W. A. Graf von S., als dramatischer Dichter* (1880, *Halle diss.*).

Darius > 1603

1603. The Tragedie of Darius. By William Alexander of Menstrie. *Robert Waldegrave. Edinburgh.* [Verses to James VI; Epistle to Reader; Commendatory verses by 'Io Murray' and 'W. Quin'.]

1604. *G. Elde for Edward Blount.* [Part of *Coll.* 1604, with separate t.p.; also in later *Colls.* Two sets of verses to King at end.]

Croesus > 1604

1604. [Part of *Coll.* 1604; also in later *Colls.* Argument; Verses to King at end.]

The Alexandraean Tragedy > 1607

1605? [Hazlitt, *Manual,* 7, and others cite a print of this date, which is not confirmed by Greg, *Plays,* 1.]

1607. (*Running Title*). The Alexandraean Tragedie. [Part of *Coll.* 1607; also in later *Colls.* Argument.]

Julius Caesar > 1607

1607. The Tragedie of Iulius Caesar. By William Alexander, Gentleman of the Princes priuie Chamber. *Valentine Simmes for Ed. Blount.* [Part of *Coll.* 1607, with separate t.p.; also in later *Colls.* Argument.]

Edition in H. H. Furness, *Julius Caesar* (1913, *New Variorum Shakespeare,* xvii).

WILLIAM ALLEY (*c.* 1510–70).

Alley's *Πτωχὸμυσεῖον. The Poore Mans Librarie* (1565) contains three and a half pages of dialogue between Larymos and Phronimos, described as from 'a certaine interlude or plaie intituled *Aegio.* In the which playe ij persons interlocutorie do dispute, the one alledging for the defence of destenie and fatall necessitie, and the other confuting the same'. P. Simpson (*9 N. Q.* iii. 205) suggests that Alley was probably himself the author. The book consists of *praelectiones* delivered in 1561 at St. Paul's, of which Alley had been a Prebendary. He became Bishop of Exeter in 1560. On his attitude to the public stage, cf. App. C. No. viii. It is therefore odd to find the Lord Bishop's players at Barnstaple and Plymouth in 1560–1 (Murray, ii. 78).

ROBERT AMERIE (*c.* 1610).

The deviser of the show of *Chester's Triumph* (1610). See ch. xxiv (C).

ROBERT ARMIN (> 1588–1610 <). For biography see Actors (ch. xv).

The Two Maids of Moreclacke. 1607–8 (?)

1609. The History of the two Maids of More-clacke, With the life and simple maner of Iohn in the Hospitall. Played by the Children of the Kings Maiesties Reuels. Written by Robert Armin, seruant to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. *N. O. for Thomas Archer.* [Epistle to Reader, signed 'Robert Armin'.]

Editions in A. B. Grosart, *Works of R. A. Actor* (1880, *Choice Rarities of Ancient English Poetry*, ii), 63, and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*). The epistle says that the play was 'acted by the boyes of the Reuels, which perchaunce in part was sometime acted more naturally in the Citty, if not in the hole', that the writer 'would haue againe inacted Iohn my selfe but . . . I cannot do as I would', and that he had been 'requested both of Court and Citty, to show him in priuate'. John is figured in a woodcut on the title-page, which is perhaps meant for a portrait of Armin. As a King's man, and no boy, he can hardly have played with the King's Revels; perhaps we should infer that the play was not originally written for them. All their productions seem to date from 1607–8.

Doubtful Play

Armin has been guessed at as the R. A. of *The Valiant Welshman.*

THOMAS ASHTON (*ob.* 1578).

Ashton took his B.A. in 1559–60, and became Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge. He was appointed Head Master of Shrewsbury School from 24 June 1561 (G. W. Fisher, *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, 4). To the same year a local record, Robert Owen's *Arms of the Bailiffs* (17th c.), assigns 'Mr Astons first playe upon the Passion of Christ', and this is confirmed by an entry in the town accounts (Owen and Blakeway, *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, i. 353) of 20*s.* 'spent upon Mr Aston and a other gentellmane of Cambridge over pareadijs' on 25 May 1561. Whitsuntide plays had long been traditional at Shrewsbury (*Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 250, 394, where the dates require correction). A local chronicle (*Shropshire Arch. Soc. Trans.* xxxvii. 54) has 'Elizabeth 1565 [i. e. 1566; cf. App. A], The Queen came to Coventry intending for Salop to see Mr Astons Play, but it was ended. The Play was performed in the Quarry, and lasted the Whitson [June 2] hollydays'. This play is given in *Mediaeval Stage*, from local historians, as *Julian the Apostate*, but the same chronicle assigns that to 1556. Another chronicle (*Taylor MS.* of 16th–17th c.) records for 1568–9 (*Shropshire Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii. 268), 'This yeare at Whytsoontyde [29 May] was a notable stage playe playeed in Shrosberie in a place there callyd the quarrell which lastid all the hollydayes unto the which cam greate number of people of noblemen and others the which was praysed greatlye and the chyff aucter therof was one Master Astoon beinge the head scoolemaster of the freescole there a godly and lernyd man who tooke marvelous greate paynes therin'. Robert Owen, who calls this Aston's 'great playe' of the *Passion of Christ*, assigns it to 1568, but it is clear from the town accounts that 1569 is right (Fisher, 18). This is presumably the play referred to by Thomas Churchyard (q.v.) in *The Worthiness of Wales* (1587, ed. Spenser Soc. 85), where after describing 'behind the walles . . . a ground, newe made Theator wise', able to seat 10,000, and used for plays, baiting, cockfights, and wrestling, he adds:

> At Astons Play, who had beheld this then,
> Might well have seene there twentie thousand men.

In the margin he comments, 'Maister Aston was a good and godly Preacher'. A 'ludus in quarell' is noted in 1495, and this was 'where the plases [? playes] have bine accustomyd to be usyd' in 1570 (*Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 251, 255). Ashton resigned his Mastership about 1571 and was in the service of the Earl of Essex at Chartley in 1573. But he continued to work on the Statutes of the school, which as settled in 1578, the year of his death, provide that 'Everie Thursdaie the Schollers of the first forme before they goo to plaie shall for exercise declame and plaie one acte of a comedie' (Fisher, 17, 23; E. Calvert, *Shrewsbury School Register*). It is interesting to note that among Ashton's pupils were Sir Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, who entered the school together on 16 Nov. 1564.

JAMES ASKE (*c.* 1588).

Author of *Elizabetha Triumphans* (1588), an account of Elizabeth's visit to Tilbury. See ch. xxiv (C).

THOMAS ATCHELOW (*c.* 1589).

The reference to him in Nashe's *Menaphon* epistle (App. C, No. xlii) rather suggests that he may have written plays.

FRANCIS BACON (1561–1626).

Bacon was son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. He was at Trinity, Cambridge, from April 1573 to March 1575, and entered Gray's Inn in June 1576. He sat in the Parliaments of 1584 and 1586, and about 1591 attached himself to the rising fortunes of the Earl of Essex, who in 1595 gave him an estate at Twickenham. His public employment began as a Queen's Counsel about 1596. He was knighted on 23 July 1603, became Solicitor-General on 25 June 1607, Attorney-General on 27 Oct. 1613, Lord Keeper on 7 March 1617, and Lord Chancellor on 7 Jan. 1618. He was created Lord Verulam on 12 July 1618, and Viscount St. Albans on 27 Jan. 1621. Later in the same year he was disgraced for bribery. The edition of his *Works* (with his *Letters and Life*) by J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath (1857–74) is exhaustive. Many papers of his brother Anthony are at Lambeth, and are drawn on by T. Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth* (1754). F. J. Burgoyne, *Facsimile of a Manuscript at Alnwick* (1904), reproduces the *Northumberland MS.* which contains some of his writings, with others that may be his, and seems once to have contained more. Apart from philosophy, his chief literary work was *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall,* of which 10 appeared in 1597, and were increased to 38 in 1612 and 58 in 1625. Essay xxxvii, added in 1625, is *Of Masks and Triumphs,* and, although Bacon was not a writer for the public stage, he had a hand, as deviser or patron, in several courtly shows.

(i) He helped to devise dumb-shows for Thomas Hughes's *Misfortunes of Arthur* (q.v.) given by Gray's Inn at Greenwich on 28 Feb. 1588.

(ii) The list of contents of the *Northumberland MS.* (Burgoyne, xii) includes an item, now missing from the MS., 'Orations at Graies Inne Revells', and Spedding, viii. 342, conjectures that Bacon wrote the speeches of the six councillors delivered on 3 Jan. 1595 as part of the *Gesta Grayorum* (q.v.).

(iii) Rowland Whyte (*Sydney Papers,* i. 362) describes a device on the Queen's day (17 Nov.), 1595, in which the speeches turned on the Earl of Essex's love for Elizabeth, who said that, 'if she had thought there had been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night'. A draft list of tilters, of whom the challengers were led by the Earl of Cumberland and the defendants by the Earl of Essex, is in *Various MSS.* iv. 163, and a final one, with descriptions of their appearance, in the *Anglorum Feriae* of Peele (q.v.). They were Cumberland, Knight of the Crown, Essex, Sussex, Southampton, as Sir Bevis, Bedford, Compton, Carew, the three brothers Knollys, Dudley, William Howard, Drury, Nowell, John Needham, Skydmore, Ratcliffe, Reynolds, Charles Blount, Carey. The device took place partly in the tiltyard, partly after supper. Before the entry of the tilters a page made a speech and secured the Queen's glove. A dialogue followed between a Squire on one hand, and a Hermit, a Secretary, and a Soldier, who on the entry of Essex tried to beguile him from love. A postboy brought letters, which the Secretary gave to Essex. After supper, the argument between the Squire and the three tempters was resumed. Whyte adds, 'The old man [the Hermit] was he that in Cambridg played Giraldy; Morley played the Secretary; and he that plaid Pedantiq was the soldior; and Toby Matthew acted the Squires part. The world makes many untrue constructions of these speaches, comparing the Hermitt and the Secretary to two of the Lords [Burghley and Robert Cecil ?]; and the soldier to Sir Roger Williams.' The Cambridge reference is apparently to *Laelia* (q.v.) and the performers of the Hermit and Soldier were therefore George Meriton and George Mountaine, of Queen's. Morley might perhaps be Thomas Morley, the musician, a Gentleman of the Chapel.

Several speeches, apparently belonging to this device, are preserved. Peele speaks of the balancing of Essex between war and statecraft as indicated in the tiltyard by 'His mute approach and action of his mutes', but they may have presented a written speech.

(*a*) *Lambeth MS.* v. 118 (copied by Birch in *Sloane MS.* 4457, f. 32) has, in Bacon's hand, a speech by the Squire in the tiltyard, and four speeches by the Hermit, Soldier, Secretary, and Squire 'in the Presence'. These are printed by Birch (1763), Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 372, and Spedding, viii. 378.

(*b*) *Lambeth MS.* viii. 274 (copied by Birch in *Addl. MS.* 4164, f. 167) has, in Bacon's hand, the beginning of a speech by the Secretary to the Squire, which mentions Philautia and Erophilus, and a letter from Philautia to the Queen. These are printed in Spedding, viii. 376.

(*c*) The *Northumberland MS.* ff. 47–53 (Burgoyne, 55) has 'Speeches for my Lord of Essex at the tylt'. These deal with the attempts of Philautia to beguile Erophilus. Four of them are identical with the four speeches 'in the Presence' of (*a*); the fifth is a speech by the Hermit in the tiltyard. They were printed by Spedding, separately, in 1870, as *A Conference of Pleasure composed for some festive occasion about the year 1592 by Francis Bacon*; but 1592 is merely a guess which Whyte's letter corrects.

(*d*) *S. P. D. Eliz.* ccliv. 67, 68, docketed 'A Device made by the Earl of Essex for the Entertainment of her Majesty', has a speech by the Squire, distinct from any in the other MSS., a speech by the Attendant on an Indian Prince, which mentions Philautia, and a draft by Edward Reynolds, servant to Essex, of a French speech by Philautia. The two first of these are printed by Spedding, viii. 388, and Devereux, *Lives of the Earls of Essex*, ii. 501. The references to Philautia are rather against Spedding's view that these belong to some occasion other than that of 1595.

Sir Henry Wotton says of Essex (*Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 21), 'For his Writings, they are beyond example, especially in his . . . things of delight at Court . . , as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of entertainment; and above all in his darling piece of love, and self love'. This, for what it is worth—and Wotton was secretary to Essex in 1595, suggests that the Earl himself, rather than Bacon, was the author of the speeches, which in fact none of the MSS. directly ascribe to Bacon. But it is hard to distinguish the literary productions of a public man from those of his staff.

(iv) The *Northumberland MS.* (Burgoyne, 65) has a speech of apology for absence, headed 'ffor the Earle of Sussex at y^e tilt an: 96', which might be Bacon's, especially as he wrote from Gray's Inn to the Earl of Shrewsbury on 15 Oct. 1596, 'to borrow a horse and armour for some public show' (Lodge, *App.* 79).

(v) Beaumont (q.v.) acknowledges his encouragement of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn mask on 20 Feb. 1613, for the Princess Elizabeth's wedding.

(vi) He bore the expenses of the Gray's Inn *Mask of Flowers* (q.v.) on 6 Jan. 1614 for the Earl of Somerset's wedding. To this occasion probably belongs an undated letter signed 'Fr. Bacon', and addressed to an unknown lord (*M. S. C.* i. 214 from *Lansdowne MS.* 107, f. 13; Spedding, ii. 370; iv. 394), in which he expresses regret that 'the joynt maske from the fowr Innes of Cowrt faileth', and offers a mask for 'this occasion' by a dozen gentlemen of Gray's Inn, 'owt of the honor which they bear to your lordship, and my lord Chamberlayne, to whome at theyr last maske they were so much bownde'. The last mask would be (v) above, and the then Lord Chamberlain was Suffolk, prospective father-in-law of Somerset, to whom the letter may be supposed to be addressed. But it is odd that the letter is endorsed 'M^r' Fr. Bacon, and bound up with papers of Burghley, and it is just possible, although not, I think, likely, that the reference may be to some forgotten Elizabethan mask.

(vii) A recent attempt has been made to assign to Bacon the academic *Pedantius* (cf. App. K).

JOHN BADGER (*c.* 1575).

A contributor to the Kenilworth entertainment (cf ch. xxiv, C). Gascoigne calls him 'Master Badger of Oxenforde, Maister of Arte, and Bedle in the same Universitie'. A John Badger of Ch. Ch. took his M.A. in 1555, and a superior bedel of divinity of the same name made his will on 15 July 1577 (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, i. 54).

WILLIAM BARKSTED.

For biography, cf. ch. xv (Actors), and for his share in *The Insatiate Countess*, s.v. Marston.

There is no reason to regard him as the 'William Buckstead, Comedian', whose name is at the end of a *Prologue to a playe to the cuntry people* in *Bodl. Ashm. MS.* 38 (198).

BARNABE BARNES (*c.* 1569–1609).

Barnes was born in Yorkshire, the son of Richard Barnes, bishop of Durham. He entered Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1586, but took no degree, accompanied Essex to France in 1591, and dedicated his poems *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* (1593) to William Percy (q.v.). He was a friend of Gabriel Harvey and abused by Nashe and Campion. In 1598 he was charged with an attempt at poison, but escaped from prison (*Athenaeum*, 1904, ii. 240). His *Poems* were edited by A. B. Grosart in *Occasional Issues* (1875). Hazlitt, *Manual*, 23, states that a manuscript of a play by him with the title *The Battle of Hexham* was sold with Isaac Reed's books in 1807, but this, which some writers call *The Battle of Evesham*, has not been traced. As Barnes was buried at Durham in Dec. 1609, it is probable that *The Madcap* 'written by Barnes', which Herbert licensed for Prince Charles's men on 3 May 1624, was by another of the name.

The Devil's Charter. 2 Feb. 1607

S. R. 1607, Oct. 16 (Buck). 'The Tragedie of Pope Alexander the Sixt as it was played before his Maiestie.' *John Wright* (Arber, iii. 361).

1607. The Divils Charter: A Tragedie Conteining the Life and Death of Pope Alexander the sixt. As it was plaide before the Kings Maiestie, vpon Candlemasse night last: by his Maiesties Seruants. But more exactly reuewed, corrected and augmented since by the Author, for the more pleasure and profit of the Reader. *G. E. for*

John Wright. [Dedication by Barnabe Barnes to Sir William Herbert and Sir William Pope; Prologue with dumb-show and Epilogue.]

Extracts by A. B. Grosart in Barnes's *Poems* (1875), and editions by R. B. McKerrow (1904, *Materialien*, vi) and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*)—*Dissertation*: A. E. H. Swaen, G. C. Moore Smith, and R. B. McKerrow, *Notes on the D. C. by B. B.* (1906, *M. L. R.* i. 122).

DAVID, LORD BARRY (1585?–1610).

David Barry was the eldest son of the ninth Viscount Buttevant, and the 'Lo:' on his title-page represents a courtesy title of 'Lord', or 'Lording' as it is given in the lawsuit of *Androwes v. Slater*, which arose out of the interest acquired by him in 1608 in the Whitefriars theatre (q.v.). Kirkman's play-lists (Greg, *Masques*, ci) and Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* ii. 655, have him as 'Lord' Barrey, which did not prevent Langbaine (1691) and others from turning him into 'Lodowick'.—*Dissertations*: J. Q. Adams, *Lordinge (alias Lodowick) Barry* (1912, *M. P.* ix. 567); W. J. Lawrence, *The Mystery of Lodowick Barry* (1917, *University of North Carolina Studies in Philology*, xiv. 52).

Ram Alley. 1607–8

S. R. 1610, Nov. 9 (Buck). 'A booke called, Ramme Alley, or merry trickes. *Robert Wilson* (Arber, iii. 448).

1611. Ram-Alley: Or Merrie-Trickes. A Comedy Diuers times here-to-fore acted. By the Children of the Kings Reuels. Written by Lo: Barrey. *G. Eld for Robert Wilson.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

1636; 1639.

Editions in Dodsley^4 (1875, x) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii) and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*).

Fleay, i. 31, attempts to place the play at the Christmas of 1609, but it is improbable that the King's Revels ever played outside 1607–8. Archer's play-list of 1656 gives it to Massinger. There are references (ed. Dodsley, pp. 280, 348, 369) to the baboons, which apparently amused London about 1603–5 (cf. s.v. *Sir Giles Goosecap*), and to the Jacobean knightings (p. 272).

FRANCIS BEAUMONT (*c.* 1584–1616).

Beaumont was third son of Francis Beaumont, Justice of Common Pleas, sprung from a gentle Leicestershire family, settled at Grace Dieu priory in Charnwood Forest. He was born in 1584 or 1585 and had a brother, Sir John, also known as a poet. He entered Broadgates Hall, Oxford, in 1597, but took no degree, and the Inner Temple in 1600. In 1614 or 1615 he had a daughter by his marriage, probably recent, to Ursula Isley of Sundridge Hall, Kent, and another daughter was born after his death on 6 March 1616. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Beaumont contributed a humorous grammar lecture (preserved in *Sloane MS.* 1709, f. 13; cf. E. J. L. Scott in *Athenaeum* for 27 Jan. 1894) to some Inner Temple Christmas revels of uncertain date. This has allusions to 'the most plodderly plotted shew of Lady Amity' given 'in this ill-instructed hall the last Christmas', and to seeing a play at the Bankside for sixpence. His poetical career probably begins with the anonymous *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* of 1602. His non-dramatic poems, of which the most important is an epistle to Elizabeth Countess of Rutland in 1612, appeared after his death in volumes of 1618, 1640, and 1653, which certainly ascribe to him much that is not his. His connexion with the stage seems to have begun about 1606, possibly through Michaël Drayton, a family friend, in whose *Eglogs* of that year he appears as 'sweet Palmeo'. But his first play, *The Woman Hater*, written independently for Paul's, shows him under the influence of Ben Jonson, who wrote him an affectionate epigram (lv), told Drummond in 1619 that 'Francis Beaumont loved too much himself and his own verses' (Laing, 10), and according to Dryden (*Essay on Dramatick Poesie*) 'submitted all his writings to his censure, and, 'tis thought, used his judgment in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots'. To Jonson's *Volpone* (1607) commendatory verses were contributed both by Beaumont, whose own *Knight of the Burning Pestle* was produced in the same year, and by John Fletcher, whose names are thus first combined. Jonson and Beaumont, in their turn, wrote verses for Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*, probably written in 1608 or 1609 and published in 1609 or 1610. About 1608 or 1609 it may also be supposed that the famous literary collaboration began. This, although it can only be proved to have covered some half-dozen plays, left the two names so closely associated that when, in 1647 and 1679, the actors and publishers issued collections of fifty-three pieces, in all or most of which Fletcher had had, or was supposed to have had, a hand, they described them all as 'by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher', and thus left to modern scholarship a task with which it is still grappling. A contemporary protest by Sir Aston Cockaine pointed out the small share of Beaumont and the large share of Massinger in the 1647 volume; and the process of metrical analysis initiated by Fleay and Boyle may be regarded as fairly successful in fixing the characteristics of the very marked style of Fletcher, although it certainly raises more questions than it solves as to the possible shares not only of Massinger, but of Jonson, Field, Tourneur, Daborne, Middleton, Rowley, and Shirley, as collaborators or revisers, in the plays as they have come down to us. Since Fletcher wrote up to his death in 1625, much of this investigation lies outside my limits, and it is fortunate that the task of selecting the plays which may, certainly or possibly, fall before Beaumont's death in 1616 is one in which a fair number of definite data are available to eke out the slippery metrical evidence. It would seem that the collaboration began about 1608 and lasted in full swing for about four or five years, that in it Beaumont was the ruling spirit, and that it covered plays, not only for the Queen's Revels, for whom both poets had already written independently, and for their successors the Lady Elizabeth's, but also, and concurrently, for the King's. According to Dryden, two or three plays were written 'very unsuccessfully' before the triumph of *Philaster*, but these may include the independent plays, of which we know that the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* and the *Faithful Shepherdess* failed. The Folios contain a copy of verses written by Beaumont to Jonson (ed. Waller, x. 199) 'before he and Mr. Fletcher came to *London*, with two of the precedent Comedies then not finish'd, which deferr'd their merry meetings at the *Mermaid*', but this probably relates to a temporary *villeggiatura* and cannot be precisely dated. It is no doubt to this period of 1608–13 that we may refer the gossip of Aubrey, i. 96, who learnt from Sir James Hales and others that Beaumont and Fletcher 'lived together on the Banke Side, not far from the Play-house, both batchelors; lay together; had one wench in the house between them, which they did so admire; the same cloathes and cloake, &c., betweene them'. Obviously these conditions ended when Beaumont married an heiress about 1613, and it seems probable that from this date onwards he ceased to be an active playwright, although he contributed a mask to the Princess Elizabeth's wedding at Shrovetide of that year, and his hand can be traced, perhaps later still, in *The Scornful Lady*. At any rate, about 1613 Fletcher was not merely writing independent plays—a practice which, unlike Beaumont, he may never have wholly dropped—but also looking about for other contributors. There is some converging evidence of his collaboration about this date with Shakespeare; and Henslowe's correspondence (*Henslowe Papers*, 66) shows him quite clearly as engaged on a play, possibly *The Honest Man's Fortune*, with no less than three others, Daborne, Field, and Massinger. It is not probable that, from 1616 onwards, Fletcher wrote for any company but the King's men. Of the fifty-two plays included in the Ff., forty-four can be shown from title-pages, actor-lists, licences by the Master of the Revels, and a Lord Chamberlain's order of 1641 (*M.S.C.* i. 364) to have belonged to the King's, six by title-pages and another Lord Chamberlain's order (*Variorum*, iii. 159) to have belonged to the Cockpit theatre, and two, *Wit at Several Weapons* and *Four Plays in One*, together with *The Faithful Friends*, which does not appear in the Ff., cannot be assigned to any company. But some of the King's men's plays and some or all of the Cockpit plays had originally belonged to Paul's, the Queen's Revels, or the Lady Elizabeth's, and it is probable that all these formed part of the Lady Elizabeth's repertory in 1616, and that upon the reorganization of the company which then took place they were divided into two groups, of which one passed with Field to the King's, while the other remained with his late fellows and was ultimately left with Christopher Beeston when their occupation of the Cockpit ended in 1625.

I classify the plays dealt with in these notes as follows: (*a*) Plays wholly or substantially by Beaumont—*The Woman Hater*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*; (*b*) Plays of the Beaumont-Fletcher collaboration—*Philaster*, *A Maid's Tragedy*, *A King and No King*, *Four Plays in One*, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Coxcomb*, *The Scornful Lady*; (*c*) Plays wholly or substantially by Fletcher—*The Woman's Prize*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *Valentinian*, *Bonduca*, *Wit Without Money*; (*d*) Plays of doubtful authorship and, in some cases, period—*The Captain, The Honest Man's Fortune, The Two Noble Kinsmen, The Faithful Friends, Thierry and Theodoret, Wit at Several Weapons, Love's Cure, The Night Walker.* Full treatment of *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* as of *Henry VIII,* in which Fletcher certainly had a hand, is only possible in relation to Shakespeare. I have not thought it necessary to include every play which, or a hypothetical version of which, an unsupported conjecture, generally from Mr. Oliphant, puts earlier than 1616. *The Queen of Corinth, The Noble Gentleman, The Little French Lawyer, The Laws of Candy, The Knight of Malta, The Fair Maid of the Inn, The Chances, Beggar's Bush, The Bloody Brother, Love's Pilgrimage, Nice Valour,* and *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* are omitted on this principle, and I believe I might safely have extended the same treatment to some of those in my class (*d*).

Collections

S.R. 1646, Sept. 4 (Langley). 'These sevall Tragedies & Comedies hereunder mencioned (viz^{t}.) . . . [thirty plays named] . . . by M^{r}. Beamont and M^{r}. Flesher.' *H. Robinson and H. Moseley* (Eyre, i. 244).

1660, June 29. 'The severall Plays following. vizt. . . . [names] . . . all six copies written by Fra: Beamont & John Fletcher.' *H. Robinson and H. Moseley* (Eyre, ii. 268).

F_1, 1647. Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and Iohn Fletcher Gentlemen. Never printed before, And now published by the Authours Originall Copies. *For H. Robinson and H. Moseley.* [Twenty-nine plays of the 1646 entry, excluding *The Wildgoose Chase,* and the five plays and one mask of the 1660 entry, none but the mask previously printed; Portrait of Fletcher by W. Marshall; Epistle to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, signed 'John Lowin, Richard Robinson, Eylaerd Swanston, Hugh Clearke, Stephen Hammerton, Joseph Taylor, Robert Benfield, Thomas Pollard, William Allen, Theophilus Bird'; Epistle to the Reader, signed 'Ja. Shirley'; The Stationer to the Readers, signed 'Humphrey Moseley' and dated 'Feb. 14th 1646'; Thirty-seven sets of Commendatory verses, variously signed; Postscript; cf. W. W. Greg in *4 Library,* ii. 109.]

F_2, 1679. Fifty Comedies and Tragedies. Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen. All in one Volume. Published by the Authors Original Copies, the Songs to each Play being added. *J. Macock, for John Martyn, Henry Herringman, Richard Marriot.* [The thirty-four plays and one mask of F_1, with eighteen other plays, all previously printed; Epistle by the Stationers to the Reader; Actor Lists prefixed to many of the plays.]

1711. The Works of B. and F. 7 vols. *Jacob Tonson.*

Editions by Theobald, Seward and Sympson (1750, 10 vols.), G. Colman (1778, 10 vols.; 1811, 3 vols.), H. Weber (1812, 14 vols., adding *The Faithful Friends*), G. Darley (1839, 2 vols.; 1862–6, 2 vols.), A. Dyce (1843–6, 11 vols.; 1852, 2 vols.).

1905–12. A. Glover and A. R. Waller. *The Works of F. B. and*

J. F. 10 vols. (*C. E. C.*). [Text of F_2, with collations of F_1 and Q_q.]

1904–12 (in progress). A. H. Bullen, *The Works of F. B. and J. F. Variorum Edition.* 4 vols. issued. [Text based on Dyce; editions of separate plays by P. A. Daniel, R. W. Bond, W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, J. Masefield, M. Luce, C. Brett, R. G. Martin, E. K. Chambers.]

Selections

1887. J. S. L. Strachey, *The Best Plays of B. and F.* 2 vols. (Mermaid Series). [*Maid's Tragedy, Philaster, Thierry and Theodoret, K. B. P., King and No King, Bonduca, Faithful Shepherdess, Valentinian,* and later plays.]

1912. F. E. Schelling, *Beaumont and Fletcher* (*M. E. D.*). [*Philaster, Maid's Tragedy, Faithful Shepherdess, Bonduca.*]

Dissertations: A. C. Swinburne, *B. and F.* (1875–94, *Studies in Prose and Poetry*), *The Earlier Plays of B. and F.* (1910, *English Review*); F. G. Fleay, *On Metrical Tests as applied to Dramatic Poetry: Part ii, B., F., Massinger* (1874, *N. S. S. Trans.* 51, 23*, 61*, reprinted, 1876–8, with alterations in *Shakespeare Manual*, 151), *On the Chronology of the Plays of F. and Massinger* (1886, *E. S.* ix. 12), and in *B. C.* (1891), i. 164; R. Boyle, *B., F., and Massinger* (1882–7, *E. S.* v. 74, vii. 66, viii. 39, ix. 209, x. 383), *B., F., and Massinger* (1886, *N. S. S. Trans.* 579), *Mr. Oliphant on B. and F.* (1892–3, *E. S.* xvii. 171, xviii. 292), *Daborne's Share in the B. and F. Plays* (1899, *E. S.* xxvi. 352); G. C. Macaulay, *F. B.: a Critical Study* (1883), *B. and F.* (1910, *C. H.* vi. 107); E. H. C. Oliphant, *The Works of B. and F.* (1890–2, *E. S.* xiv. 53, xv. 321, xvi. 180); E. Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, John Marston's und B. und F.'s* (1895, *Münchener Beiträge*, xi); C. E. Norton, *F. B.'s Letter to Ben Jonson* (1896, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, v. 19); A. H. Thorndike, *The Influence of B. and F. on Shakspere* (1901); O. L. Hatcher, *J. F.: a Study in Dramatic Method* (1905); R. M. Alden, *Introduction to B.'s Plays* (1910, *B. L.*); C. M. Gayley, *F. B.: Dramatist* (1914); W. E. Farnham, *Colloquial Contractions in B., F., Massinger and Shakespeare as a Test of Authorship* (1916, *M. L. A.* xxxi. 326).

Bibliographies: A. C. Potter, *A Bibl. of B. and F.* (1890, *Harvard Bibl. Contributions*, 39); B. Leonhardt, *Litteratur über B. und F.* (1896, *Anglia*, xix. 36, 542).

The Woman Hater. c. 1606

S. R. 1607, May 20 (Buck). 'A booke called "The Woman Hater" as it hath ben lately acted by the Children of Powles.' *Eleazar Edgar and Robert Jackson* (Arber, iii. 349). [A note 'Sir George Buckes hand alsoe to it'.]

1607. The Woman Hater. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Children of Paules. *Sold by John Hodgets.* [Prologue in prose.]

1607. *R. R. sold by John Hodgets.* [A reissue.]

S. R. 1613, April 19. Transfer of Edgar's share to John Hodgettes (Arber, iii. 521).

1648. . . . As it hath beene Acted by his Majesties Servants with great Applause. Written by John Fletcher Gent. *For Humphrey Moseley.*

1649. The Woman Hater, or the Hungry Courtier. A Comedy . . . Written by Francis Beamont and John Fletcher. Gent. *For Humphrey Moseley.* [A reissue. Prologue in verse, said by Fleay, i. 177, to be Davenant's, and Epilogue, used also for *The Noble Gentleman.*]

Fleay, i. 177, and Gayley, 73, put the date in the spring of 1607, finding a reference in ' a favourite on the sudden ' (I. iii) to the success of Robert Carr in taking the fancy of James at the tilt of 24 March 1607, to which Fleay adds that ' another inundation ' (III. i) recalls a flood of 20 Jan. 1607. Neither argument is convincing, and it is not known that the Paul's boys went on into 1607; they are last heard of in July 1606. The prologue expresses the author's intention not to lose his ears, perhaps an allusion to Jonson's and Chapman's peril after *Eastward Ho!* in 1605. Gayley notes in II. iii what certainly looks like a reminiscence of *Antony and Cleopatra,* IV. xiv. 51 and XV. 87, but it is no easier to be precise about the date of *Antony and Cleopatra* than about that of *The Woman Hater.* The play is universally regarded as substantially Beaumont's and the original prologue only speaks of a single author, but Davenant in 1649 evidently supposed it to be Fletcher's, saying ' full twenty yeares, he wore the bayes '. Boyle, Oliphant, Alden, and Gayley suggest among them III. i, ii; IV. ii; V. i, ii, v as scenes to which Fletcher or some other collaborator may have given touches.

The Knight of the Burning Pestle. 1607

1613. The Knight of the Burning Pestle. *For Walter Burre.* [Epistle to Robert Keysar, signed ' W. B.', Induction with Prologue, Epilogue.]

1635. . . . Full of Mirth and Delight. Written by Francis Beaumont and Iohn Fletcher, Gent. As it is now Acted by Her Maiesties Servants at the Private house in Drury Lane. *N. O. for I. S.* [Epistle to Readers, Prologue (from Lyly's *Sapho and Phaon*).]

1635. . . . Francis Beamont . . .

Editions by F. W. Moorman (1898, *T. D.*), H. S. Murch (1908, *Yale Studies*, xxxiii), R. M. Alden (1910, *B. L.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertations*: R. Boyle, *B. and F.'s K.B.P.* (1889, *E.S.* xiii. 156); B. Leonhardt, *Ueber B. und F.'s K. B. P.* (1885, *Annaberg programme*), *Die Text-Varianten von B. und F.'s K. B. P.* (1896, *Anglia*, xix. 509).

The Epistle tells us that the play was ' in eight daies . . . begot and borne ', ' exposed to the wide world, who . . . utterly reiected it ', preserved by Keysar and sent to Burre, who had ' fostred it priuately in my bosome these two yeares '. The play ' hopes his father will beget him a yonger brother '. Burre adds, ' Perhaps it will be thought to bee of the race of Don Quixote : we both may confidently sweare, it is his elder aboue a yeare '. The references to the actors in the induction as boys and the known connexion of Keysar with the Queen's

Revels fix the company. The date is more difficult. It cannot be earlier than 1607, since the reference to a play at the Red Bull in which the Sophy of Persia christens a child (IV. i. 46) is to Day's *Travels of Three English Brothers* of that year. With other allusions, not in themselves conclusive, 1607 would agree well enough, notably with Ind. 8, 'This seuen yeares there hath beene playes at this house', for it was just seven years in the autumn of 1607 since Evans set up plays at the Blackfriars. The trouble is IV. i. 73, 'Read the play of the *Foure Prentices of London*, where they tosse their pikes so', for this implies that the *Four Prentices* was not merely produced but in print, and the earliest extant edition is of 1615. It is, however, quite possible that the play may have been in print, even as far back as 1594 (cf. s.v. Heywood). Others put it, and with it the *K. B. P.*, in 1610, in which case the production would have been at the Whitefriars, the history of which can only be traced back two or three years and not seven years before 1610. On the whole, I think the reference to *Don Quixote* in the Epistle is in favour of 1607 rather than 1610. It is, of course, conceivable that Burre only meant to claim that the *K. B. P.* was a year older than Thomas Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, which was entered in *S. R.* on 19 Jan. 1611 and published in 1612. Even this brings us back to the very beginning of 1610, and the boast would have been a fairly idle one, as Shelton states in his preface that the translation was actually made 'some five or six yeares agoe'. Shelton's editor, Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, has shown that it was based on the Brussels edition of 1607. If we put it in 1608 and the *K. B. P.* in 1607 the year's priority of the latter is preserved. Most certainly the *K. B. P.* was not prior to the Spanish *Don Quixote* of 1605. Its dependence on Cervantes is not such as necessarily to imply that Beaumont had read the romance, but he had certainly heard of its general drift and of the particular episodes of the inn taken for a castle and the barber's basin. Fleay, Boyle, Moorman, Murch, and Alden are inclined to assign to Fletcher some or all of the scenes in which Jasper and Luce and Humphrey take part; but Macaulay, Oliphant and Gayley regard the play, except perhaps for a touch or two, as wholly Beaumont's. Certainly the Epistle suggests that the play had but one 'father'.

The Faithful Shepherdess. 1608–9

N.D. The Faithfull Shepherdesse. By John Fletcher. *For R. Bonian and H. Walley.* [Commendatory verses by N. F. ('Nath. Field', Q_2), Fr. Beaumont, Ben Jonson, G. Chapman; Dedicatory verses to Sir Walter Aston, Sir William Skipwith, Sir Robert Townsend, all signed 'John Fletcher'; Epistle to Reader, signed 'John Fletcher'.]

S. R. 1628, Dec. 8. Transfer from Walley to R. Meighen (Arber, iv. 206).

1629. . . . newly corrected . . . *T. C. for R. Meighen.*

1634. . . . Acted at Somerset House before the King and Queene on Twelfe night last, 1633. And divers times since with great applause at the Private House in Blacke-Friers, by his Majesties Servants. . . . *A. M. for Meighen.* [Verses to Joseph Taylor, signed 'Shakerley Marmion', and Prologue, both for the performance of 6 Jan. 1634.]

1656; 1665.

Editions by F. W. Moorman (1897, *T. D.*), W. W. Greg (1908, Bullen, iii), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).

Jonson told Drummond in the winter of 1618–19 (Laing, 17) that 'Flesher and Beaumont, ten yeers since, hath written the Faithfull Shipheardesse, a Tragicomedie, well done'. This gives us the date 1608–9, which there is nothing to contradict. The undated Q_1 may be put in 1609 or 1610, as Skipwith died on 3 May 1610 and the short partnership of the publishers is traceable from 22 Dec. 1608 to 14 Jan. 1610. It is, moreover, in Sir John Harington's catalogue of his plays, which was made up in 1609 or 1610 (cf. ch. xxii). The presence of Field, Chapman, and Jonson amongst the verse-writers and the mentions in Beaumont's verses of 'the waxlights' and of a boy dancing between the acts point to the Queen's Revels as the producers. It is clear also from the verses that the play was damned, and that Fletcher alone, in spite of Drummond's report, was the author. This is not doubted on internal grounds.

The Woman's Prize, or, The Tamer Tamed. 1604 <

1647. The Womans Prize, or The Tamer Tam'd. A Comedy. [Part of F_1. Prologue and Epilogue.]

1679. [Part of F_2.]

Fleay, i. 198, Oliphant, and Thorndike, 70, accumulate inconclusive evidence bearing on the date, of which the most that can be said is that an answer to *The Taming of the Shrew* would have more point the nearer it came to the date of the original, and that the references to the siege of Ostend in I. iii would be topical during or not long after that siege, which ended on 8 Sept. 1604. On the other hand, Gayley (*R. E. C.* iii, lxvi) calls attention to possible reminiscences of *Epicoene (1609)* and *Alchemist (1610)*. I see no justification for supposing that a play written in 1605 would undergo revision, as has been suggested, in 1610–14. A revival by the King's in 1633 got them into some trouble with Sir Henry Herbert, who claimed the right to purge even an old play of 'oaths, prophaness, and ribaldrye' (*Variorum*, iii. 208). Possibly the play is also *The Woman is too Hard for Him*, which the King's took to Court on 26 Nov. 1621 (Murray, ii. 193). But the original writing was not necessarily for this company. There is general agreement in assigning the play to Fletcher alone.

Philaster > 1610

S. R. 1620, Jan. 10 (Taverner). 'A Play Called Philaster.' *Thomas Walkley* (Arber, iii. 662).

1620. Phylaster, Or Loue lyes a Bleeding. Acted at the Globe by his Maiesties Seruants. Written by Francis Baymont and Iohn Fletcher. Gent. *For Thomas Walkley.*

1622. . . . As it hath beene diuerse times Acted, at the Globe, and

Blacke-friers, by his Maiesties Seruants . . . The Second Impression, corrected, and amended. *For Thomas Walkley.* [Epistle to the Reader by Walkley. Different text of I. i; V. iv, v.]

1628. *A. M. for Richard Hawkins.* [Epistle by the Stationer to the Understanding Gentry.]

1634; 1639; 1652; N.D. [1663]; 1687.

Editions by J. S. L. Strachey (1887, *Mermaid*, i), F. S. Boas (1898, *T. D.*), P. A. Daniel (1904, *Variorum*, i), A. H. Thorndike (1906, *B. L.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertations*: B. Leonhardt, *Über die Beziehungen von B. und F.'s P. zu Shakespeare's Hamlet und Cymbeline* (1885, *Anglia*, viii. 424) and *Die Text-Varianten von B. und F.'s P.* (1896, *Anglia*, xix. 34).

The play is apparently referred to in John Davies of Hereford, *Scourge of Folly* (*S. R.* 8 Oct. 1610), ep. 206:

> *To the well deseruing* M^r John Fletcher.
> *Loue lies ableeding*, if it should not proue
> Her vttmost art to shew why it doth loue.
> Thou being the *Subiect* (now) It raignes vpon:
> Raign'st in *Arte, Iudgement*, and *Inuention*:
> *For this I loue thee; and can doe no lesse*
> *For thine as faire, as faithfull* Sheapheardesse.

If so, the date 1608–10 is suggested, and I do not think that it is possible to be more precise. No trustworthy argument can be based with Gayley, 342, on the fact that Davies's epigram follows that praising Ostler as 'Roscius' and 'sole king of actors'; and I fear that the view of Thorndike, 65, that 1608 is a 'probable' conjecture is biased by a desire to assume priority to *Cymbeline*. There were two Court performances in the winter of 1612–13, and Fleay, i. 189, suggests that the versions of I. i and V. iv, v which appear in Q_1 were made for these. The epistle to Q_2 describes them as 'dangerous and gaping wounds . . . received in the first impression'. There is general agreement that most of the play, whether Davies knew it or not, is Beaumont's. Most critics assign V. iii, iv and some the whole or parts of I. i, ii, II. ii, iv, and III. ii to Fletcher.

The Coxcomb. 1608 < > 10

1647. The Coxcomb. [Part of F_1. Prologue and Epilogue.]

1679. [Part of F_2. 'The Principal Actors were Nathan Field, Joseph Taylor, Giles Gary, Emanuel Read, Rich. Allen, Hugh Atawell, Robert Benfeild, Will Barcksted.']

Dissertation: A. S. W. Rosenbach, *The Curious-Impertinent in English Dramatic Literature* (1902, *M. L. N.* xvii. 179).

The play was given at Court by the Queen's Revels on 2 or 3 Nov. 1612. It passed, doubtless, through the Lady Elizabeth's, to whom the actor-list probably belongs, to the King's, who took it to Court on 5 March 1622 (Murray, ii. 193) and again on 17 Nov. 1636 (Cunningham, xxiv). There was thus more than one opportunity for the prologue, which speaks of the play as having a mixed reception at first, partly because of its length, then 'long forgot', and now revived and shortened. The original date may be between the issue in 1608 of Baudouin's French translation of *The Curious Impertinent* from *Don Quixote*, which in original or translation suggested its plot, and Jonson's *Alchemist* (1610), IV. vii. 39, 'You are . . . a Don Quixote. Or a Knight o' the curious coxcombe'. The prologue refers to 'makers', and there is fair agreement in giving some or all of I. iv, vi, II. iv, III. iii, and V. ii to Beaumont and the rest to Fletcher. Fleay, Boyle, Oliphant, and Gayley think that there has been revision by a later writer, perhaps Massinger or W. Rowley.

The Maid's Tragedy > *1611*

S. R. 1619, April 28 (Buck). 'A play Called The maides tragedy.' *Higgenbotham and Constable* (Arber, iii. 647).

1619. The Maides Tragedy. As it hath beene divers times Acted at the Blacke-friers by the King's Maiesties Seruants. *For Francis Constable.*

1622. . . . Newly perused, augmented, and inlarged, This second Impression. *For Francis Constable.*

1630. . . . Written by Francis Beaumont, and Iohn Fletcher Gentlemen. The Third Impression, Reuised and Refined. *A. M. for Richard Hawkins.*

1638; 1641; 1650 [1660 ?]; 1661.

Editions by J. S. L. Strachey (1887, *Mermaid*, i), P. A. Daniel (1904, *Variorum*, i), A. H. Thorndike (1906, *B. L.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertation*: B. Leonhardt, *Die Text-Varianten in B. und F.'s M. T.* (1900, *Anglia*, xxiii. 14).

The play must have been known by 31 Oct. 1611 when Buck named the *Second Maiden's Tragedy* (q.v.) after it, and it was given at Court during 1612–13. An inferior limit is not attainable and any date within *c.* 1608–11 is possible. Gayley, 349, asks us to accept the play as more mature than, and therefore later than, *Philaster*. Fleay, i. 192, thinks that the mask in I. ii was added after the floods in the winter of 1612, but you cannot bring Neptune into a mask without mention of floods. As to authorship there is some division of opinion, especially on II. ii and IV. iii; subject thereto, a balance of opinion gives I, II, III, IV. ii, iv and V. iv to Beaumont, and only IV. i and V. i, ii, iii to Fletcher.

An episode (I. ii) consists of a mask at the wedding of Amintor and Evadne, with an introductory dialogue between Calianax, Diagoras, who keeps the doors, and guests desiring admission. 'The ladies are all placed above,' says Diagoras, 'save those that come in the King's troop.' Calianax has an 'office', evidently as Chamberlain. 'He would run raging among them, and break a dozen wiser heads than his own in the twinkling of an eye.'

The maskers are Proteus and other sea-gods; the presenters Night, Cinthia, Neptune, Aeolus, Favonius, and other winds, who 'rise' or come 'out of a rock'. There are two 'measures' between hymeneal songs, but no mention of taking out ladies.

In an earlier passage (I. i. 9) a poet says of masks, 'They must commend their King, and speak in praise Of the Assembly, bless the Bride and Bridegroom, In person of some God; th'are tyed to rules Of flattery'.

A King and No King. 1611

S. R. 1618, Aug. 7 (Buck). 'A play Called A king and noe kinge.' *Blount* (Arber, iii. 631).

1619. A King and no King. Acted at the Globe, by his Maiesties Seruants: Written by Francis Beamount and Iohn Flecher. *For Thomas Walkley.* [Epistle to Sir Henry Nevill, signed 'Thomas Walkley'.]

1625. . . . Acted at the Blacke-Fryars, by his Maiesties Seruants. And now the second time Printed, according to the true Copie. . . . *For Thomas Walkley.*

1631; 1639; 1655; 1661; 1676.

Editions by R. W. Bond (1904, Bullen, i), R. M. Alden (1910, *B. L.*). —*Dissertation*: B. Leonhardt, *Die Text-Varianten von B.'s und F.'s A K. and No K.* (1903, *Anglia*, xxvi. 313).

This is a fixed point, both for date and authorship, in the history of the collaboration. Herbert records (*Var.* iii. 263) that it was 'allowed to be acted in 1611' by Sir George Buck. It was in fact acted at Court by the King's on 26 Dec. 1611 and again during 1612–13. A performance at Hampton Court on 10 Jan. 1637 is also upon record (Cunningham, xxv). The epistle, which tells us that the publisher received the play from Nevill, speaks of 'the authors' and of their 'future labours'; rather oddly, as Beaumont was dead. There is practical unanimity in assigning I, II, III, IV. iv, and V. ii, iv to Beaumont and IV. i, ii, iii and V. i, iii to Fletcher.

Cupid's Revenge > 1612

S. R. 1615, April 24 (Buck). 'A play called Cupid's revenge.' *Josias Harrison* (Arber, iii. 566).

1615. Cupid's Revenge. As it hath beene diuers times Acted by the Children of her Maiesties Reuels. By Iohn Fletcher. *Thomas Creede for Josias Harrison.* [Epistle by Printer to Reader.]

1630. . . . As it was often Acted (with great applause) by the Children of the Reuells. Written by Fran. Beaumont & Io. Fletcher. The second edition. *For Thomas Jones.*

1635. . . . The third Edition. *A. M.*

The play was given by the Queen's Revels at Court on 5 Jan. 1612, 1 Jan. 1613, and either 9 Jan. or 27 Feb. 1613. It was revived by the Lady Elizabeth's at Court on 28 Dec. 1624, and is in the Cockpit list of 1639. It cannot therefore be later than 1611–12, while no close inferior limit can be fixed. Fleay, i. 187, argues that it has been altered for Court, chiefly by turning a wicked king, queen, and prince into a duke, duchess, and marquis. I doubt if this implies revision as distinct from censorship, and in any case it does not, as Fleay suggests, imply the intervention of a reviser other than the original authors. The suggestion has led to chaos in the distribution of authorship, since various critics have introduced Daborne, Field, and Massinger as possible collaborators or revisers. The stationer speaks of a single 'author', meaning Fletcher, but says he was 'not acquainted with him'. And the critics at least agree in finding both Beaumont and Fletcher, pretty well throughout.

The Captain. 1609 < > 12

1647. The Captain. [Part of F_1. Prologue and Epilogue.]

1679. The Captain. A Comedy. [Part of F_2.] 'The principal Actors were, Richard Burbadge, Henry Condel, William Ostler, Alexander Cooke.']

The play was given by the King's at Court during 1612–13, and presumably falls between that date and the admission of Ostler to the company in 1609. The 1679 print, by a confusion, gives the scene as 'Venice, Spain', but this hardly justifies the suggestion of Fleay, i. 195, that we have a version of Fletcher's work altered for the Court by Barnes. He had formerly conjectured collaboration between Fletcher and Jonson (*E. S.* ix. 18). The prologue speaks of 'the author'; Fleay thinks that the mention of 'twelve pence' as the price of a seat indicates a revival. Several critics find Massinger; Oliphant finds Rowley; and Boyle and Oliphant find Beaumont, as did Macaulay, 196, in 1883, but apparently not in 1910 (*C. H.* vi. 137).

Two Noble Kinsmen. 1613

S. R. 1634, April 8 (Herbert). 'A TragiComedy called the two noble kinsmen by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare.' *John Waterson* (Arber, iv. 316).

1634. The Two Noble Kinsmen: Presented at the Black-friers by the Kings Maiesties servants, with great applause: Written by the memorable Worthies of their time; Mr. John Fletcher, and Mr. William Shakspeare. Gent. *Tho. Cotes for Iohn Waterson.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

1679. [Part of F_2 of Beaumont and Fletcher.]

Editions by W. W. Skeat (1875), H. Littledale (1876–85, *N. S. S.*), C. H. Herford (1897, *T. D.*), J. S. Farmer (1910, *T. F. T.*), and with *Works* of Beaumont and Fletcher, *Sh. Apocrypha*, and sometimes *Works* of Shakespeare.—*Dissertations*: W. Spalding, *A Letter on Sh.'s Authorship of T. N. K.* (1833; 1876, *N. S. S.*); S. Hickson, *The Shares of Sh. and F. in T. N. K.* (1847, *Westminster Review*, xlvii. 59; 1874, *N. S. S. Trans.* 25*, with additions by F. G. Fleay and F. J. Furnivall); N. Delius, *Die angebliche Autorschaft des T. N. K.* (1878, *Jahrbuch*, xiii. 16); R. Boyle, *Sh. und die beiden edlen Vettern* (1881, *E. S.* iv. 34), *On Massinger and T. N. K.* (1882, *N. S. S. Trans.* 371); T. Bierfreund, *Palamon og Arcite* (1891); E. H. C. Oliphant (1892, *E. S.* xv. 323); B. Leuschner, *Über das Verhältniss von T. N. K. zu Chaucer's Knightes Tale* (1903, *Halle diss.*); O. Petersen, *The T. N. K.* (1914, *Anglia*, xxxviii. 213); H. D. Sykes, *The T. N. K.* (1916, *M. L. R.* xi. 136); A. H. Cruickshank, *Massinger and T. N. K.* (1922).

The date of *T. N. K.* is fairly well fixed to 1613 by its adaptation of

Beaumont's wedding mask of Shrovetide in that year; there would be a confirmation in Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), iv. 3,

> *Quarlous.* Well my word is out of the *Arcadia*, then: *Argalus.*
> *Win-wife.* And mine out of the play, *Palemon*;

did not the juxtaposition of the *Arcadia* suggest that the allusion may be, not to the Palamon of *T. N. K.* but to the Palaemon of Daniel's *The Queen's Arcadia* (1606). In spite of the evidence of the t.p. attempts have been made to substitute Beaumont, or, more persistently, Massinger, for Shakespeare as Fletcher's collaborator. This question can only be discussed effectively in connexion with Shakespeare.

The Honest Man's Fortune. 1613

[*MS.*] *Dyce MS.* 9, formerly in Heber collection.

1647. The Honest Mans Fortune. [Part of F_1. After play, verses 'Upon an Honest Mans Fortune. By M^{r}. John Fletcher', beginning 'You that can look through Heaven, and tell the Stars'.]

1679. The Honest Man's Fortune. A Tragi-comedie. [Part of F_2. 'The principal actors were Nathan Field, Joseph Taylor, Rob. Benfield, Will Eglestone, Emanuel Read, Thomas Basse.']

Dissertation: K. Richter, *H. M. F. und seine Quellen* (1905, *Halle diss.*).

On the fly-leaf of the MS. is 'The Honest Man's Fortune, Plaide in the yeare 1613', and in another hand at the end of the text, 'This Play, being an olde one, and the Originall lost was reallow'd by mee this 8 Febru. 1624. Att the intreaty of Mr. .' The last word is torn off, but a third hand has added 'Taylor'. The MS. contains some alterations, partly by the licenser, partly by the stage-manager or prompter. The latter include the names of three actors, 'G[eorge] Ver[non]', 'J: R Cro' and 'G. Rick'. The ending of the last scene in the MS. differs from that of the Ff. The endorsement is confirmed by Herbert's entry in his diary (*Variorum*, iii. 229), 'For the King's company. An olde play called The Honest Mans Fortune, the originall being lost, was re-allowed by mee at M^{r}. Taylor's intreaty, and on condition to give mee a booke [The Arcadia], this 8 Februa. 1624.' The actor-list suggests that the original performers were Lady Elizabeth's men, after the Queen's Revels had joined them in March 1613. Fleay, i. 196, suggests that this is the play by Fletcher, Field, Massinger, and Daborne which is the subject of some of Henslowe's correspondence and was finally delivered on 5 Aug. 1613 (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 65, 90). Attempts to combine this indication with stylistic evidence have led the critics to some agreement that Fletcher is only responsible for v and that Massinger is to be found in iii, and for the rest into a quagmire of conjecture amongst the names of Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Field, Daborne, Tourneur, and Cartwright. The appended verses of the Ff. are not in the *Dyce MS.*, but they are in *Addl. MS.* 25707, f. 66, and *Bodl. Rawlinson Poet. MS.* 160, f. 20, where they are ascribed to Fletcher, and in Beaumont's *Poems* (1653).

Bonduca. 1609 < > 14

1647. Bonduca, A Tragedy. [Part of F_1.]

1679. [Part of F_2. 'The Principal Actors were Richard Burbadge, Henry Condel, William Eglestone, Nich. Toolie, William Ostler, John Lowin, John Underwood, Richard Robinson.']

Dissertations: B. Leonhardt, *Die Text-Varianten von B. und F.'s B.* (1898, *Anglia*, xx. 421) and *Bonduca* (*E. S.* xiii. 36).

The actor-list is of the King's men between 1609–11 or between 1613–14, as these are the only periods during which Ecclestone and Ostler can have played together. The authorship is generally regarded as substantially Fletcher's; and the occasional use of rhyme in II. i and IV. iv hardly justifies Oliphant's theory of an earlier version by Beaumont, or the ascription by Fleay and Macaulay of these scenes to Field, whose connexion with the King's does not seem to antedate 1616.

Monsieur Thomas. 1610 < > 16

S. R. 1639, Jan. 22 (Wykes). 'A Comedy called Monsieur Thomas, by master John Fletcher.' *Waterson* (Arber, iv. 451).

1639. Monsieur Thomas. A Comedy. Acted at the Private House in Blacke Fryers. The Author, Iohn Fletcher, Gent. *Thomas Harper for John Waterson.* [Epistle to Charles Cotton, signed 'Richard Brome' and commendatory verses by the same.]

N.D. [*c.* 1661]. Fathers Own Son. A Comedy. Formerly Acted at the Private House in Black Fryers; and now at the Theatre in Vere Street by His Majesties Servants. The Author John Fletcher Gent. *For Robert Crofts.* [Reissue with fresh t.p.]

Edition by R. G. Martin (1912, Bullen, iv).—*Dissertations*: H. Guskar, *Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas und seine Quellen* (1905, *Anglia*, xxviii. 397; xxix. 1); A. L. Stiefel, *Zur Quellenfrage von John Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas* (1906, *E. S.* xxxvi. 238); O. L. Hatcher, *The Sources of Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas* (1907, *Anglia*, xxx. 89).

The title-page printed at the time of the revival by the King's men of the Restoration enables us to identify *Monsieur Thomas* with the *Father's Own Son* of the Cockpit repertory in 1639, and like the other plays of the Beaumont and Fletcher series in that repertory it was probably written by 1616, and either for the Queen's Revels or for the Lady Elizabeth's. An allusion in II. iii. 104 to 'all the feathers in the Friars' might indicate production at Porter's Hall in the Blackfriars about that year. The play cannot be earlier than its source, Part ii (1610) of H. d'Urfé's *Astrée*, and by 1610 the more permanent Blackfriars house had passed to the King's, by whom the performances referred to on the original title-page must therefore have been given. Perhaps the explanation is that there had been some misunderstanding about the distribution of the Lady Elizabeth's men's plays between the King's and the Cockpit, and that a revival by the King's in 1639 led the Cockpit managers to get the Lord Chamberlain's order of 10 Aug. 1639 (*Variorum*, iii. 159) appropriating their repertory to them. The authorship is ascribed with general assent to Fletcher alone.

Valentinian. 1610 < > 14

1647. The Tragedy of Valentinian. [Part of F_1. Epilogue.]

1679. [Part of F_2. 'The principal Actors were, Richard Burbadge, Henry Condel, John Lowin, William Ostler, John Underwood.']

Edition by R. G. Martin (1912, Bullen, iv).

The actor-list is of the King's men before the death of Ostler on 16 Dec. 1614, and the play must fall between this date and the publication of its source, Part ii (1610) of H. d'Urfé's *Astrée.* There is general agreement in assigning it to Fletcher alone.

Wit Without Money. c. 1614

S. R. 1639, April 25 (Wykes). 'These fiue playes . . . Witt without money.' *Crooke and William Cooke* (Arber, iv. 464).

1639. Wit Without Money. A Comedie, As it hath beene Presented with good Applause at the private house in Drurie Lane, by her Majesties Servants. Written by Francis Beamount and John Flecher. Gent. *Thomas Cotes for Andrew Crooke and William Cooke.*

1661. . . . The Second Impression Corrected. *For Andrew Crooke.*

Edition by R. B. McKerrow (1905, Bullen, ii).

Allusions to the New River opened in 1613 (IV. v. 61) and to an alleged Sussex dragon of Aug. 1614 (II. iv. 53) suggest production not long after the latter date. There is general agreement in assigning the play to Fletcher alone. It passed into the Cockpit repertory and was played there both by Queen Henrietta's men and in 1637 by Beeston's boys (*Variorum*, iii. 159, 239). Probably, therefore, it was written for the Lady Elizabeth's.

The Scornful Lady. 1613 < > 17

S. R. 1616, March 19 (Buck). 'A plaie called The scornefull ladie written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher.' *Miles Patriche* (Arber, iii. 585).

1616. The Scornful Ladie. A Comedie. As it was Acted (with great applause) by the Children of Her Maiesties Reuels in the Blacke Fryers. Written by Fra. Beaumont and Io. Fletcher, Gent. *For Miles Partrich.*

1625. . . . As it was now lately Acted (with great applause) by the Kings Maiesties seruants, at the Blacke Fryers. . . . *For M. P., sold by Thomas Jones.*

1630, 1635, 1639, 1651 (*bis*).

Edition by R. W. Bond (1904, Bullen, i).

References to 'talk of the Cleve wars' (V. iii. 66) and 'some cast Cleve captain' (V. iv. 54) cannot be earlier than 1609 when the wars broke out after the death of the Duke of Cleves on 25 March, and there can hardly have been 'cast' captains until some time after July 1610 when English troops first took part. Fleay, i. 181, calls attention to an allusion to the binding by itself of the Apocrypha (I. ii. 46) which was discussed for the A. V. and the Douay Version, both completed in 1610; and Gayley to a reminiscence (IV. i. 341) of *Epicoene* which, however, was acted in 1609, not, as Gayley thinks, 1610. None of these indications, however, are of much importance in view of another traced by Gayley (III. ii. 17):

> I will style thee noble, nay, Don Diego;
> I'll woo thy infanta for thee.

Don Diego Sarmiento's negotiations for a Spanish match with Prince Charles began on 27 May 1613. The play must therefore be 1613–16. In any case the 'Blackfriars' of the title-page must be the Porter's Hall house of 1615–17. Even if the end of 1609 were a possible date, Murray, i. 153, is wrong in supposing that the Revels were then at Blackfriars. There is fair unanimity in assigning I, the whole or part of II, and V. ii to Beaumont, and the rest to Fletcher, but Bond and Gayley suggest that III. i, at least, might be Massinger's.

Thierry and Theodoret (?)

1621. The Tragedy of Thierry King of France, and his Brother Theodoret. As it was diuerse times acted at the Blacke-Friers by the Kings Maiesties Seruants. *For Thomas Walkley.*

1648. . . . Written by John Fletcher Gent. *For Humphrey Moseley.*

1649. . . . Written by Fracis Beamont and John Fletcher Gent. *For Humphrey Moseley.* [A reissue, with Prologue and Epilogue, not written for the play; cf. Fleay, i. 205.]

Dissertation: B. Leonhardt, *Die Text-Varianten von B. und F.'s T. and T.* (1903, *Anglia*, xxvi. 345).

Fleay, i. 205, dates the play *c.* 1617, supposing it to be a satire on the French Court, and the name De Vitry to be that of the slayer of the Maréchal d'Ancre. Thorndike, 79, has little difficulty in disposing of this theory, although it may be pointed out that the Privy Council did in fact intervene to suppress a play about the Maréchal in 1617 (Gildersleeve, 113); but he is less successful in attempting to show any special plausibility in a date as early as 1607. A former conjecture by Fleay (*E. S.* ix. 21) that III and V. i are fragments of the anonymous *Branholt* of the Admiral's in 1597 may also be dismissed with Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 188). Most critics find, in addition to Fletcher, Massinger, as collaborator or reviser, according to the date given to the play, and some add Field or Daborne. Oliphant and Thorndike find Beaumont. So did Macaulay, 196, in 1883, but apparently not in 1910 (*C. H.* vi. 138).

The Nightwalker or The Little Thief (?)

S. R. 25 April 1639 (Wykes). 'These fiue playes . . . Night walters. . . . *Crooke and William Cooke* (Arber, iv. 464).

1640. The Night-Walker, or the Little Theife. A Comedy, As it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane. Written by John Fletcher. Gent. *Tho. Cotes for Andrew Crooke and William Cooke.* [Epistle to William Hudson, signed 'A. C.'.]

1661. *For Andrew Crook.*

Herbert licensed this as 'a play of Fletchers corrected by Sherley' on 11 May 1633 and it was played at Court by Queen Henrietta's men on 30 Jan. 1634 (*Variorum*, iii. 236). The only justification for placing Fletcher's version earlier than 1616 is the suspicion that the only plays of Beaumont or Fletcher which passed to the Cockpit repertory were some of those written for the Queen's Revels or the Lady Elizabeth's before that date.

Four Plays in One (?)

1647. Four Plays, or Moral Representations in One. [Part of F_1. Induction with 2 Prologues, The Triumph of Honour, the Triumph of Love with Prologue, the Triumph of Death with Prologue, the Triumph of Time with Prologue, Epilogue.]

Dissertation: W. J. Lawrence, *The Date of F. P. in O.* (*T. L. S.* 11 Dec. 1919).

This does not seem to have passed to the King's men or the Cockpit, and cannot be assigned to any particular company. It has been supposed to be a boys' play, presumably because it has much music and dancing. It has also much pageantry in dumb-shows and so forth and stage machinery. Conceivably it might have been written for private performance in place of a mask. *Time*, in particular, has much the form of a mask, with antimask. But composite plays of this type were well known on the public stage. There is no clear indication of date. Fleay, i. 179, suggested 1608 because *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, printed that year, is also described in its heading as 'one of the Four Plays in One', but presumably it belonged to another series. Thorndike, 85, points out that the antimask established itself in Court masks in 1608. Gayley, 301, puts *Death* and *Time* in 1610, because he thinks that they fall stylistically between *The Faithfull Shepherdess* and *Philaster*, and the rest in 1612, because he thinks they are Field's and that they cannot be before 1611, since they are not mentioned, like *Amends for Ladies*, as forthcoming in the epistle to *Woman a Weathercock* in that year. This hardly bears analysis, and indeed Field is regarded as the author of the Induction and *Honour* only by Oliphant and Gayley and of *Love* only by Gayley himself. All these are generally assigned to Beaumont, and *Death* and *Time* universally to Fletcher. Lawrence's attempt to attach the piece to the wedding festivities of 1612–13 does not seem to me at all convincing.

Love's Cure; or, The Martial Maid (?)

1647. Loves Cure, or the Martial Maid. [Part of F_1. A Prologue at the reviving of this Play. Epilogue.]

1679. Loves Cure, or the Martial Maid A Comedy. [Part of F_2.]

Dissertation: A. L. Stiefel, *Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England* (1897, *Archiv*, xcix. 271).

The prologue, evidently later than Fletcher's death in 1625, clearly assigns the authorship to Beaumont and Fletcher, although the epilogue, of uncertain date, speaks of 'our author'. This is the only sound reason for thinking that the original composition was in Beaumont's life-time. The internal evidence for an early date cited by Fleay, i. 180, and Thorndike, 72, becomes trivial when we eliminate what merely fixes the historic time of the play to 1604–9, and proves nothing as to the time of composition. On the other hand, II. ii,

> the cold Muscovite . . .
> That lay here lieger in the last great frost,

points to a date later than the winter of 1621, as I cannot trace any earlier great frost in which a Muscovite embassy can have been in London (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, cxxiii, 11, 100; cxxiv. 40). Further, the critics seem confident that the dominant hand in the play as it exists is Massinger's, and that Beaumont and Fletcher show, if at all, faintly through his revision. The play belonged to the repertory of the King's men by 1641 (*M. S. C.* i. 364).

Wit at Several Weapons (?)

1647. Wit at several weapons. A Comedy. [Part of F_1. The epilogue at the reviving of this Play.]

1679. [Part of F_2.]

The history of the play is very obscure. It is neither in the Cockpit repertory of 1639 nor in that of the King's in 1641, and the guesses of Fleay, i. 218, that it may be *The Devil of Dowgate or Usury Put to Use*, licensed by Herbert for the King's on 17 Oct. 1623, and *The Buck is a Thief*, played at Court by the same men on 28 Dec. 1623, are unsupported and mutually destructive. The epilogue, clearly written after the death of Fletcher, tells us that ' 'twas well receiv'd before' and that Fletcher 'had to do in' it, and goes on to qualify this by adding—

> that if he but writ
> An Act, or two, the whole Play rose up wit.

The critics find varying amounts of Fletcher, with work of other hands, which some of them venture to identify as those of Middleton and Rowley. Oliphant, followed by Thorndike, 87, finds Beaumont, and the latter points to allusions which are not inconsistent with, but certainly do not prove, 1609–10, or even an earlier date. Macaulay, 196, also found Beaumont in 1883, but seems to have retired upon Middleton and Rowley in 1910 (*C. H.* vi. 138).

The Faithful Friends (?)

[*MS.*] *Dyce MS.* 10, formerly in the Heber collection.

S. R. 1660, June 29. 'The Faithfull Friend a Comedy, by Francis Beamont & John Fletcher'. *H. Moseley* (Eyre, ii. 271).

Edition by A. Dyce in *Works* (1812).

Fleay in 1889 (*E. S.* xiii. 32) saw evidence of a date in 1614 in certain possible allusions (I. i. 45–52, 123–6) to the Earl of Somerset and his wedding on 26 Dec. 1613, and suggested Field and Daborne as the authors. In 1891 (i. 81, 201) he gave the whole to Daborne, except IV. v, which he thought of later date, and supposed it to be the subject of Daborne's letter of 11 March 1614 to Henslowe, which was in fact probably *The Owl* (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 82). Oliphant thinks it a revision by Massinger and Field in 1614 of a play by Beaumont and Fletcher, perhaps as early as 1604. With this exception no critic seems much to believe in the presence of Beaumont or Fletcher, and Boyle, who suggests Shirley, points out that the allusion in I. i. 124 to the relation between Philip III and the Duke of Lerma as in the past would come more naturally after Philip's death in 1621 or at least after Lerma's disgrace in 1618. The MS. is in various hands, one of which has made corrections. Some of these seem on internal evidence to have been due to suggestions of the censor, others to play-house exigencies.

Lost Play

Among plays entered in S. R. by Humphrey Moseley on 29 June 1660 (Eyre, ii. 271) is 'The History of Madon King of Brittain, by F. Beamont'. Madan is a character in *Locrine*, but even Moseley can hardly have ascribed that long-printed play to Beaumont.

Inner Temple and Gray's Inn Mask. 20 Feb. 1613

S. R. 1613, Feb. 27 (Nidd). 'A booke called the [description] of the maske performed before the kinge by the gent. of the Myddle temple and Lincolns Inne with the maske of Grayes Inne and the Inner Temple.' *George Norton* (Arber, iii. 516).

N.D. The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inn: Grayes Inne and the Inner Temple, presented before his Maiestie, the Queenes Maiestie, the Prince, Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth their Highnesses, in the Banquetting house at White-hall on Saturday the twentieth day of Februarie, 1612. *F. K. for George Norton.* [Epistle to Sir Francis Bacon and the Benchers.]

N.D. . . . By Francis Beaumont, Gent. *F. K. for George Norton.*

1647. [Part of F_1.]

1653. Poems: by Francis Beaumont, Gent. [&c.] *for Laurence Blaiklock.* [The Masque is included.]

1653. Poems . . . *for William Hope.* [A reissue.]

1660. Poems. The golden remains of those so much admired dramatick poets, Francis Beaumont & John Fletcher, Gent. [&c.] *for William Hope.* [A reissue.]

1679. [Part of F_2.]

The texts of 1647–79 give a shorter description than the original Q_q, and omit the epistle.

Edition in Nichols, *James* (1828), ii. 591.

For general notices of the wedding masks, see ch. xxiv and the account of Campion's *Lords' Mask*; but it may be noted that the narrative in the *Mercure François* gives a very inaccurate description of Beaumont's work as left to us, introducing an Atlas and an Aletheia who find no places in the text.

The maskers, in carnation, were fifteen knights of Olympia; the musicians twelve priests of Jove; the presenters Mercury and Iris. There were two antimasks, Mercury's of four Naiads, five Hyades, four Cupids, and four Statues, 'not of one kinde or liverie (because that had been so much in use heretofore)', and Iris's of a 'rurall company' consisting of a Pedant, a May Lord and Lady, a Serving-man and Chambermaid, a Country Clown or Shepherd and Country Wench, a Host and Hostess, a He Baboon and She Baboon, and a He Fool and She Fool 'ushering them in'.

The locality was the Banqueting House at Whitehall. The Hall was originally appointed, and on Shrove Tuesday, 16 Feb., the mask came by water from Winchester House in the royal barge, attended by many gentlemen of the Inns in other barges. They landed at the Privy Stairs, watched by the King and princes from the Privy Gallery, and were conducted to the Vestry. But the actual mask was put off until 20 Feb., in view of the press in the Hall, and then given in Banqueting House. Beaumont's description passes lightly over this *contretemps*, but cf. *infra*.

The 'fabricke' was a mountain, with separate 'traverses' discovering its lower and its higher slopes. From the former issued the presenters and antimasks, whose 'measures' were both encored by the King, but unluckily 'one of the Statuaes by that time was undressed'. The latter bore the 'maine masque' in two pavilions before the altar of Jupiter. The maskers descended, danced two measures, then took their ladies to dance galliards, durets, corantoes, &c., then danced 'their parting measure' and ascended.

Phineas Pett, Master of the Shipwrights' Company in 1613, relates (*Archaeologia*, xii. 266) that he was

> 'intreated by divers gentlemen of the inns of business, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was chief, to attend the bringing of a mask by water in the night from St. Mary Over's to Whitehall in some of the gallies; but the tide falling out very contrary and the company attending the maskers very unruly, the project could not be performed so exactly as was purposed and expected. But yet they were safely landed at the plying stairs at Whitehall, for which my paines the gentlemen gave me a fair recompence.'

Chamberlain (Birch, i. 227) says:

> 'On Tuesday it came to Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple's turn to come with their mask, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was the chief contriver; and because the former came on horseback and in open chariots, they made choice to come by water from Winchester Place, in Southwark, which suited well with their device, which was the marriage of the river of Thames to the Rhine; and their show by water was very gallant, by reason of infinite store of lights, very curiously set and placed, and many boats and barges, with devices of light and lamps, with three peals of ordnance, one at their taking water, another in the Temple garden, and the last at their landing; which passage by water cost them better than three hundred pounds. They were received at the Privy Stairs, and great expectation there was that they should every way excel their competitors that went before them; both in device, daintiness of apparel, and, above all, in dancing, wherein they are held excellent, and esteemed for the properer men. But by what ill planet it fell out, I know not, they came home as they went, without doing anything; the reason whereof I cannot yet learn thoroughly, but only that the hall was so full that it was not possible to avoid it, or make room for them; besides that, most of the ladies were in the galleries to see them land, and could not get in.

> But the worst of all was, that the King was so wearied and sleepy, with sitting up almost two whole nights before, that he had no edge to it. Whereupon, Sir Francis Bacon adventured to entreat of his majesty that by this difference he would not, as it were, bury them quick; and I hear the King should answer, that then they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer, but withal gave them very good words, and appointed them to come again on Saturday. But the grace of their mask is quite gone, when their apparel hath been already showed, and their devices vented, so that how it will fall out God knows, for they are much discouraged and out of countenance, and the world says it comes to pass after the old proverb, the properer man the worse luck.'

In a later letter (Birch, i. 229) Chamberlain concludes the story:

> 'And our Gray's Inn men and the Inner Templars were nothing discouraged, for all the first dodge, but on Saturday last performed their parts exceeding well and with great applause and approbation, both from the King and all the company.'

In a third letter, to Winwood (iii, 435), he describes the adventures of the mask more briefly, and adds the detail that the performance was

> 'in the new bankquetting house, which for a kind of amends was granted to them, though with much repining and contradiction of their emulators.'

Chamberlain refers to the 'new' room of 1607, and not to that just put up for the wedding. This was used for the banquet. Foscarini reports (*V. P.* xii. 532) that:

> 'After the ballet was over their Majesties and their Highnesses passed into a great Hall especially built for the purpose, where were long tables laden with comfits and thousands of mottoes. After the King had made the round of the tables, everything was in a moment rapaciously swept away.'

The records of the Inns throw light on the finance and organization of the mask. From those of the Inner Temple (Inderwick, ii. 72, 76, 81, 92, 99) we learn that the Inn's share of the cost was 'not so little as 1200^{li}', that there were payments to Lewis Hele, Nicholas Polhill, and Fenner, and for 'scarlet for the marshal of the mask', that there was a rehearsal for the benchers at Ely House, and that funds were raised up to 1616 by assessments of £2 and £1 and by assigning the revenue derived from admission fees to chambers. Those of Gray's Inn (Fletcher, 201–8) contain an order for such things to be bought 'as M^{r}. Solicitor [Bacon] shall thinke fitt'. One Will Gerrard was appointed Treasurer, and an assessment of from £1 to £4 according to status was to be made for a sum equal to that raised by the Inner Temple. There was evidently some difficulty in liquidating the bills. In May 1613 an order was made 'that the gent. late actors in the maske at the court shall bring in all ther masking apparrel w^{ch} they had of the howse charge . . . or else the value therof'. In June a further order was drafted and then stayed, calling attention to the 'sad contempts' of those affected by the former, 'albeit none of them did contribute anything to the charge'. Each suit had cost 100 marks. The offenders were to be discommonsed. In November and again in the following February it was found necessary to appropriate admission fees towards the debt.

RICHARD BERNARD (1568–1641).

The translator was born at Epworth, Lincolnshire, took his M.A. from Christ's, Cambridge, in 1598, and became incumbent successively of Worksop, Notts., and Batcombe, Somerset.

Terence in English > 1598

1598. Terence in English. Fabulae comici facetissimi et elegantissimi poetae Terentii omnes Anglice factae primumque hac nova forma nunc editae: opera ac industria R. B. in Axholmiensi insula Lincolnsherii Epwortheatis. *John Legat, Cambridge.* [Epistle to Christopher and other sons of Sir W. Wray and nephews of Lady Bowes and Lady St. Paul, signed by 'Richard Bernard', and dated from Epworth, 30 May; Epistle to Reader. Includes *Adelphi, Andria, Eunuchus, Heautontimorumenus, Hecyra, Phormio.*]

1607. . . . Secunda editio multo emendatior . . . *John Legat.*

1614, 1629, 1641.

WILLIAM BIRD (>1597–1619<).

One of the Admiral's men (cf. ch. xiii), who collaborated with S. Rowley (q.v.) in *Judas* (1601) and in additions to *Dr. Faustus* in 1602.

RICHARD BOWER (?–1561).

On his Mastership of the Chapel, cf. ch. xii. He has been supposed to be the R. B. who wrote *Apius and Virginia,* and his hand has also been sought in the anonymous *Clyomon and Clamydes* and *Common Conditions.*

SAMUEL BRANDON (?–?).

Beyond his play, nothing is known of him.

The Virtuous Octavia. 1594 <> 8

S. R. 1598, Oct. 5. 'A booke, intituled, The Tragicomoedye of the vertuous Octavia, donne by Samuell Brandon.' *Ponsonby* (Arber, iii. 127).

1598. The Tragicomoedi of the vertuous Octauia. Done by Samuel Brandon. *For William Ponsonby.* [Verses to Lady Lucia Audelay; *All' autore,* signed 'Mia'; *Prosopopeia al libro,* signed 'S. B.'; Argument. After text, Epistle to Mary Thinne, signed 'S. B.'; Argument; verse epistles *Octavia to Antonius* and *Antonius to Octavia.*]

Editions by R. B. McKerrow (1909, *M. S. R.*) and J. S. Farmer (1912, *S. F. T.*).

This is in the manner of Daniel's *Cleopatra* (1594), and probably a closet drama.

NICHOLAS BRETON (*c.* 1545–*c.* 1626).

A poet and pamphleteer, who possibly contributed to the Elvetham entertainment (cf. ch. xxiv, C) in 1591.

ANTHONY BREWER (*c.* 1607).

Nothing is known of Brewer beyond his play, unless, as is possible, he is the 'Anth. Brew' who was acting *c.* 1624 at the Cockpit (cf. F. S. Boas, *A Seventeenth Century Theatrical Repertoire* in *3 Library* for July 1917).

The Lovesick King. c. 1607

S. R. 1655, June 20. 'A booke called The Love-sick King, an English tragicall history with the life & death of Cartis Mundy the faire Nunne of Winchester. Written by Anthony Brewer, gent.' *John Sweeting* (Eyre, i. 486).

1655. The Love-sick King, An English Tragical History: With The Life and Death of Cartesmunda, the fair Nun of Winchester. Written by Anth. Brewer, Gent. *For Robert Pollard and John Sweeting.*

1680. The Perjured Nun.

Editions by W. R. Chetwood (1750, *S. C.*) and A. E. H. Swaen (1907, *Materialien*, xviii).—*Dissertation*: A. E. H. Swaen, *The Date of B.'s L. K.* (1908, *M. L. R.* iv. 87).

There are small bits of evidence, in the use of Danish names from *Hamlet* and other Elizabethan plays, and in a jest on 'Mondays vein to poetize' (l. 548), to suggest a date of composition long before that of publication, but a borrowing from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* makes it improbable that this can be earlier than 1607. The amount of Newcastle local colour and a special mention of 'those Players of Interludes that dwels at *Newcastle*' (l. 534) led Fleay, i. 34, to conjecture that it was acted in that town.

Doubtful Plays

Anthony Brewer has been confused with Thomas Brewer, or perhaps with more than one writer of that name, who wrote various works of popular literature, and to whom yet others bearing only the initials T. B. are credited, between 1608 and 1656. Thus *The Country Girl*, printed as by T. B. in 1647, is ascribed in Kirkman's play-lists of 1661 and 1671 to Antony Brewer, but in Archer's list of 1656 to Thomas. Oliphant (*M. P.* viii. 422) points out that the scene is in part at Edmonton, and thinks it a revision by Massinger of an early work by Thomas, who published a pamphlet entitled *The Life and Death of the Merry Devil of Edmonton* in 1608.

ARTHUR BROOKE (*ob.* 1563).

In 1562 he was admitted to the Inner Temple without fee 'in consideration of certain plays and shows at Christmas last set forth by him' (Inderwick, *Inner Temple Records*, i. 219). Possibly he refers to one of these plays when he says in the epistle to his *Romeus and Juliet* (1562), 'I saw the same argument lately set foorth on stage with more commendation then I can looke for: (being there much better set forth then I have or can dooe)'; but if so, he clearly was not himself the author.

SAMUEL BROOKE (*c.* 1574–1631).

Brooke was of a York family, and, like his brother Christopher, the poet, a friend of John Donne, whose marriage he earned a prison by celebrating in 1601. He entered Trinity, Cambridge, *c.* 1592, took his B.A. in 1595 and his M.A. in 1598. He became chaplain to Prince Henry, and subsequently Gresham Professor of Divinity and chaplain successively to James and Charles. In 1629 he became Master of Trinity, and in 1631, just before his death, Archdeacon of Coventry.

Adelphe. 27 Feb. 1613

[*MSS.*] *T. C. C. MS.* R. 3. 9. 'Comoedia in Collegii Trin. aula bis publice acta. Authore Dno Dre Brooke, Coll. Trin.'; *T. C. C. MS.* R. 10. 4, with prologue dated 1662.

The play was produced on 27 Feb. 1613 and repeated on 2 March 1613 during the visit of Charles and the Elector Frederick to Cambridge.

Scyros. 3 March 1613

[*MSS.*] *T. C. C. MS.* R. 3. 9. 'Fabula Pastoralis acta coram Principe Charolo et comite Palatino mensis Martii 30 A. D. 1612. Authore Dre Brooke Coll. Trin.'; *T. C. C. MSS.* R. 3. 37; R. 10. 4; R. 17. 10; O. 3. 4; *Emanuel, Cambridge, MS.* iii. i. 17; *Cambridge Univ. Libr. MS.* Ee. v. 16.

This also was produced during the visit of Charles and Frederick to Cambridge. As pointed out by Greg, *Pastoral*, 251, the 'Martii 30' of the MSS. is an error for 'Martii 3o'. The play is a version of the *Filli di Sciro* (1607) of G. Bonarelli della Rovere.

Melanthe. 10 March 1615

1615, March 27. Melanthe Fabula pastoralis acta cum Jacobus, Magnae Brit. Franc. & Hiberniae Rex, Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviseret, ibidemque Musarum atque eius animi gratia dies quinque commoraretur. Egerunt Alumni Coll. San. et Individuae Trinitatis. Cantabrigiae. *Cantrellus Legge.*

The ascription to Brooke is due to the *Dering MS.* (*Gent. Mag.* 1756, p. 223). Chamberlain (Birch, i. 304) says that the play was 'excellently well written, and as well acted'.

WILLIAM BROWNE (1591–1643?).

Browne was born at Tavistock, educated at the Grammar School there and at Exeter College, Oxford, and entered the Inner Temple from Clifford's Inn in Nov. 1611. He is known as a poet, especially by *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613, 1616), but beyond his mask has no connexion with the stage. In later life he was of the household of the Herberts at Wilton.

Ulysses and Circe. 13 Jan. 1615

[*MSS.*] (*a*) Emmanuel College, Cambridge, with title, 'The Inner Temple Masque. Presented by the gentlemen there. Jan. 13, 1614.' [Epistle to Inner Temple, signed 'W. Browne'.]

(*b*) Collection of H. Chandos Pole-Gell, Hopton Hall, Wirksworth (in 1894).

Editions with Browne's *Works* by T. Davies (1772), W. C. Hazlitt (1868), and G. Goodwin (1894).

The maskers, in green and white, were Knights; the first antimaskers, with an 'antic measure', two Actaeons, two Midases, two Lycaons, two Baboons, and Grillus; the second antimaskers, 'to a softer tune', four Maids of Circe and three Nereids; the musicians Sirens, Echoes, a Woodman, and others; the presenters Triton, Circe, and Ulysses.

The locality was the hall of the Inner Temple. Towards the lower end was discovered a sea-cliff. The drawing of a traverse discovered a wood, in which later two gates flew open, disclosing the maskers asleep in an arbour at the end of a glade. Awaked by a charm, they danced their first and second measures, took out ladies for 'the old measures, galliards, corantoes, the brawls, etc.', and danced their last measure.

The Inner Temple records (Inderwick, ii. 99) mention an order of 21 April 1616 for recompense to the chief cook on account of damage to his room in the cloister when it and its chimney were broken down at Christmas twelvemonth 'by such as climbed up at the windows of the hall to see the mask'.

SIR GEORGE BUCK (*ob.* 1623).

He was Master of the Revels (cf. ch. iii). For a very doubtful ascription to him, on manuscript authority alleged by Collier, of the dumb-shows to *Locrine*, cf. ch. xxiv.

JAMES CALFHILL (1530?–1570).

Calfhill was an Eton and King's College, Cambridge, man, who migrated to Oxford and became Student of Christ Church in 1548 and Canon in 1560. He was in Orders and was Rector of West Horsley when Elizabeth was there in 1559. After various preferments, he was nominated Bishop of Worcester in 1570, but died before consecration.

On 6 July 1564 Walter Haddon wrote to Abp. Parker (*Parker Correspondence*, 218) deprecating the tone of a sermon by Calfhill before the Queen, and said 'Nunquam in illo loco quisquam minus satisfecit, quod maiorem ex eo dolorem omnibus attulit, quoniam admodum est illis artibus instructus quas illius theatri celebritas postulat'. No play by Calfhill is extant, but his Latin tragedy of *Progne* was given before Elizabeth at Christ Church on 5 Sept. 1566 (cf. ch. iv), and appears from Bereblock's synopsis to have been based on an earlier Latin *Progne* (1558) by Gregorio Corraro.

THOMAS CAMPION (1567–1620).

Thomas, son of John Campion, a Chancery clerk of Herts. extraction, was born on 12 Feb. 1567, educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he took no degree, and admitted on 27 April 1586 to Gray's Inn, where he took part as Hidaspis and Melancholy in the comedy of

16 Jan. 1588 (cf. ch. vii). He left the law, and probably served in Essex's expedition of 1591 to France. He first appeared as a poet, anonymously, in the appendix to Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (1591), and has left several books of songs written as airs for music, often of his own composition, as well as a collection of Latin epigrams and *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602). I do not know whether he can be the 'Campnies' who performed at the Gray's Inn mask of Shrovetide 1595 at Court (cf. s.v. *Gesta Grayorum*), but one of the two hymns in that mask, *A Hymn in Praise of Neptune* is assigned to him by Francis Davison, *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602), sig. K 8, and it is possible that the second hymn, beginning 'Shadows before the shining sun do vanish', which Davison does not himself appear to claim, may also be his. By 1607 he had taken the degree of M.D., probably abroad, and he practised as a physician. Through Sir Thomas Monson he was entangled, although in no very blameworthy capacity, in the Somerset scandals of 1613–15. On 1 March 1620 he died, probably of the plague, naming as his legatee Philip Rosseter, with whom he had written *A Booke of Airs* in 1601.

Campion is not traceable as a writer for the stage, although his connexion with Monson and Rosseter would have made it not surprising to find him concerned with the Queen's Revels syndicate of 1610. But his contribution to the *Gesta Grayorum* foreshadowed his place, second only to Jonson's, who wrote a *Discourse of Poesie* (Laing, 1), now lost, against him, in the mask-poetry of the Jacobean period. In addition to his acknowledged masks he may also be responsible for part or all of the Gray's Inn *Mountebanks Mask* of 1618, printed by Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 320, as a second part of the *Gesta Grayorum*, and by Bullen, *Marston*, iii. 417, although the ascription to Marston is extremely improbable.

Collections

1828. J. Nichols. *Progresses* [*&c.*] *of James the First*, ii. 105, 554, 630, 707. [The four masks.]

1889. A. H. Bullen, *Works of T. C.* [English and Latin.]

1903. A. H. Bullen, *Works of T. C.* [English only.]

1907. P. Vivian, *Poetical Works* (*in English*) *of T. C.* (*Muses' Library*).

1909. P. Vivian, *C.'s Works.*

Dissertation.—T. MacDonagh, *T. C. and the Art of English Poetry* (1913).

Lord Hay's Mask. 6 Jan. 1607

S. R. 1607, Jan. 26 (Gwyn). 'A booke called the discription of A maske presented before the Kings maiestie at Whitehall on Twelfnight last in honour of the Lord Haies and his bryde Daughter and heire to the right honorable the Lord Denny, their mariage havinge ben at Court the same day solemnised.' *John Browne* (Arber, iii. 337).

1607. The discription of a Maske, Presented before the Kinges Maiestie at White-Hall, on Twelfth Night last, in honour of the Lord Hayes, and his Bride, Daughter and Heire to the Honourable the Lord Dennye, their Marriage hauing been the same Day at Court solemnized. To this by occasion other small Poems are adioyned. Inuented and set forth by Thomas Campion Doctor of Phisicke. *John Windet for John Browne.* [Engraving of the maskers' habit; Verses to James, Lord De Walden and Lord and Lady Hay.]

The maskers, in carnation and silver, concealed at first in a 'false habit' of green leaves and silver, were nine Knights of Apollo; the torchbearers the nine Hours of Night; the presenters Flora, Zephyrus, Night, and Hesperus; the musicians Sylvans, who, as the mask was predominantly musical, were aided by consorts of instruments and voices above the scene and on either side of the hall.

The locality was the 'great hall' at Whitehall. At the upper end were the cloth and chair of state, with 'scaffolds and seats on either side continued to the screen'. Eighteen feet from the screen was a stage, which stood three feet higher than the 'dancing-place' in front of it, and was enclosed by a 'double veil' or vertically divided curtain representing clouds. The Bower of Flora stood on the right and the House of Night on the left at the ends of the screen, and between them a grove, behind which, under the window, rose hills with a Tree of Diana. In the grove were nine golden trees which performed the first dance, and then, at the touch of Night's wand, were drawn down by an engine under the stage, and cleft to reveal the maskers. After two more 'new' dances, they took out the ladies for 'measures'. Then they danced 'their lighter dances as corantoes, levaltas and galliards'; then a fourth 'new' dance; and then 'putting off their vizards and helmets, made a low honour to the King, and attended his Majesty to the banqueting place'.

The mask was given, presumably by friends of the bridegroom, in honour of the wedding of James Lord Hay and Honora, daughter of Lord Denny. The maskers were Lord Walden, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir Henry Carey, Sir Richard Preston, Sir John Ashley, Sir Thomas Jarret, Sir John Digby, Sir Thomas Badger, and Mr. Goringe. One air for a song and one for a song and dance were made by Campion, two for dances by Mr. Lupo, and one for a dance by Mr. Thomas Giles.

Few contemporary references to the mask exist. It is probably that described in a letter, which I have not seen, from Lady Pembroke to Lord Shrewsbury, calendared among other *Talbot MSS.* of 1607 in Lodge, App. 121. No ambassadors were invited—'*Dieu merci*'— says the French ambassador, and Anne, declaring herself ill, stayed away (La Boderie, ii. 12, 30). Expenditure on preparing the hall appears in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber and the Office of Works (Reyher, 520).

The Lords' Mask. 14 Feb. 1613

1613. *For John Budge.* [Annexed to *Caversham Entertainment* (q.v.).]

This was for the wedding of Elizabeth. The men maskers, in cloth of silver, were eight transformed Stars, the women, also in silver, eight transformed Statues; the torchbearers sixteen Fiery Spirits; the antimaskers six men and six women Frantics; the presenters Orpheus, Mania, Entheus, Prometheus, and Sibylla.

The locality was the Banqueting House at Whitehall. The lower part of the scene, when discovered, represented a wood, with the thicket of Orpheus on the right and the cave of Mania on the left. After the 'mad measure' of the antimask, the upper part of the scene was discovered 'by the fall of a curtain'. Here, amidst clouds, were eight Stars which danced, vanishing to give place to the eight men maskers in the House of Prometheus. The torchbearers emerged below, and danced. The maskers descended on a cloud, behind which the lower part of the scene was turned to a façade with four Statues in niches. These and then a second four were transformed to women. Then the maskers gave their 'first new entering dance' and their second dance, and took out the bridal pair and others, 'men women, and women men'. The scene again changed to a prospective of porticoes leading to Sibylla's trophy, an obelisk of Fame. A 'song and dance triumphant' followed, and finally the maskers' 'last new dance' concluded all 'at their going out'.

This was a mask of lords and ladies, at the cost of the Exchequer. The only names on record are those of the Earls of Montgomery and Salisbury, Lord Hay, and Ann Dudley (*vide infra*). Campion notes the 'extraordinary industry and skill' of Inigo Jones in 'the whole invention', and particularly his 'neat artifice' in contriving the 'motion' of the Stars.

The wedding masks were naturally of special interest to the Court gossips. Chamberlain wrote to Winwood (iii. 421) on 9 Jan.: 'It is said the Lords and Ladyes about the court have appointed a maske upon their own charge; but I hear there is order given for £1500 to provide one upon the King's cost, and a £1000 for fireworks. The Inns of Court are likewise dealt with for two masks against that time, and mean to furnish themselves for the service.' On 29 Jan. he added (iii. 429), 'Great preparations here are of braverie, masks and fireworks against the marriage.' On 14 Jan. one G. F. Biondi informed Carleton (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxii. 12) that the Earls of Montgomery and Salisbury and Lord Hay were practising for the wedding mask. On 20 Jan. Sir Charles Montagu wrote to Sir Edward Montagu (*H. M. C. Buccleugh MSS.* i. 239): 'Here is not any news stirring, only much preparations at this wedding for masks, whereof shall be three, one of eight lords and eight ladies, whereof my cousin Ann Dudley one, and two from the Inner Courts, who they say will lay it on.'

The Lords' mask is certainly less prominent than those of the Inns of Court (*vide sub* Beaumont and Chapman) in the actual descriptions of the wedding. All three are recorded in Stowe, *Annales*, 916, in *Wilbraham's Journal* (*Camden Misc.* x), 110, in reports of the Venetian ambassador (*V. P.* xii. 499, 532), and in the contemporary printed accounts of the whole ceremonies (cf. ch. xxiv). These do not add much to the printed descriptions of the mask-writers, on which, indeed, they are largely based. The fullest unofficial account was given by Chamberlain to Alice and Dudley Carleton in three letters (Birch, i. 224, 229; *S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxii. 30, 31, 48). On 18 Feb. he wrote: 'That night [of the wedding] was the Lords' mask, whereof I hear no great commendation, save only for riches, their devices being long and tedious, and more like a play than a mask.' This criticism he repeated in a letter to Winwood (iii. 435). To Alice Carleton he added, after describing the bravery of the Inns of Court: 'All this time there was a course taken, and so notified, that no lady or gentlewoman should be admitted to any of these sights with a vardingale, which was to gain the more room, and I hope may serve to make them quite left off in time. And yet there were more scaffolds, and more provision made for room than ever I saw, both in the hall and banqueting room, besides a new room built to dine and dance in.' On 25 February, when all was over, he reported: 'Our revels and triumphs within doors gave great contentment, being both dainty and curious in devices and sumptuous in show, specially the inns of court, whose two masks stood them in better than £4000, besides the gallantry and expense of private gentlemen that were but *ante ambul[at]ores* and went only to accompany them. . . . The next night [21 Feb.] the King invited the maskers, with their assistants, to the number of forty, to a solemn supper in the new marriage room, where they were well treated and much graced with kissing her majesty's hand, and every one having a particular *accoglienza* from him. The King husbanded this matter so well that this feast was not at his own cost, but he and his company won it upon a wager of running at the ring, of the prince and his nine followers, who paid £30 a man. The King, queen, prince, Palatine and Lady Elizabeth sat at table by themselves, and the great lords and ladies, with the maskers, above four score in all, sat at another long table, so that there was no room for them that made the feast, but they were fain to be lookers on, which the young Lady Rich took no great pleasure in, to see her husband, who was one that paid, not so much as drink for his money. The ambassadors that were at this wedding and shows were the French, Venetian, Count Henry [of Nassau] and Caron for the States. The Spaniard was or would be sick, and the archduke's ambassador being invited for the second day, made a sullen excuse; and those that were present were not altogether so well pleased but that I hear every one had some punctilio of disgust.' John Finett, in a letter of 22 Feb. to Carleton (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxii. 32), says the mask of the Lords was 'rich and ingenious' and those of the Inns 'much commended'. His letter is largely taken up with the ambassadorial troubles to which Chamberlain refers. Later he dealt with these in *Philoxenis* (1656), 1 (cf. Sullivan, 79). The chief marfeast was the archiducal ambassador Boiscot, who resented an invitation to the second or third day, while in the diplomatic absence through sickness of the Spaniard the Venetian ambassador was asked with the French for the first day. Finett was charged with various plausible explanations. James did not think it his business to decide questions of precedence. It was customary to group Venice and France. The

Venetian had brought an extraordinary message of congratulation from his State, and had put his retinue into royal liveries at great expense. The wedding was a continuing feast, and all its days equally glorious. In fact, whether at Christmas or Shrovetide, the last day was in some ways the most honourable, and it had originally been planned to have the Lords' mask on Shrove Tuesday. But Boiscot could not be persuaded to accept his invitation. The ambassadors who did attend were troublesome, at supper, rather than at the mask. The French ambassador 'made an offer to precede the prince'. His wife nearly left because she was placed below, instead of above, the Viscountesses. The Venetian claimed a chair instead of a stool, and a place above the carver, but in vain. His rebuff did not prevent him from speaking well of the Lords' mask, which he called 'very beautiful', specially noting the three changes of scene.

Several financial documents relating to the mask are preserved (Reyher, 508, 522; Devon, 158, 164; Collier, i. 364; Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 43; *Archaeologia*, xxvi. 380). In *Abstract* 14 the charges are given as £400, but the total charges must have been much higher. Chamberlain (*vide supra*) spoke of £1,500 as assigned to them. A list of personal fees, paid through Meredith Morgan, alone (Reyher, 509) amounts to £411 6*s.* 8*d.* Campion had £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, Jones £50, the dancers Jerome Herne, Bochan, Thomas Giles and Confess £30 or £40 each, the musicians John Cooper, Robert Johnson, and Thomas Lupo £10 or £20 each. One Steven Thomas had £15, 'he that played to y^e boyes' £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and '2 that played to y^e Antick Maske' £11; while fees of £1 each went to 42 musicians, 12 mad folks, 5 speakers, 10 of the King's violins and 3 grooms of the chamber. The supervision of 'emptions and provisions' was entrusted to the Lord Chamberlain and the Master of the Horse.

The Caversham Entertainment. 27–8 April 1613

1613. A Relation of the late royall Entertainment giuen by the Right Honorable the Lord Knowles, at Cawsome-House neere Redding: to our most Gracious Queene, Queene Anne, in her Progresse toward the Bathe, vpon the seuen and eight and twentie dayes of Aprill. 1613. Whereunto is annexed the Description, Speeches and Songs of the Lords Maske, presented in the Banquetting-house on the Mariage night of the High and Mightie, Count Palatine, and the Royally descended the Ladie Elizabeth. Written by Thomas Campion. *For John Budge.*

On arrival were speeches, a song, and a dance by a Cynic, a Traveller, two Keepers, and two Robin Hood men at the park gate; then speeches in the lower garden by a Gardener, and a song by his man and boy; then a concealed song in the upper garden.

After supper was a mask in the hall by eight 'noble and princely personages' in green with vizards, accompanied by eight pages as torchbearers, and presented by the Cynic, Traveller, Gardener, and their 'crew', and Sylvanus. The maskers gave a 'new dance'; then took out the ladies, among whom Anne 'vouchsafed to make herself the head of their revels, and graciously to adorn the place with her personal dancing'; 'much of the night being thus spent with variety of dances, the masquers made a conclusion with a second new dance'.

On departure were a speech and song by the Gardeners, and presents of a bag of linen, apron, and mantle by three country maids.

Chamberlain wrote of this entertainment to Winwood (iii. 454) on 6 May, 'The King brought her on her way to Hampton Court; her next move was to Windsor, then to Causham, a house of the Lord Knolles not far from Reading, where she was entertained with Revells, and a gallant mask performed by the Lord Chamberlain's four sons, the Earl of Dorset, the Lord North, Sir Henry Rich, and Sir Henry Carie, and at her parting presented with a dainty coverled or quilt, a rich carrquenet, and a curious cabinet, to the value in all of 1500^{l}.' He seems to have sent a similar account in an unprinted letter of 29 April to Carleton (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxii. 120). The four sons of Lord Chamberlain Suffolk who appear in other masks are Theophilus Lord Walden, Sir Thomas, Sir Henry, and Sir Charles Howard.

Lord Somerset's Mask [*Squires*]. *26 Dec. 1613*

1614. The Description of a Maske: Presented in the Banqueting roome at Whitehall, on Saint Stephens night last, At the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset: And the right noble the Lady Frances Howard. Written by Thomas Campion. Whereunto are annexed diuers choyse Ayres composed for this Maske that may be sung with a single voyce to the Lute or Base-Viall. *E. A. for Laurence Lisle.*

The maskers were twelve Disenchanted Knights; the first antimaskers four Enchanters and Enchantresses, four Winds, four Elements, and four Parts of the Earth; the second antimaskers twelve Skippers in red and white; the presenters four Squires and three Destinies; the musicians Eternity, Harmony, and a chorus of nine.

The locality was the banqueting room at Whitehall, of which the upper part, 'where the state is placed', and the sides were 'theatred' with pillars and scaffolds. At the lower end was a triumphal arch, 'which enclosed the whole works' and behind it the scene, from which a curtain was drawn. Above was a clouded sky; beneath a sea bounded by two promontories bearing pillars of gold, and in front 'a pair of stairs made exceeding curiously in form of a scallop shell', between two gardens with seats for the maskers. After the first antimask, danced 'in a strange kind of confusion', the Destinies brought the Queen a golden tree, whence she plucked a bough to disenchant the Knights, who then appeared, six from a cloud, six from the golden pillars. The scene changed, and 'London with the Thames is very artificially presented'. The maskers gave the first and second dance, and then danced with the ladies, 'wherein spending as much time as they held fitting, they returned to the seats provided for them'. Barges then brought the second antimask. After the maskers' last dance, the Squires complimented the royalties and bridal pair.

This was a wedding mask, by lords and gentlemen. The maskers were the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Pembroke, Dorset, Salisbury, and Montgomery, the Lords Walden, Scroope, North, and Hay, Sir Thomas, Sir Henry, and Sir Charles Howard. The 'workmanship' was undertaken by 'M. Constantine' [Servi], 'but he being too much of himself, and no way to be drawn to impart his intentions, failed so far in the assurance he gave that the main invention, even at the last cast, was of force drawn into a far narrower compass than was from the beginning intended'. One song was by Nicholas Lanier; three were by [Giovanni] Coprario and were sung by John Allen and Lanier. G. F. Biondi informed Carleton on 24 Nov. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxv. 25) of the 'costly ballets' preparing for Somerset's wedding. On 25 Nov. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxv. 28; Birch, i. 278): 'All the talk is now of masking and feasting at these towardly marriages, whereof the one is appointed on St. Stephen's day, in Christmas, the other for Twelfthtide. The King bears the charge of the first, all saving the apparel, and no doubt the queen will do as much on her side, which must be a mask of maids, if they may be found. . . . The maskers, besides the lord chamberlain's four sons, are named to be the Earls of Rutland, Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset, Salisbury, the Lords Chandos, North, Compton, and Hay; Edward Sackville, that killed the Lord Bruce, was in the list, but was put out again; and I marvel he would offer himself, knowing how little gracious he is, and that he hath been assaulted once or twice since his return.' The Queen's entertainment, which did not prove to be a mask, was Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*. The actual list of performers in the mask of 26 Dec. was somewhat differently made up. On 18 Nov. Lord Suffolk had sent invitations through Sir Thomas Lake to the Earl of Rutland and Lord Willoughby d'Eresby (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxv. 15; Reyher, 505), but apparently neither accepted. He also wrote to Lake on 8 Dec. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxv. 37) hoping that Sackville might be allowed to take part, not in the mask, but in the tilt (as in fact he did), at his cousin's wedding. On 30 Dec. Chamberlain sent Alice Carleton an accurate list of the actual maskers (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxv. 53; Birch, i. 285), with the comment, 'I hear little or no commendation of the mask made by the lords that night, either for device or dancing, only it was rich and costly'. The 'great bravery' and masks at the wedding are briefly recorded by Gawdy, 175, and a list of the festivities is given by Howes in Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 928. He records five in all: 'A gallant maske of Lords' [Campion's] on 26 Dec., the wedding night, 'a maske of the princes gentlemen' on 29 Dec. and 3 Jan. [Jonson's *Irish Mask*], '2 seuerall pleasant maskes' at Merchant Taylors on 4 Jan. [including Middleton's lost *Mask of Cupid*], and a Gray's Inn mask on 6 Jan. [*Flowers*].

The ambassadorial complications of the year are described by Finett, 12 (cf. Sullivan, 84). Spain had been in the background at the royal wedding of the previous year, and as there was a new Spanish ambassador (Sarmiento) this was made an excuse for asking him with the archiducal ambassador on 26 Dec. and the French and Venetian ambassadors on 6 Jan. By way of compensation these were also asked to the Roxburghe-Drummond wedding on 2 Feb. They received purely formal invitations to the Somerset wedding, and returned excuses for staying away. The agents of Florence and Savoy were asked, and when they raised the question of precedence were told that they were not ambassadors and might scramble for places.

I am not quite clear whether the costs of this mask, as well as of Jonson's *Irish Mask*, fell on the Exchequer. Chamberlain's notice of 25 Nov. (*vide supra*) is not conclusive. Reyher, 523, assigns most of the financial documents to the *Irish Mask*, but an account of the Works for an arch and pilasters to the Lords' mask; and the payment to Meredith Morgan in Sept. 1614 (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxvii. 92), which he does not cite, appears from the Calendar to be for more than one mask. The *Irish Mask* needed no costly scenery.

J[ohn] B[ruce], (*Camden Misc.* v), describes a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century forgery, of unknown origin, purporting to describe one of the masks at the Somerset wedding and other events. The details used belong partly to 1613–14 and partly to 1614–15.

ELIZABETH, LADY CARY (1586–1639).

Mariam. 1602 <> 5.

I have omitted a notice of this closet play, printed in 1613, by a slip, and can only add to the edition (*M.S.C.*) of 1914 that Lady Cary was married in 1602 (Chamberlain, 199), not 1600. She wrote an earlier play on a Syracusan theme.

SIR ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY (1563–1612).

But few details of the numerous royal entertainments given by Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his sons Sir Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley and afterwards Earl of Exeter, and Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, are upon record. It is, on the whole, convenient to note here, rather than in ch. xxiv, those which have a literary element. Robert Cecil contributed to that of 1594, and possibly to others.

i. *Theobalds Entertainment of 1571* (*William Lord Burghley*).

Elizabeth was presented with verses and a picture of the newly-finished house on 21 Sept. 1571 (Haynes-Murdin, ii. 772).

ii. *Theobalds Entertainment of 1591* (*William Lord Burghley*).

Elizabeth came for 10–20 May 1591, and knighted Robert Cecil.

(*a*) Strype, *Annals*, iv. 108, and Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 75, print a mock charter, dated 10 May 1591, and addressed by Lord Chancellor Hatton, in the Queen's name, 'To the disconsolate and retired spryte, the Heremite of Tybole', in which he is called upon to return to the world.

(*b*) Collier, i. 276, followed by Bullen, *Peele*, ii. 305, prints from a MS. in the collection of Frederic Ouvry a Hermit's speech, subscribed with the initials G. P. and said by Collier to be in Peele's hand. This is a petition to the Queen for a writ to cause the founder of the hermit's cell to restore it. This founder has himself occupied it for two years and a few months since the death of his wife, and has obliged the hermit to govern his house. Numerous personal allusions make it clear that the 'founder' is Burghley, and as Lady Burghley died 4 April 1589, the date should be in 1591.

(*c*) Bullen, *Peele*, ii. 309, following Dyce, prints two speeches by a Gardener and a Mole Catcher, communicated by Collier to Dyce from another MS. The ascription to Peele is conjectural, and R. W. Bond, *Lyly*, i. 417, claims them, also by conjecture, for Lyly. However this may be, they are addressed to the Queen, who has reigned thirty-three years, and introduce the gift of a jewel in a box. Elizabeth had not reigned full thirty-three years in May 1591, but perhaps near enough. That Theobalds was the locality is indicated by a reference to Pymms at Edmonton, a Cecil property 6 miles from Theobalds, as occupied by 'the youngest son of this honourable old man'. One is bound to mistrust manuscripts communicated by Collier, but there is evidence that Burghley retired to 'Colling's Lodge' near Theobalds in grief at his wife's death in 1589, and also that in 1591, when he failed to establish Robert Cecil as Secretary, he made a diplomatic pretence of giving up public life (Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, 439, 446).

iii. *Theobalds Entertainment of 1594* (*William Lord Burghley*).

The Hermit was brought into play again when Elizabeth next visited Theobalds, in 1594 (13–23 June). He delivered an Oration, in which he recalled the recovery of his cell at her last coming, and expressed a fear that 'my young master' might wish to use it. No doubt the alternative was that Robert Cecil should become Secretary. The oration, 'penned by Sir Robert Cecill', is printed by Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 241, from *Bodl. Rawlinson MS. D* 692 (*Bodl.* 13464), f. 106.

iv. *Wimbledon Entertainment of 1599* (*Thomas Lord Burghley*).

A visit of 27–30 July 1599 is the probable occasion for an address of welcome, not mimetic in character, by a porter, John Joye, preserved in *Bodl. Tanner MS.* 306, f. 266, and endorsed 'The queenes entertainment att Wimbledon 99'.

v. *Cecil House Entertainment of 1602* (*Sir Robert Cecil*).

Elizabeth dined with Cecil on 6 Dec. 1602.

(*a*) Manningham, 99, records, 'Sundry devises; at hir entraunce, three women, a maid, a widdowe, and a wife, each commending their owne states, but the Virgin preferred; an other, on attired in habit of a Turke desyrous to see hir Majestie, but as a straunger without hope of such grace, in regard of the retired manner of hir Lord, complained; answere made, howe gracious hir Majestie in admitting to presence, and howe able to discourse in anie language; whiche the Turke admired, and, admitted, presents hir with a riche mantle.' Chamberlain, 169, adds, 'You like the Lord Kepers devises so ill, that I cared not to get Mr. Secretaries that were not much better, saving a pretty dialogue of John Davies 'twixt a Maide, a widow, and a wife.' *A Contention Betwixt a Wife, a Widdow, and a Maide* was registered on 2 Apr. 1604 (Arber iii. 258), appeared with the initials I. D. in Francis Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (ed. 2, 1608) and is reprinted by Grosart in the *Poems* of Sir John Davies (q.v.) from the ed. of 1621, where it is ascribed to 'Sir I. D.'.

(*b*) Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 76, prints from *Harl. MS.* 286, f. 248, 'A Conference betweene a Gent. Huisher and a Poet, before the Queene, at M^{r}. Secretaryes House. By John Davies.' He assigns it to 1591, but Cecil was not then Secretary, and it probably belongs to 1602.

(*c*) *Hatfield MSS.* xii. 568 has verses endorsed '1602' and beginning 'Now we have present made, To Cynthya, Phebe, Flora'.

vi. *Theobalds Entertainment of 1606* (*Earl of Salisbury*).

See s.v. Jonson; also the mask described by Harington (ch. v).

vii. *Theobalds Entertainment of 1607* (*Earl of Salisbury*).

See s.v. Jonson.

GEORGE CHAPMAN (*c.* 1560–1634).

Chapman was born in 1559 or 1560 near Hitchin in Hertfordshire. Anthony Wood believed him to have been at Oxford, and possibly also at Cambridge, but neither residence can be verified. It is conjectured that residence at Hitchin and soldiering in the Low Countries may have helped to fill the long period before his first appearance as a writer, unless indeed the isolated translation *Fedele and Fortunio* (1584) is his, with *The Shadow of Night* (1594). This shows him a member of the philosophical circle of which the centre was Thomas Harriot. The suggestion of W. Minto that he was the 'rival poet' of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* is elaborated by Acheson, who believes that Shakespeare drew him as Holophernes and as Thersites, and accepted by Robertson; it would be more plausible if any relation between the Earl of Southampton and Chapman, earlier than a stray dedication shared with many others in 1609, could be established. By 1596, and possibly earlier, Chapman was in Henslowe's pay as a writer for the Admiral's. His plays, which proved popular, included, besides the extant *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* and *Humorous Day's Mirth*, five others, of which some and perhaps all have vanished. These were *The Isle of a Woman*, afterwards called *The Fount of New Fashions* (May–Oct. 1598), *The World Runs on Wheels*, afterwards called *All Fools but the Fool* (Jan.–July 1599), *Four Kings* (Oct. 1598–Jan. 1599), a 'tragedy of Bengemens plotte' (Oct.–Jan. 1598; cf. s.v. Jonson) and a pastoral tragedy (July 1599). His reputation both for tragedy and for comedy was established when Meres wrote his *Palladis Tamia* in 1598. During 1599 Chapman disappears from Henslowe's diary, and in 1600 or soon after began his series of plays for the Chapel, afterwards Queen's Revels, children. This lasted until 1608, when his first indiscretion of *Eastward Ho!* (1605), in reply to which he was caricatured as Bellamont in Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho!*, was followed by a second in *Byron.* He now probably dropped his connexion with the stage, at any rate for many years. After completing Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* in 1598, he had begun his series of Homeric translations, and these Prince Henry, to whom he had been appointed sewer in ordinary at the beginning of James's reign, now bade him pursue, with the promise of £300, to which on his deathbed in 1612 he added another of a life-pension. These James failed to redeem, and Chapman also lost his place as sewer. His correspondence contains complaints of poverty, probably of this or a later date, and indications of an attempt, with funds supplied by a brother, to mend his fortunes by marriage with a widow. He found a new patron in the Earl of Somerset, wrote one of the masks for the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613, and went on with Homer, completing his task in 1624. He lived until 12 May 1634, and his tomb by Inigo Jones still stands at St. Giles-in-the-Fields. In his later years he seems to have touched up some of his dramatic work and possibly to have lent a hand to the younger dramatist Shirley. Jonson told Drummond in 1619 that 'next himself, only Fletcher and Chapman could make a mask', and that 'Chapman and Fletcher were loved of him' (Laing, 4, 12), and some of Jonson's extant letters appear to confirm the kindly relations which these phrases suggest. But a fragment of invective against Jonson left by Chapman on his death-bed suggests that they did not endure for ever.

Collections

1873. [R. H. Shepherd.] *The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman.* 3 vols. (*Pearson reprints*). [Omits *Eastward Ho!*]

1874–5. R. H. Shepherd. *The Works of George Chapman.* 3 vols. [With Swinburne's essay. Includes *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* and *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools.*]

1895. W. L. Phelps. *The Best Plays of George Chapman* (*Mermaid Series*). [*All Fools,* the two *Bussy* and the two *Byron* plays.]

1910–14. T. M. Parrott. *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman.* 3 vols. [Includes *Sir Giles Goosecap, The Ball, Alphonsus Emperor of Germany,* and *Revenge for Honour.* The *Poems* not yet issued.]

Dissertations: F. Bodenstedt, *C. in seinem Verhältniss zu Shakespeare* (1865, *Jahrbuch,* i. 300); A. C. Swinburne, *G. C.: A Critical Essay* (1875); E. Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen G. C.'s,* &c. (1897, *Quellen und Forschungen,* lxxxii); B. Dobell, *Newly discovered Documents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods* (1901, *Ath.* i. 369, 403, 433, 465); A. Acheson, *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet* (1903); E. E. Stoll, *On the Dates of some of C.'s Plays* (1905, *M. L. N.* xx. 206); T. M. Parrott, *Notes on the Text of C.'s Plays* (1907, *Anglia,* xxx. 349, 501); F. L. Schoell, *Chapman as a Comic Writer* (1911, *Paris diss.,* unprinted, but used by Parrott); J. M. Robertson, *Shakespeare and C.* (1917).

PLAYS

The Blind Beggar of Alexandria. 1596

S.R. 1598, Aug. 15. 'A booke intituled The blynde begger of Alexandrya, vppon Condicon thatt yt belonge to noe other man.' *William Jones* (Arber, iii. 124).

1598. The Blinde begger of Alexandria, most pleasantly discoursing his variable humours in disguised shapes full of conceite and pleasure. As it hath beene sundry times publickly acted in London, by the right honorable the Earle of Nottingham, Lord high Admirall his seruantes. By George Chapman: Gentleman. *For William Jones.*

The play was produced by the Admiral's on 12 Feb. 1596; properties were bought for a revival in May and June 1601. P. A. Daniel shows in *Academy* (1888), ii. 224, that five of the six passages under the head of *Irus* in *Edward Pudsey's Notebook*, taken in error by R. Savage, *Stratford upon Avon Notebooks*, i. 7 (1888) to be from an unknown play of Shakespeare, appear with slight variants in the 1598 text. This, which is very short, probably represents a 'cut' stage copy. Pudsey is traceable as an actor (cf. ch. xv) in 1626.

An Humorous Day's Mirth. 1597

1599. A pleasant Comedy entituled: An Humerous dayes Myrth. As it hath beene sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable the Earle of Nottingham Lord high Admirall his seruants. By G. C. *Valentine Syms.*

The 1598 inventories of the Admiral's (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 115, 119) include Verone's son's hose and Labesha's cloak, which justifies Fleay, i. 55, in identifying the play with the comedy of *Humours* produced by that company on 1 May 1597. It is doubtless also the play of which John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton (Chamberlain, 4) on 11 June 1597, 'We have here a new play of humors in very great request, and I was drawne along to it by the common applause, but my opinion of it is (as the fellow saide of the shearing of hogges), that there was a great crie for so litle wolle.'

The Gentleman Usher. 1602 (?)

[*MS.*] For an unverified MS. cf. s.v. *Monsieur D'Olive.*

S.R. 1605, Nov. 26 (Harsnett). 'A book called Vincentio and Margaret.' *Valentine Syms* (iii. 305).

1606. The Gentleman Usher. By George Chapman. *V. S. for Thomas Thorpe.*

Edition by T. M. Parrott (1907, *B. L.*).—*Dissertation*: O. Cohn, *Zu den Quellen von C.'s G. U.* (1912, *Frankfort Festschrift*, 229).

There is no indication of a company, but the use of a mask and songs confirm the general probability that the play was written for the Chapel or Revels. It was later than *Sir Giles Goosecap* (q.v.), to the title-rôle of which II. i. 81 alludes, but of this also the date is uncertain. Parrott's '1602' is plausible enough, but 1604 is also possible.

All Fools. *1604* (?)

1605. Al Fooles A Comedy, Presented at the Black Fryers, And lately before his Maiestie. Written by George Chapman. *For Thomas Thorpe.* [Prologue and Epilogue. The copies show many textual variations.]

Editions in Dodsley[2, 3] (1780–1827) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii) and T. M. Parrott (1907, *B. L.*).—*Dissertation*: M. Stier, *C.'s All Fools mit Berücksichtigung seiner Quellen* (1904, *Halle diss.*).

The Court performance was on 1 Jan. 1605 (cf. App. B), and the play was therefore probably on the Blackfriars stage in 1604. There is a reminiscence of Ophelia's flowers in II. i. 232, and the prologue seems to criticize the *Poetomachia*.

> Who can show cause why th' ancient comic vein
> Of Eupolis and Cratinus (now reviv'd
> Subject to personal application)
> Should be exploded by some bitter spleens.

But in Jan.–July 1599 Henslowe paid Chapman £8 10*s.* on behalf of the Admiral's for *The World Runs on Wheels.* The last entry is for 'his boocke called the world Rones a whelles & now all foolles but the foolle'. This seems to me, more clearly than to Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 203), to indicate a single play and a changed title. I am less certain, however, that he is right in adopting the view of Fleay, i. 59, that it was an earlier version of the Blackfriars play. It may be so, and the date of 'the seventeenth of November, fifteen hundred and so forth' used for a deed in IV. i. 331 lends some confirmation. But the change of company raises a doubt, and there is no 'fool' in *All Fools.* An alternative conjecture is that the Admiral's reverted to the original title for their play, leaving a modification of the amended one available for Chapman in 1604. Collier (Dodsley[3]) printed a dedicatory sonnet to Sir Thomas Walsingham. This exists only in a single copy, in which it has been printed on an inserted leaf. T. J. Wise (*Ath.* 1908, i. 788) and Parrott, ii. 726, show clearly that it is a forgery.

Monsieur D'Olive. *1604*

[*MS.*] See *infra.*

1606. Monsieur D'Olive. A Comedie, as it was sundrie times acted by her Maiesties children at the Blacke-Friers. By George Chapman. *T. C. for William Holmes.*

Edition by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* iii).

The title-page suggests a Revels rather than a Chapel play, and Fleay, i. 59, Stoll, and Parrott all arrive at 1604 for the date, which is rendered probable by allusions to the Jacobean knights (I. i. 263; IV. ii. 77), to the calling in of monopolies (I. i. 284), to the preparation of costly embassies (IV. ii. 114), and perhaps to the royal dislike of tobacco (II. ii. 164). There is a reminiscence of *Hamlet*, III. ii. 393, in II. ii. 91:

> our great men
> Like to a mass of clouds that now seem like
> An elephant, and straightways like an ox,
> And then a mouse.

On the inadequate ground that woman's 'will' is mentioned in II. i. 89, Fleay regarded the play as a revision of one written by Chapman for the Admiral's in 1598 under the title of *The Will of a Woman*. But Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 194) interprets Henslowe's entry 'the iylle of a woman' as *The Isle of Women*. The 1598 play seems to have been renamed *The Fount of New Fashions*. Hazlitt, *Manual*, 89, 94, says part Heber's sale included MSS. both of *The Fount of New Fashions*, and of *The Gentleman Usher* under the title of *The Will of a Woman*, but Greg could not find these in the sale catalogue.

Bussy D'Ambois. 1604

S. R. 1607, June 3 (Buck). 'The tragedie of Busye D'Amboise. Made by George Chapman.' *William Aspley* (Arber, iii. 350).

1607. Bussy D'Ambois. A Tragedie: As it hath been often presented at Paules. *For William Aspley.*

1608. *For William Aspley.* [Another issue.]

1641. As it hath been often Acted with great Applause. Being much corrected and amended by the Author before his death. *A. N. for Robert Lunne.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

1646. *T. W. for Robert Lunne* [Another issue.]

1657. . . . the Author, George Chapman, Gent. Before his death. *For Joshua Kirton.* [Another issue.]

Editions by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* iii), F. S. Boas (1905, *B. L.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertation*: T. M. Parrott, *The Date of C.'s B. d'A.* (1908, *M. L. R.* iii. 126).

The play was acted by Paul's, who disappear in 1606. It has been suggested that it dates in some form from 1598 or earlier, because Pero is a female character, and an Admiral's inventory of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 120) has 'Perowes sewt, which Wm Sley were'. As Sly had been a Chamberlain's man since 1594, this must have been a relic of some obsolete play. But the impossible theory seems to have left a trace on the suggestion of Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 198) that Chapman may have worked on the basis of the series of plays on *The Civil Wars of France* written by Dekker (q.v.) and others for the Admiral's at a later date in 1598 than that of the inventories. From one of these plays, however, might come the reminiscence of a 'trusty Damboys' in *Satiromastix* (1601), IV. i. 174. For *Bussy* itself a jest on 'leap-year' (I. ii. 82) points to either 1600 or 1604, and allusions to Elizabeth as an 'old queen' (I. ii. 12), to a 'knight of the new edition' (I. ii. 124), with which may be compared Day, *Isle of Gulls* (1606), i. 3, 'gentlemen . . . of the best and last edition, of the Dukes own making', and to a 'new denizened lord' (I. ii. 173) point to 1604 rather than 1600. The play was revived by the King's men and played at Court on 7 April 1634 (*Variorum*, iii. 237), and to this date probably belongs the prologue in the edition of 1641. Here the actors declare that the piece, which evidently others had ventured to play, was

> known,
> And still believed in Court to be our own.

They add that

> Field is gone,
> Whose action first did give it name,

and that his successor (perhaps Taylor) is prevented by his grey beard from taking the young hero, which therefore falls to a 'third man', who has been liked as Richard. Gayton, *Festivous Notes on Don Quixote* (1654), 25, tells us that Eliard Swanston played Bussy; doubtless he is the third man. The revision of the text, incorporated in the 1641 edition, may obviously date either from this or for some earlier revival. It is not necessary to assume that the performances by Field referred to in the prologue were earlier than 1616, when he joined the King's. Parrott, however, makes it plausible that they might have been for the Queen's Revels at Whitefriars in 1609–12, about the time when the *Revenge* was played by the same company. If so, the Revels must have acquired *Bussy* after the Paul's performances ended in 1606. It is, of course, quite possible that they were only recovering a play originally written for them, and carried by Kirkham to Paul's in 1605.

Eastward Ho! 1605

With Jonson and Marston.

S. R. 1605, Sept. 4 (Wilson). 'A Comedie called Eastward Ho:' *William Aspley and Thomas Thorp* (Arber, iii. 300).

1605. Eastward Hoe. As It was playd in the Black-friers. By The Children of her Maiesties Reuels. Made by Geo: Chapman. Ben Ionson. Ioh: Marston. *For William Aspley.* [Prologue and Epilogue. Two issues (*a*) and (*b*). Of (*a*) only signatures E 3 and E 4 exist, inserted between signatures E 2 and E 3 of a complete copy of (*b*) in the Dyce collection; neither Greg, *Masques*, cxxii, nor Parrott, *Comedies*, 862, is quite accurate here.]

1605. *For William Aspley.* [Another edition, reset.]

Editions in Dodsley[1, 2, 3] (1744–1825), by W. R. Chetwood in *Memoirs of Ben Jonson* (1756), W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii), F. E. Schelling (1903, *B. L.*), J. W. Cunliffe (1913, *R. E. C.* ii), J. S. Farmer (1914, *S. F. T.*); and with Marston's *Works* (q.v.).—*Dissertations*: C. Edmonds, *The Original of the Hero in the Comedy of E. H.* (*Athenaeum*, 13 Oct. 1883); H. D. Curtis, *Source of the Petronel-Winifred Plot in E. H.* (1907, *M. P.* v. 105).

Jonson told Drummond in 1619 (Laing, 20): 'He was dilated by Sir James Murray to the King, for writing something against the Scots, in a play Eastward Hoe, and voluntarly imprissoned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was, that they should then [have] had their ears cut and noses. After their delivery, he banqueted all his friends; there was Camden, Selden, and others; at the midst of the feast his old Mother dranke to him, and shew him a paper which she had (if the sentence had taken execution) to have mixed in the prisson among his drinke, which was full of lustie strong poison, and that she was no churle, she told, she minded first to have drunk of it herself.' The *Hatfield MSS.* contain a letter (i) from Jonson (Cunningham, *Jonson*, i. xlix), endorsed '1605', to the Earl of Salisbury, created 4 May 1605. Another copy is in the

MS. described by B. Dobell, with ten other letters, of which Dobell, followed by Schelling, prints three by Jonson, (ii) to an unnamed lord, probably Suffolk, (iii) to an unnamed earl, (iv) to an unnamed 'excellentest of Ladies', and three by Chapman, (v) to the King, (vi) to Lord Chamberlain Suffolk, (vii) to an unnamed lord, probably also Suffolk. These, with four others by Chapman not printed, have no dates, but all, with (i), seem to refer to the same joint imprisonment of the two poets. In (i) Jonson says that he and Chapman are in prison 'unexamined and unheard'. The cause is a play of which 'no man can justly complain', for since his 'first error' and its 'bondage' [1597] Jonson has 'attempered my style' and his books have never 'given offence to a nation, to a public order or state, or to any person of honour or authority'. The other letters add a few facts. In (v) Chapman says that the 'chief offences are but two clawses, and both of them not our owne'; in (vi) that 'our unhappie booke was presented without your Lordshippes allowance'; and in (vii) that they are grateful for an expected pardon of which they have heard from Lord Aubigny. Castelain, *Jonson*, 901, doubts whether this correspondence refers to *Eastward Ho!*, chiefly because there is no mention of Marston, and after hesitating over *Sejanus*, suggests *Sir Giles Goosecap* (q.v.), which is not worth consideration. Jonson was in trouble for *Sejanus* (q.v.), but on grounds not touched on in these letters, and Chapman was not concerned. I feel no doubt that the imprisonment was that for *Eastward Ho!* Probably Drummond was wrong about Marston, who escaped. His 'absence' is noted in the t.p. of Q_2 of *The Fawn* (1606), and chaffed by A. Nixon, *The Black Year* (1606): 'Others . . . arraign other mens works . . . when their own are sacrificed in Paul's Churchyard, for bringing in the Dutch Courtesan to corrupt English conditions and sent away westward for carping both at court, city, and country.' Evidently Jonson and Chapman, justly or not, put the blame of the obnoxious clauses upon him, and renewed acrimony against Jonson may be traced in his Epistles of 1606. I am inclined to think that it was the publication of the play in the autumn of 1605, rather than its presentation on the stage, that brought the poets into trouble. This would account for the suppression of a passage reflecting upon the Scots (III. iii. 40–7) which appeared in the first issue of Q_1 (cf. Parrott, ii. 862). Other quips at the intruding nation, at James's liberal knightings, and even at his northern accent (I. ii. 50, 98; II. iii. 83; IV. i. 179) appear to have escaped censure. Nor was the play as a whole banned. It passed to the Lady Elizabeth's, who revived it in 1613 (*Henslowe Papers*, 71) and gave it at Court on 25 Jan. 1614 (cf. App. B). There seems to be an allusion to Suffolk's intervention in Chapman's gratulatory verses to *Sejanus* (1605):

> Most Noble Suffolke, who by Nature Noble,
> And judgement vertuous, cannot fall by Fortune,
> Who when our Hearde, came not to drink, but trouble
> The Muses waters, did a Wall importune,
> (Midst of assaults) about their sacred River.

The imprisonment was over by Nov. 1605, when Jonson (q.v.) was employed about the Gunpowder plot. I put it and the correspondence in Oct. or Nov. The play may have been staged at any time between that and the staging of Dekker and Webster's *Westward Hoe*, late in 1604, to which its prologue refers. Several attempts have been made to divide up the play. Fleay, ii. 81, gives Marston I. i–II. i, Chapman II. ii–IV. i, Jonson IV. ii–V. iv. Parrott gives Marston I. i–II. ii, IV. ii, V. i, Chapman II. iii–IV. i, Jonson the prologue and V. ii–V. Cunliffe gives Marston I, III. iii and V. i, the rest to Chapman, and nothing to Jonson but plotting and supervision. All make III. iii a Chapman scene, so that, if Chapman spoke the truth, Marston must have interpolated the obnoxious clauses.

May Day. c. 1609

1611. May-Day. A witty Comedie, diuers times acted at the Blacke Fryers. Written by George Chapman. *For John Browne.*

Edition by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* iv).—*Dissertation*: A. L. Stiefel, *G. C. und das italienische Drama* (1899, *Jahrbuch*, xxxv. 180).

The *chorus iuvenum* with which the play opens fixes it to the occupancy of the Blackfriars by the Chapel and Revels in 1600–9. Parrott suggests 1602 on the ground of reminiscences of 1599–1601 plays, of which the most important is a quotation in IV. i. 18 of Marston's *2 Antonio and Mellida* (1599), V. ii. 20. But the force of this argument is weakened by the admission of a clear imitation in I. i. 378 *sqq.* of ch. v. of Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook* (1609), which it seems to me a little arbitrary to explain by a revision. The other reasons given by Fleay, i. 57, for a date *c.* 1601 are fantastic. So is his suggestion that the play is founded on the anonymous *Disguises* produced by the Admiral's on 2 Oct. 1595, which, as pointed out by Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 177), rests merely on the fact that the title would be appropriate.

The Widow's Tears. 1603 < > 9

S. R. 1612, Apr. 17. *John Browne* [see *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*].

1612. The Widdowes Teares. A Comedie. As it was often presented in the blacke and white Friers. Written by Geor: Chap. *For John Browne.* [Epistle to Jo. Reed of Mitton, Gloucestershire, signed 'Geo. Chapman'.]

Edition in Dodsley[1, 2, 3] (1744–1827).

The play was given at Court on 27 Feb. 1613, but the reference on the title-page to Blackfriars shows that it was originally produced by the Chapel or Revels not later than 1609 and probably before *Byron* (1608). Wallace, ii. 115, identifies it with the Chapel play seen by the Duke of Stettin in 1602 (cf. ch. xii), but Gerschow's description in no way, except for the presence of a widow, fits the plot. The reference to the 'number of strange knights abroad' (iv. 1. 28) and perhaps also that to the crying down of monopolies (1. i. 125) are Jacobean, rather than Elizabethan (cf. *M. d'Olive*). Fleay, i. 61, and Parrott think that the satire of justice in the last act shows resentment at Chapman's treatment in connexion with *Eastward Ho!*, and suggest 1605. It would be equally sound to argue that this is just the date when Chapman would have been most careful to avoid criticism of this kind. The Epistle says, 'This poor comedy (of many desired to see printed) I thought not utterly unworthy that affectionate design in me'.

Charles, Duke of Byron. 1608

S. R. 1608, June 5 (Buck). 'A booke called The Conspiracy and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byronn written by Georg Chapman.' *Thomas Thorp* (Arber, iii. 380).

1608. The Conspiracie, And Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron, Marshall of France. Acted lately in two playes, at the Black-Friers. Written by George Chapman. *G. Eld for Thomas Thorpe.* [Epistle to Sir Thomas and Thomas Walsingham, signed 'George Chapman', and Prologue. Half-title to Part II, 'The Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron. By George Chapman.']

1625. . . . at the Blacke-Friers, and other publique Stages. . . . *N. O. for Thomas Thorpe.* [Separate t.p. to Part II.]

Dissertation: T. M. Parrott, *The Text of C.'s Byron* (1908, *M. L. R.* iv. 40).

There can be no doubt (cf. vol. ii, p. 53) that this is the play denounced by the French ambassador, Antoine Lefèvre de la Boderie, in the following letter to Pierre Brulart de Puisieux, Marquis de Sillery, on 8 April 1608 (printed by J. J. Jusserand in *M. L. R.* vi. 203, from *Bibl. Nat. MS. Fr.* 15984):

'Environ la micaresme ces certains comédiens à qui j'avois fait deffendre de jouer l'histoire du feu mareschal de Biron, voyant toutte la cour dehors, ne laissèrent de le faire, et non seulement cela, mais y introduisirent la Royne et Madame de Verneuil, la première traitant celle-cy fort mal de paroles, et luy donnant un soufflet. En ayant eu advis de-là à quelques jours, aussi-tost je m'en allay trouver le Comte de Salsbury et luy fis plainte de ce que non seulement ces compaignons-là contrevenoient à la deffense qui leur avoit esté faicte, mais y adjoustoient des choses non seulement plus importantes, mais qui n'avoient que faire avec le mareschal de Biron, et au partir de-là estoient toutes faulses, dont en vérité il se montra fort courroucé. Et dès l'heure mesme envoya pour les prendre. Toutteffois il ne s'en trouva que trois, qui aussi-tost furent menez en la prison où ilz sont encore; mais le principal qui est le compositeur eschapa. Un jour ou deux devant, ilz avoient dépêché leur Roy, sa mine d'Escosse et tous ses Favorits d'une estrange sorte; [*in cipher* car apres luy avoir fait dépiter le ciel sur le vol d'un oyseau, et faict battre un gentilhomme pour avoir rompu ses chiens, ilz le dépeignoient ivre pour le moins une fois le jour. Ce qu'ayant sçu, je pensay qu'il seroit assez en colère contre lesdits comédiens, sans que je l'y misse davantage, et qu'il valoit mieux référer leur châtiment à l'irrévérence qu'ilz lui avoient portée, qu'à ce qu'ilz pourroient avoir dit desdites Dames], et pour ce, je me résolus de n'en plus parler, mais considérer ce qu'ilz firent. Quand ledit Sieur Roy a esté icy, il a tesmoigné estre extrèmement irrité contre ces maraults-là, et a commandé qu'ilz soient chastiez et surtout qu'on eust à faire diligence de trouver le compositeur. Mesme il a fait deffense que l'on n'eust plus à jouer de Comédies dedans Londres, pour lever laquelle deffense quatre autres compagnies qui y sont encore, offrent desja cent mille francs, lesquels pourront bien leur en redonner la permission ; mais pour le moins sera-ce à condition qu'ilz ne représenteront plus aucune histoire moderne ni ne parleront des choses du temps à peine de la vie. Si j'eusse creu qu'il y eust eu de la suggestion en ce qu'avoient dit lesdits comédiens, j'en eusse fait du bruit davantage ; mais ayant tout subjet d'estimer le contraire, j'ay pensay que le meilleur estoit de ne point le remuer davantage, et laisser audit Roy la vengeance de son fait mesme. Touttefois si vous jugez delà, Monsieur, que je n'y aye fait assez, il est encore temps.'

In *M. L. Review*, iv. 158, I reprinted a less good text from *Ambassades de M. De La Boderie* (1750), iii. 196. The letter is often dated 1605 and ascribed to De La Boderie's predecessor, M. de Beaumont, on the strength of a summary in F. L. G. von Raumer, *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ii. 219. The text has been ruthlessly censored ; in particular the peccant scene has been cut out of Act II of Part ii, and most of Act IV of Part i, dealing with Byron's visit to England, has been suppressed or altered. The Epistle offers 'these poor dismembered poems', and they are probably the subject of two undated and unsigned letters printed by Dobell in *Ath.* (1901), i. 433. The first, to one Mr. Crane, secretary to the Duke of Lennox, inquires whether the writer can leave a 'shelter' to which 'the austeritie of this offended time' has sent him. The other is by 'the poor subject of your office' and evidently addressed to the Master of the Revels, and complains of his strictness in revising for the press what the Council had passed for presentment. Worcester's men had an anonymous play of *Byron* (*Burone* or *Berowne*) in 1602, and Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 231) thinks that to this Chapman's may have borne some relation. But Chapman's source was Grimeston, *General Inventorie of the History of France* (1607).

The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. c. 1610

S. R. 1612, Apr. 17 (Buck). 'Twoo play bookes, th' one called, The revenge of Bussy D'Amboys, beinge a tragedy, thother called, The wydowes teares, beinge a Comedy, bothe written by George Chapman.' *Browne* (Arber, iii. 481). [Only a 6*d*. fee charged for the two.]

1613. The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. A Tragedie. As it hath beene often presented at the priuate Play-house in the White-Fryers. Written by George Chapman, Gentleman. *T. S., sold by Iohn Helme.* [Epistle to Sir Thomas Howard, signed 'Geo. Chapman'.]

Edition by F. S. Boas (1905, *B. L.*).

Boas has shown that Chapman used Grimeston, *General Inventorie of the History of France* (1607). Probably the play was written for the Queen's Revels to accompany *Bussy*. But whether it was first produced at Whitefriars in 1609–12, or at Blackfriars in 1608–9, can hardly be settled. The title-page and the probability that the

Byron affair would render it judicious to defer further plays by Chapman rather point to the Whitefriars. The Epistle commends the play because 'Howsoever therefore in the scenical presentation it might meet with some maligners, yet considering even therein it passed with approbation of more worthy judgments'.

Chabot Admiral of France. c. 1613 (?)

S. R. 1638, Oct. 24 (Wykes). 'A Booke called Phillip Chalbott Admirall of France and the Ball. By James Shirley. vj^{d}.' *Crooke and William Cooke* (Arber, iv. 441).

1639. The Tragedie of Chabot Admirall of France. As it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the private House in Drury Lane. Written by George Chapman, and James Shirly. *Tho. Cotes for Andrew Crooke and William Cooke.*

Edition by E. Lehman (1906, *Pennsylvania Univ. Publ.*).

The play was licensed by Herbert as Shirley's on 29 April 1635 (*Variorum*, iii. 232). But critics agree in finding much of Chapman in it, and suppose Shirley to have been a reviser rather than a collaborator. Parrott regards I. i, II. iii, and V. ii as substantially Chapman; II. i and III. i as substantially Shirley; and the rest as Chapman revised. He suggests that Chapman's version was for the Queen's Revels *c.* 1613. Fleay, ii. 241, put it in 1604, but it cannot be earlier than the 1611 edition of its source, E. Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France.*

Caesar and Pompey. c. 1613 (?)

S. R. 1631, May 18 (Herbert). 'A Playe called Caesar and Pompey by George Chapman.' *Harper* (Arber, iv. 253).

1631. The Warres of Pompey and Caesar. Out of whose euents is euicted this Proposition. Only a iust man is a freeman. By G. C. *Thomas Harper, sold by Godfrey Emondson, and Thomas Alchorne.* [Epistle to the Earl of Middlesex, signed 'Geo. Chapman'.]

1631. . . . Caesar and Pompey: A Roman Tragedy, declaring their Warres. . . . By George Chapman. *Thomas Harper* [&c.]. [Another issue.]

1653. . . . As it was Acted at the Black-Fryers. . . . [Another issue.]

Chapman says that the play was written 'long since' and 'never touched at the stage'. Various dates have been conjectured; the last, Parrott's 1612–13, 'based upon somewhat intangible evidence of style and rhythm' will do as well as another. Parrott is puzzled by the 1653 title-page and thinks that, in spite of the Epistle, the play was acted. Might it not have been acted by the King's after the original publication in 1631? Plays on Caesar were so common that it is not worth pursuing the suggestion of Fleay, i. 65, that fragments of the Admiral's anonymous *Caesar and Pompey* of 1594–5 may survive here.

Doubtful and Lost Plays

Chapman's lost plays for the Admiral's men of 1598–9 have already been noted. Two plays, 'The Fatall Love, a French Tragedy', and

'A Tragedy of a Yorkshire Gentlewoman and her sonne', were entered as his in the *S. R.* by Humphrey Moseley on 29 June 1660 (Eyre, ii. 271). They appear, without Chapman's name, in Warburton's list of burnt plays (W. W. Greg in *3 Library*, ii. 231). The improbable ascriptions to Chapman of *The Ball* (1639) and *Revenge for Honour* (1654) on their t.ps. and of *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools* (1619) by Kirkman in 1661 do not inspire confidence in this late entry, and even if they were Chapman's, the plays were not necessarily of our period. But it has been suggested that *Fatal Love* may be the anonymous *Charlemagne* (q.v.). J. M. Robertson assigns to Chapman *A Lover's Complaint,* accepts the conjecture of Minto and Acheson that he was the 'rival poet' of Shakespeare's *Sonnets,* believes him to be criticized in the Holophernes of *L. L. L.* and regards him as the second hand of *Timon of Athens,* and with varying degrees of assurance as Shakespeare's predecessor, collaborator or reviser, in *Per., T. C., Tp., Ham., Cymb., J. C., T. of S., Hen. VI, Hen. V, C. of E., 2 Gent., All's Well, M. W., K. J., Hen. VIII.* These are issues which cannot be discussed here. The records do not suggest any association between Chapman and the Chamberlain's or King's men, except possibly in Caroline days.

For other ascriptions to Chapman, see in ch. xxiv, *Alphonsus, Fedele and Fortunio, Sir Giles Goosecap, Histriomastix,* and *Second Maiden's Tragedy.*

MASK

Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn Mask. 15 Feb. 1613

S. R. 1613, 27 Feb. (Nidd). 'A booke called the [description] of the maske performed before the kinge by the gent. of the Myddle temple and Lincolns Inne with the maske of Grayes Inne and thInner Temple.' *George Norton* (Arber, iii. 516).

N.D. The Memorable Maske of the two Honorable Houses or Inns of Court; the Middle Temple, and Lyncolnes Inne. As it was performed before the King, at White-Hall on Shroue Munday at night; being the 15. of February 1613. At the princely Celebration of the most Royall Nuptialls of the Palsgraue, and his thrice gratious Princesse Elizabeth, &c. With a description of their whole show; in the manner of their march on horse-backe to the Court from the Maister of the Rolls his house: with all their right Noble consorts, and most showfull attendants. Inuented, and fashioned, with the ground, and speciall structure of the whole worke, By our Kingdomes most Artfull and Ingenious Architect Innigo Iones. Supplied, Aplied, Digested, and Written, By Geo. Chapman. *G. Eld for George Norton.* [Epistle by Chapman to Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls, naming him and Sir Henry Hobart, the Attorney-General, as furtherers of the mask; after text, *A Hymne to Hymen.* R. B. McKerrow, *Bibl. Evidence* (*Bibl. Soc. Trans.* xii. 267), shows the priority of this edition. Parts of the description are separated from the speeches to which they belong, with an explanation that Chapman was 'prevented by the unexpected haste of the printer, which he never let me know, and never sending me a proofe till he had past their speeches, I had no reason to imagine hee could have been so forward '.]

N.D. *F. K. for George Norton.*

Edition in Nichols, *James* (1828), ii. 566.

The maskers, in cloth of silver embroidered with gold, olive-coloured vizards, and feathers on their heads, were Princes of Virginia; the torchbearers also Virginians; the musicians Phoebades or Priests of Virginia; the antimaskers a 'mocke-maske' of Baboons; the presenters Plutus, Capriccio a Man of Wit, Honour, Eunomia her Priest, and Phemis her Herald.

The locality was the Hall at Whitehall, whither the maskers rode from the house of the Master of the Rolls, with their musicians and presenters in chariots, Moors to attend their horses, and a large escort of gentlemen and halberdiers. They dismounted in the tiltyard, where the King and lords beheld them from a gallery. The scene represented a high rock, which cracked to emit Capriccio, and had the Temple of Honour on one side, and a hollow tree, 'the bare receptacle of the baboonerie', on the other. After 'the presentment' and the 'anticke' dance of the 'ante-maske', the top of the rock opened to disclose the maskers and torchbearers in a mine of gold under the setting sun. They descended by steps within the rock. First the torchbearers 'performed another ante-maske, dancing with torches lighted at both ends'. Then the maskers danced two dances, followed by others with the ladies, and finally a 'dance, that brought them off' to the Temple of Honour.

For general notices of the wedding masks, see ch. xxiv and the account of Campion's Lords' mask. The German *Beschreibung* (1613) gives a long abstract of Chapman's (extract in *Sh.-Jahrbuch*, xxix. 172), but this is clearly paraphrased from the author's own description. It was perhaps natural for Sir Edward Philips to write to Carleton on 25 Feb. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxii. 46) that this particular mask was 'praised above all others'. But Chamberlain is no less laudatory (Birch, i. 226):

> 'On Monday night, was the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn mask prepared in the hall at court, whereas the Lords' was in the banqueting room. It went from the Rolls, all up Fleet Street and the Strand, and made such a gallant and glorious show, that it is highly commended. They had forty gentlemen of best choice out of both houses, and the twelve maskers, with their torchbearers and pages, rode likewise upon horses exceedingly well trapped and furnished, besides a dozen little boys, dressed like baboons, that served for an antimask, and, they say, performed it exceedingly well when they came to it; and three open chariots, drawn with four horses apiece, that carried their musicians and other personages that had parts to speak. All which, together with their trumpeters and other attendants, were so well set out, that it is generally held for the best show that hath been seen many a day. The King stood in the gallery to behold them, and made them ride about the Tilt-yard, and then they were received into St. James' Park, and so out, all along the galleries, into the hall, where themselves and their devices, which they say were excellent, made such a glittering show, that the King and all the company were

exceedingly pleased, and especially with their dancing, which was beyond all that hath been seen yet. The King made the masters [? maskers] kiss his hand on parting, and gave them many thanks, saying, he never saw so many proper men together, and himself accompanied them at the banquet, and took care it should be well ordered, and speaks much of them behind their backs, and strokes the Master of the Rolls and Dick Martin, who were chief doers and undertakers.'

Chamberlain wrote more briefly, but with equal commendation, to Winwood (iii. 435), while the Venetian ambassador reported that the mask was danced 'with such finish that it left nothing to be desired' (*V. P.* xii. 532).

The mask is but briefly noticed in the published records of the Middle Temple (Hopwood, 40, 42); more fully in those of Lincoln's Inn (Walker, ii. 150–6, 163, 170, 198, 255, 271). The Inn's share of the cost was £1,086 8*s.* 11*d.* and presumably that of the Middle Temple as much. A levy was made of from £1 10*s.* to £4, according to status, and some of the benchers and others advanced funds. A dispute about the repayment of an advance by Lord Chief Justice Richardson was still unsettled in 1634. An account of Christopher Brooke as 'Expenditour for the maske' includes £100 to Inigo Jones for works for the hall and street, £45 to Robert Johnson for music and songs, £2 to Richard Ansell, matlayer, £1 to the King's Ushers of the Hall, and payments for a pair of stockings and other apparel to 'Heminge's boy', and for the services of John and Robert Dowland, Philip Rosseter and Thomas Ford as musicians. The attitude of the young lawyer may be illustrated from a letter of Sir S. Radcliffe on 1 Feb. (*Letters*, 78), although I do not know his Inn: 'I have taken up 30ˢ of James Singleton, which or yᵉ greater part thereof is to be paid toward yᵉ great mask at yᵉ marriage at Shrovetide. It is a duty for yᵉ honour of our Inn, and unto which I could not refuse to contribute with any credit.'

A letter by Chapman, partly printed by B. Dobell in *Ath.* (1901), i. 466, is a complaint to an unnamed paymaster about his reward for a mask given in the royal presence at a date later than Prince Henry's death. While others of his faculty got 100 marks or £50, he is 'put with taylors and shoomakers, and such snipperados, to be paid by a bill of particulars'. Dobell does not seem to think that this was the wedding mask, but I see no clear reason why it should not have been.

HENRY CHEKE (*c.* 1561).

If the translator, as stated in *D. N. B.*, was Henry the son of Sir John Cheke and was born *c.* 1548, he must have been a precocious scholar.

Free Will > 1561

S. R 1561, May 11. 'ij. bokes, the one called . . . and the other of Frewill.' *John Tysdayle* (Arber, i. 156).

N.D. A certayne Tragedie wrytten fyrst in Italian, by F. N. B. entituled, Freewyl, and translated into Englishe, by Henry Cheeke.

John Tisdale. [Epistles to Lady Cheyne, signed H. C., and to the Reader. Cheyne arms on v° of t.p.]

The translation is from the *Tragedia del Libero Arbitrio* (1546) of Francesco Nigri de Bassano. It is presumably distinct from that which Sir Thomas Hoby in his *Travaile and Life* (*Camden Misc.* x. 63) says he made at Augsburg in Aug.–Nov. 1550, and dedicated to the Marquis of Northampton.

HENRY CHETTLE (*c.* 1560–>1607).

Chettle was apprenticed, as the son of Robert Chettle of London, dyer, to Thomas East, printer, on 29 Sept. 1577, and took up the freedom of the Stationers' Company on 6 Oct. 1584. During 1589–91 he was in partnership as a printer with John Danter and William Hoskins. The partnership was then dissolved, and Chettle's imprint is not found on any book of later date (McKerrow, *Dictionary*, 68, 84, 144). But evidently his connexion with the press and with Danter continued, for in 1596 Nashe inserted into *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (*Works*, iii. 131) a letter from him offering to set up the book and signed 'Your old Compositer, Henry Chettle'. Nashe's *Strange News* (1592) and *Terrors of the Night* (1594) had come, like *Have With You to Saffron Walden* itself, from Danter's press. The object of the letter was to defend Nashe against a charge in Gabriel Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593) of having abused Chettle. He had in fact in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) called *Greenes Groats-worth of Wit* 'a scald triuial lying pamphlet', and none of his doing. And of the *Groatsworth* Chettle had acted as editor, as he himself explains in the Epistle to his *Kind Hearts Dream* (cf. App. C, No. xlix), in which, however, he exculpates Nashe from any share in the book. By 1595 he was married and had lost a daughter Mary, who was buried at St. John's, Windsor (E. Ashmole, *Antiquities of Berkshire*, iii. 75). By 1598 he had taken to writing for the stage, and in his *Palladis Tamia* of that year Meres includes him in 'the best for Comedy amongst vs'. Of all Henslowe's band of needy writers for the Admiral's and Worcester's from 1598 to 1603, he was the most prolific and one of the neediest. Of the forty-eight plays in which he had a hand during this period, no more than five, or possibly six, survive. His personal loans from Henslowe were numerous and often very small. Some were on account of the Admiral's; others on a private account noted in the margin of Henslowe's diary. On 16 Sept. 1598 he owed the Admiral's £8 9*s*. in balance, 'al his boockes & recknynges payd'. In Nov. 1598 he had loans 'for to areste one with Lord Lester'. In Jan. 1599 he was in the Marshalsea, and in May borrowed to avoid arrest by one Ingrome. On 25 Mar. 1602 he was driven, apparently in view of a payment of £3, to seal a bond to write for the Admiral's. This did not prevent him from also writing for Worcester's in the autumn. More than once his manuscript had to be redeemed from pawn (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 250). His *England's Mourning Garment*, a eulogy of Elizabeth, is reprinted in C. M. Ingleby, *Shakespere Allusion-Books*, Part i (*N. S. S.* 1874), 77. Herein he speaks of himself as 'courting it now and than', when he was 'yong, almost thirtie yeeres agoe', and calls on a number of poets under fanciful names to sing the dead queen's praise. They are Daniel, Warner, Chapman (Coryn), Jonson (our English Horace), Shakespeare (Melicert), Drayton (Coridon), Lodge (Musidore), Dekker (Antihorace), Marston (Moelibee), and Petowe (?). Chettle was therefore alive in 1603, but he is spoken of as dead in Dekker's *Knight's Conjuring* (1607).

PLAYS

The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon. 1598

The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon. 1598

For Chettle's relation to these two plays, see s.v. Munday.

Patient Grissel. 1600

With Dekker (q.v.) and Haughton.

1 Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green. 1600

With Day (q.v.).

Sir Thomas Wyatt. 1602

With Dekker (q.v.), Heywood, Smith, and Webster, as *Lady Jane, or The Overthrow of Rebels*, but whether anything of Chettle's survives in the extant text is doubtful.

Hoffman or *A Revenge for a Father. 1602 <*

S. R. 1630, Feb. 26 (Herbert). 'A play called Hoffman the Revengfull ffather.' *John Grove* (Arber, iv. 229).

1631. The Tragedy of Hoffman or A Reuenge for a Father, As it hath bin diuers times acted with great applause, at the Phenix in Druery-lane. *I. N. for Hugh Perry*. [Epistle to Richard Kiluert, signed 'Hvgh Perry'.]

Editions by H. B. L[eonard] (1852), R. Ackermann (1894), and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*).—*Dissertations*: N. Delius, *C.'s H. und Shakespeare's Hamlet* (1874, *Jahrbuch*, ix. 166); A. H. Thorndike, *The Relations of Hamlet to Contemporary Revenge Plays* (1902, *M. L. A.* xvii. 125).

Henslowe paid Chettle, on behalf of the Admiral's, £1 in earnest of 'a Danyshe tragedy' on 7 July 1602, and 5*s*. in part payment for a tragedy of 'Howghman' on 29 Dec. It seems natural to take the latter, and perhaps also the former, entry as relating to this play, although it does not bear Chettle's name on the title-page. But its completion was presumably later than the termination of Henslowe's record in 1603. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 226) rightly repudiates the suggestion of Fleay, i. 70, 291, that as we are justified in regarding *Hoffman* the unnamed tragedy of Chettle and Heywood in Jan. 1603, for which a blank can of course afford no evidence. But 'the Prince of the burning crowne' is referred to in Kempe's *Nine Daies Wonder*, 22, not as a 'play', but as a suggested theme for a ballad-writer.

Doubtful and Lost Plays

Chettle's hand has been suggested in the anonymous *Trial of Chivalry* (*vide infra*) and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall.*

The following is a complete list of the plays, wholly or partly by Chettle, recorded in Henslowe's diary.

(*a*) *Plays for the Admiral's, 1598–1603*

(i), (ii) *1, 2 Robin Hood.*
With Munday (q.v.), Feb.–Mar. and Nov. 1598.

(iii) *The Famous Wars of Henry I and the Prince of Wales.*
With Dekker (q.v.) and Drayton, Mar. 1598.

(iv), (v) *1, 2 Earl Godwin and His Three Sons.*
With Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, March–June 1598.

(vi) *Pierce of Exton.*
With Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, April 1598, but apparently not finished.

(vii), (viii) *1, 2 Black Bateman of the North.*
With Wilson, and for Part 1, Dekker and Drayton, May–July 1598.

(ix) *The Funeral of Richard Cœur de Lion.*
With Drayton, Munday, and Wilson, June 1598.

(x) *A Woman's Tragedy.*
July 1598, but apparently unfinished.

(xi) *Hot Anger Soon Cold.*
With Jonson and Porter, Aug. 1598.

(xii) *Chance Medley.*
By Chettle or Dekker, Drayton, Munday, and Wilson, Aug. 1598.

(xiii) *Catiline's Conspiracy.*
With Wilson, Aug. 1598, but apparently not finished.

(xiv) *Vayvode.*
Apparently an old play revised by Chettle, Aug. 1598.

(xv) *2 Brute.*
Sept.–Oct. 1598.

(xvi) *'Tis no Deceit to Deceive the Deceiver.*
Nov. 1598, but apparently not finished.

(xvii) *Polyphemus, or Troy's Revenge.*
Feb. 1599.

(xviii) *The Spencers.*
With Porter, March 1599.

(xix) *Troilus and Cressida.*
With Dekker (q.v.), April 1599.

(xx) *Agamemnon, or Orestes Furious.*
With Dekker, May 1599.

(xxi) *The Stepmother's Tragedy.*
With Dekker, Aug.–Oct. 1599.

(xxii) *Robert II or The Scot's Tragedy.*
With Dekker, Jonson, and possibly Marston (q.v.), Sept. 1599.

(xxiii) *Patient Grissell.*
With Dekker (q.v.) and Haughton, Oct.–Dec. 1599.

(xxiv) *The Orphan's Tragedy.*
Nov. 1599–Sept. 1601, but apparently not finished, unless Greg rightly traces it in Yarington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (q.v.).

(xxv) *The Arcadian Virgin.*
With Haughton, Dec. 1599, but apparently not finished.

(xxvi) *Damon and Pythias.*
Feb.–May 1600.

(xxvii) *The Seven Wise Masters.*
With Day, Dekker, and Haughton, March 1600.

(xxviii) *The Golden Ass,* or *Cupid and Psyche.*
With Day and Dekker, April–May 1600; on possible borrowings from this, cf. s.v. Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas.*

(xxix) *The Wooing of Death.*
May 1600, but apparently not finished.

(xxx) *1 Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.*
With Day (q.v.), May 1600.

(xxxi) *All Is Not Gold That Glisters.*
March–April 1601.

(xxxii) *King Sebastian of Portingale.*
With Dekker, April–May 1601.

(xxxiii), (xxxiv) *1, 2 Cardinal Wolsey.*
Apparently Chettle wrote a play on *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* in June–Aug. 1601, to which was afterwards prefixed a play on *The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey,* by Chettle, Drayton, Munday, and Smith, written in Aug.–Nov. 1601 (cf. Greg, *Henslowe,* ii. 218). Chettle was 'mendynge' *The Life* in May–June 1602, and on 25 July Richard Hadsor wrote to Sir R. Cecil of the attainder of the Earl of Kildare's grandfather 'by the policy of Cardinal Wolsey, as it is set forth and played now upon the stage in London' (*Hatfield MSS.* xii. 248).

(xxxv) *Too Good To Be True.*
With Hathway and Smith, Nov. 1601—Jan. 1602; the alternative title 'or Northern Man' in one of Henslowe's entries is a forgery by Collier (cf. Greg, *Henslowe,* i. xliii).

(xxxvi) *Friar Rush and the Proud Women of Antwerp.*
Written by Day and Haughton in 1601 and mended by Chettle in Jan. 1602.

(xxxvii) *Love Parts Friendship.*
With Smith, May 1602; identified by Bullen with the anonymous *Trial of Chivalry* (q.v.).

(xxxviii) *Tobias.*
May–June 1602.

(xxxix) *Hoffman.*
July–Dec. 1602, but apparently not finished. *Vide supra.*

(xl) *Felmelanco.*
With Robensone (q.v.), Sept. 1602.

(xli), (xlii) *1, 2 The London Florentine.*
Part 1 with Heywood, Dec. 1602—Jan. 1603; one payment had been made to Chettle for Part 2 before the diary entries stopped.

(xliii) [Unnamed play].
'for a prologe & a epyloge for the corte', 29 Dec. 1602.

(*b*) *Plays for Worcester's, 1602–3*

(xliv) [Unnamed play. Collier's *Robin Goodfellow* is forged].
A tragedy, Aug. 1602, but perhaps not finished, unless identical, as suggested by Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 229), with the anonymous *Byron.*

(xlv) *1 Lady Jane*, or *The Overthrow of Rebels.*
With Dekker (q.v.), Heywood, Smith, and Webster, Oct. 1602.

(xlvi) *Christmas Comes but Once a Year.*
With Dekker, Heywood, and Webster, Nov. 1602.

(xlvii) [Unnamed play. Collier's *Like Quits Like* is forged].
With Heywood, Jan. 1603, but apparently not finished, or possibly identical, as suggested by Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 235), with (xlviii).

(xlviii) *Shore.*
With Day, May 1603, but not finished before the diary ended.

THOMAS CHURCHYARD (1520 ?–1604).

The best account of Churchyard is that by H. W. Adnitt in *Shropshire Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii (1880), 1, with a bibliography of his numerous poems. For his share in the devices of the Bristol entertainment (*1574*) and the Suffolk and Norfolk progress (*1578*), of both of which he published descriptions, cf. ch. xxiv. He was also engaged by the Shrewsbury corporation to prepare a show for an expected but abandoned royal visit in 1575 (*Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 255). His *A Handful of Gladsome Verses given to the Queenes Maiesty at Woodstocke this Prograce* (1592) is reprinted in H. Huth and W. C. Hazlitt, *Fugitive Tracts* (1875), i. It is not mimetic. His own account of his work in *Churchyard's Challenge* (1593) suggests that he took a considerable part in Elizabethan pageantry. He says that he wrote:

> 'The deuises of warre and a play at Awsterley. Her Highnes being at Sir Thomas Greshams',

and

> 'The deuises and speeches that men and boyes shewed within many prograces'.

And amongst 'Workes . . . gotten from me of some such noble friends as I am loath to offend' he includes:

> 'A book of a sumptuous shew in Shrouetide, by Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Robart Carey, M. Chidley, and M. Arthur Gorge, in which book was the whole

seruice of my L. of Lester mencioned that he and his traine did in Flaunders, and the gentlemen Pencioners proued to be a great peece of honor to the Court: all which book was in as good verse as euer I made: an honorable knight, dwelling in the Black Friers, can witness the same, because I read it vnto him.'

The natural date for this 'shew' is Shrovetide 1587. I do not know why Nichols, *Eliz.* ii. 279, dates the Osterley device 1579. Elizabeth was often there, but I find no evidence of a visit in 1579. Lowndes speaks of the work as in print, but I doubt whether he has any authority beyond Churchyard's own notice, which does not prove publication.

ANTHONY CHUTE (*ob. c.* 1595).

Nashe in his *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (1596, *Works*, iii. 107), attacking Chute as a friend of Gabriel Harvey, says, 'he hath kneaded and daub'd vp a Commedie, called The transformation of the King of *Trinidadoes* two Daughters, Madame *Panachaea* and the Nymphe *Tobacco*; and, to approue his Heraldrie, scutchend out the honorable Armes of the smoakie Societie'. I hesitate to take this literally.

GEORGE CLIFFORD (1558–1605).

George Clifford was born 8 Aug. 1558, succeeded as third Earl of Cumberland 8 Jan. 1570, and died 30 Oct. 1605. A recent biography is G. C. Williamson, *George, Third Earl of Cumberland* (1920). He married Margaret Russell, daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford, on 24 June 1577. His daughter, Anne Clifford, who left an interesting autobiography, married firstly Richard, third Earl of Dorset, and secondly Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke. Cumberland was prominent in Elizabethan naval adventure and shone in the tilt. He is recorded as appearing on 17 Nov. 1587 (Gawdy, 25) and 26 Aug. 1588 (*Sp. P.* iv. 419). On 17 Nov. 1590 he succeeded Sir Henry Lee (q.v.) as Knight of the Crown. Thereafter he was the regular challenger for the Queen's Day tilt, often with the assistance of the Earl of Essex. On 17 Nov. 1592 they came together armed into the privy chamber, and issued a challenge to maintain against all comers on the following 26 Feb. 'that ther M. is most worthyest and most fayrest Amadis de Gaule' (Gawdy, 67). Cumberland's tiltyard speeches, as Knight of Pendragon Castle, in 1591 (misdated 1592) and 1593 are printed by Williamson, 108, 121, from manuscripts at Appleby Castle.

His appearance as Knight of the Crown on 17 Nov. 1595 is noted in Peele's (q.v.) *Anglorum Feriae*. In F. Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602, ed. Bullen, ii. 128) is an ode *Of Cynthia*, with the note 'This Song was sung before her sacred Maiestie at a shew on horsebacke, wherwith the right Honorable the Earle of Cumberland presented her Highnesse on Maie day last'. This is reprinted by R. W. Bond (*Lyly*, i. 414) with alternative ascriptions to Lyly and to Sir John Davies. But Cumberland himself wrote verses. I do not know why Bullen and Bond assume that the show was on 1 May 1600. The *Cumberland MSS.* at Bolton, Yorkshire, once contained a prose speech, now lost, in the character of a melancholy knight, headed 'A Copie of my Lord of Combrlandes Speeche to y^{e} Queene, upon y^{e} 17 day of November, 1600'. This was printed by T. D. Whitaker, *History of Craven* (1805, ed. Morant, 1878, p. 355), and reprinted by Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 522, and by Bond, *Lyly*, i. 415, with a conjectural attribution to Lyly. In 1601 Cumberland conveyed to Sir John Davies a suggestion from Sir R. Cecil that he should write a 'speech for introduction of the barriers' (*Hatfield MSS.* xi. 544), and in letters of 1602 he promised Cecil to appear at the tilt on Queen's Day, but later tried to excuse himself on the ground that a damaged arm would not let him carry a staff (*Hatfield MSS.* xii. 438, 459, 574). Anne Clifford records 'speeches and delicate presents' at Grafton when James and Anne visited the Earl there on 27 June 1603 (Wiffen, ii. 71).

JO. COOKE (*c.* 1612).

Beyond his play, practically nothing is known of Cooke. It is not even clear whether 'Jo.' stands for John, or for Joshua; the latter is suggested by the manuscript ascription on a copy of the anonymous *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (q.v.). Can Cooke be identical with the I. Cocke who contributed to Stephens's *Characters* in 1615 (cf. App. C, No. lx)? Collier, iii. 408, conjectures that he was a brother John named, probably as dead, in the will (3 Jan. 1614) of Alexander Cooke the actor (cf. ch. xv). There is an entry in S. R. on 22 May 1604 of a lost 'Fyftie epigrams written by J. Cooke Gent', and a 'I. Cooke' wrote commendatory verses to Drayton's *Legend of Cromwell* (1607).

Greenes Tu Quoque or *The City Gallant. 1611*

1614. Greene's Tu quoque, or, The Cittie Gallant. As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants. Written by Io. Cooke, Gent. *For John Trundle.* [Epistle to the Reader, signed 'Thomas Heywood', and a couplet 'Upon the Death of Thomas Greene', signed 'W. R.']

1622. *For Thomas Dewe.*

N.D. *M. Flesher.*

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-4}$ (1744–1875) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii) and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*).

Heywood writes 'to gratulate the love and memory of my worthy friend the author, and my entirely beloved fellow the actor', both of whom were evidently dead. Satire of Coryat's *Crudities* gives a date between its publication in 1611 and the performances of the play by the Queen's men at Court on 27 Dec. 1611 and 2 Feb. 1612 (cf. App. B). In Aug. 1612 died Thomas Greene, who had evidently played Bubble at the Red Bull (ed. Dodsley, p. 240):

> *Geraldine.* Why, then, we'll go to the Red Bull: they say Green's a good clown.
> *Bubble.* Green! Green's an ass.
> *Scattergood.* Wherefore do you say so?
> *Bubble.* Indeed I ha' no reason; for they say he is as like me as ever he can look.

Chetwood's assertion of a 1599 print is negligible. The Queen of Bohemia's men revived the play at Court on 6 Jan. 1625 (*Variorum*, iii. 228).

AQUILA CRUSO (*c.* 1610).

Author of the academic *Euribates Pseudomagus* (cf. App. K).

ROBERT DABORNE (?–1628).

Daborne claimed to be of 'generous' descent, and it has been conjectured that he belonged to a family at Guildford, Surrey. Nothing is known of him until he appears with Rosseter and others as a patentee for the Queen's Revels in 1610. Presumably he wrote for this company, and when they amalgamated with the Lady Elizabeth's in 1613 came into relations with Henslowe, who acted as paymaster for the combination. The Dulwich collection contains between thirty and forty letters, bonds, and receipts bearing upon these relations. A few are undated; the rest extend from 17 April 1613 to 4 July 1615. Most of them were printed by Malone (*Variorum*, iii. 336), Collier (*Alleyn Papers*, 56), and Swaen (*Anglia*, xx. 155), and all, with a stray fragment from *Egerton MS.* 2623, f. 24, are in Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 65, 126. There and in *Henslowe*, ii. 141, Dr. Greg attempts an arrangement of them and of the plays to which they relate, which seems to me substantially sound. They show Daborne, during the twelve months from April 1613, to which they mainly belong, writing regularly for the Lady Elizabeth's, but prepared at any moment to sell a play to the King's if he can get a better bargain. Lawsuits and general poverty made him constantly desirous of obtaining small advances from Henslowe, and on one occasion he was in the Clink. In the course of the year he was at work on at least five plays (*vide infra*), alone or in co-operation now with Tourneur, now with Field, Massinger, and Fletcher. Modern conjectures have assigned him some share in plays of the Beaumont and Fletcher series which there is no external evidence to connect with his name. However this may be, it is clear that, unless his activity in 1613–14 was abnormal, he must have written much of which we know nothing. He is still traceable in connexion with the stage up to 1616, giving a joint bond with Massinger in Aug. 1615, receiving an acquittance of debts through his wife Francisce from Henslowe on his death-bed in Jan. 1616 (*Henslowe*, ii. 20), and witnessing the agreement between Alleyn and Meade and Prince Charles's men on the following 20 March. But he must have taken orders by 1618, when he published a sermon, and he became Chancellor of Waterford in 1619, Prebendary of Lismore in 1620, and Dean of Lismore in 1621. On 23 March 1628 he 'died amphibious by the ministry' according to *The Time Poets* (*Choice Drollery*, 1656, sig. B).

Collection

1898–9. A. E. H. Swaen in *Anglia*, xx. 153; xxi. 373.

Dissertation: R. Boyle, *D.'s Share in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays* (1899, *E. S.* xxvi. 352).

A Christian Turned Turk. 1609 < > 12

S. R. 1612, Feb. 1 (Buck). 'A booke called A Christian turned Turke, or the tragicall lyffes and deathes of the 2 famous pyrates Ward and Danseker, as it hath bene publiquely acted written by Robert Daborn gent.' *William Barrenger* (Arber, iii. 476).

1612. A Christian turn'd Turke: or, The Tragicall Liues and Deaths of the two Famous Pyrates, Ward and Dansiker. As it hath beene publickly Acted. Written by Robert Daborn, Gentleman. *For William Barrenger.* [Epistle by Daborne to the Reader, Prologue and Epilogue.]

This may, as Fleay, i. 83, says, be a Queen's Revels play, but he gives no definite proof, and if it is the 'unwilling error' apologized for in the epilogue to *Mucedorus* (1610), it is more likely to proceed from the King's men. It appears to be indebted to pamphlets on the career of its heroes, printed in 1609. The Epistle explains the publishing of 'this oppressed and much martird Tragedy, not that I promise to my selfe any reputation hereby, or affect to see my name in Print, vsherd with new praises, for feare the Reader should call in question their iudgements that giue applause in the action; for had this wind moued me, I had preuented others shame in subscribing some of my former labors, or let them gone out in the diuels name alone; which since impudence will not suffer, I am content they passe together; it is then to publish my innocence concerning the wrong of worthy personages, together with doing some right to the much-suffering Actors that hath caused my name to cast it selfe in the common rack of censure'. I do not know why the play should have been 'martir'd', but incidentally Daborne seems to be claiming a share in Dekker's *If It be not Good, the Devil is in It* (1612).

The Poor Man's Comfort. c. 1617 (?)

[*MS.*] *Egerton MS.* 1994, f. 268.

[Scribal signature 'By P. Massam' at end.]

S. R. 1655, June 20. 'A booke called The Poore Mans comfort, a Tragicomedie written by Robert Dawborne, M^r^ of Arts.' *John Sweeting* (Eyre, i. 486).

1655. The Poor-Mans Comfort. A Tragi-Comedy, As it was diuers times Acted at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane with great applause. Written by Robert Dauborne Master of Arts. *For Rob: Pollard and John Sweeting.* [Prologue, signed 'Per E. M.']

The stage-direction to l. 186 is 'Enter 2 Lords, Sands, Ellis'. Perhaps we have here the names of two actors, Ellis Worth, who was with Anne's men at the Cockpit in 1617–19, and Gregory Sanderson, who joined the same company before May, 1619. But there is also a James Sands, traceable as a boy of the King's in 1605. The performances named on the title-page are not necessarily the original ones and the play may have been produced by the Queen's at the Red Bull, but 1617 is as likely a date as another, and when a courtier says of a poor man's suit (l. 877) that it is 'some suit from porters hall, belike not worth begging', there may conceivably be an allusion to attempts to preserve the Porter's Hall theatre from destruction in the latter year. In any case, Daborne is not likely to have written the play after he took orders.

Doubtful and Lost Plays

The Henslowe correspondence appears to show Daborne as engaged between 17 April 1613 and 2 April 1614 on the following plays:

(*a*) *Machiavel and the Devil* (17 April—*c.* 25 June 1613), possibly, according to Fleay and Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 152, based on the old *Machiavel* revived by Strange's men in 1592.

(*b*) *The Arraignment of London*, probably identical with *The Bellman of London* (5 June—9 Dec. 1613), with Cyril Tourneur, possibly, as Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 75, suggests, based on Dekker's tract, *The Bellman of London* (1608).

(*c*) An unnamed play with Field, Massinger, and Fletcher, the subject of undated correspondence (*Henslowe Papers*, 65 and possibly 70, 84) and possibly also of dated letters of July 1613 (*H. P.* 74).

(*d*) *The Owl* (9 Dec. 1613—28 March 1614). A comedy of this name is in Archer's list of 1656, but Greg, *Masques*, xcv, thinks that Jonson's *Mask of Owls* may be meant.

(*e*) *The She Saint* (2 April 1614).

Daborne has been suggested as a contributor to the *Cupid's Revenge*, *Faithful Friends*, *Honest Man's Fortune*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, and later plays of the Beaumont (q.v.) and Fletcher series, and attempts have been made to identify more than one of these with (*c*) above.

SAMUEL DANIEL (*c.* 1563–1619).

Daniel was born in Somerset, probably near Taunton, about 1563. His father is said to have been John Daniel, a musician; he certainly had a brother John, of the same profession. In 1579 he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but took no degree. He visited France about January 1585 and sent an account of political affairs from the Rue St. Jacques to Walsingham in the following March (*S. P. F.* xix. 388). His first work was a translation of the *Imprese* of Paulus Jovius (1585). In 1586 he served Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, and as a young man visited Italy. He was domesticated at Wilton, and under the patronage of Mary, Lady Pembroke, wrote his sonnets to Delia, the publication of which, partial in 1591 and complete in 1592, gave him a considerable reputation as a poet. The attempt of Fleay, i. 86, to identify Delia with Elizabeth Carey, daughter of Sir George Carey, afterwards Lord Hunsdon, breaks down. Nashe in *The Terrors of the Night* (1594, ed. McKerrow, i. 342) calls her a 'second Delia', and obviously the first was not, as Fleay suggests, Queen Elizabeth, but the heroine of the sonnets. Delia dwelt on an Avon, but the fact that in 1602 Lord Hunsdon took the waters at Bath does not give him a seat on the Avon there. Lady Pembroke's *Octavia* (q.v.) inspired Daniel's book-drama *Cleopatra* (1594). Other poems, notably *The History of the Civil Wars* (1595), followed. Tradition makes Daniel poet laureate after Spenser's death in 1599. There was probably no such post, but it is clear from verses prefixed to a single copy (B.M. C. 21, 2, 17) of the *Works* of 1601, which are clearly addressed to Elizabeth, and not, as Grosart, i. 2, says, Anne, that he had some allowance at Court:

> I, who by that most blessed hand sustain'd,
> In quietnes, do eate the bread of rest.
> (Grosart, i. 9.)

Possibly, however, this grant was a little later than 1599. Daniel acted as tutor to Anne Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, at Skipton Castle, probably by 1599, when he published his *Poetical Essays*, which include an *Epistle* to Lady Cumberland. It might have been either Herbert or Clifford influence which brought him into favour with Lady Bedford and led to his selection as poet for the first Queen's mask at the Christmas of 1603. No doubt this preference aroused jealousies, and to about this date one may reasonably assign Jonson's verse-letter to Lady Rutland (*The Forest*, xii) in which he speaks of his devotion to Lady Bedford:

> though she have a better verser got,
> (Or Poet, in the court-account), than I,
> And who doth me, though I not him envy.

In 1619 Jonson told Drummond that he had answered Daniel's *Defence of Ryme* (?1603), that 'Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children; but no poet', and that 'Daniel was at jealousies with him' (Laing, 1, 2, 10). All this suggests to me a rivalry at the Jacobean, rather than the Elizabethan Court, and I concur in the criticisms of Small, 181, upon the elaborate attempts of Fleay, i. 84, 359, to trace attacks on Daniel in Jonson's earlier comedies. Fleay makes Daniel Fastidious Brisk in *Every Man Out of his Humour*, Hedon in *Cynthia's Revels*, and alternatively Hermogenes Tigellius and Tibullus in *The Poetaster*, as well as Emulo in the *Patient Grissel* of Dekker and others. In most of these equations he is followed by others, notably Penniman, who adds (*Poetaster*, xxxvii) Matheo in *Every Man In his Humour* and Gullio in the anonymous *1 Return from Parnassus*. For all this the only basis is that Brisk, Matheo, and Gullio imitate or parody Daniel's poetry. What other poetry, then, would affected young men at the end of the sixteenth century be likely to imitate? Some indirect literary criticism on Daniel may be implied, but this does not constitute the imitators portraits of Daniel. Fleay's further identifications of Daniel with Littlewit in *Bartholomew Fair* and Dacus in the *Epigrams* of Sir John Davies are equally unsatisfactory. To return to biography. In 1604 Daniel, for the first time so far as is known, became connected with the stage, through his appointment as licenser for the Queen's Revels by their patent of 4 Feb. Collier, *New Facts*, 47, prints, as preserved at Bridgewater House, two undated letters from Daniel to Sir Thomas Egerton. One, intended to suggest that Shakespeare was a rival candidate for the post in the Queen's Revels, is a forgery, and this makes it impossible to attach much credit to the other, in which the writer mentions the 'preferment of my brother' and that he himself has 'bene constrayned to live with children'. Moreover, the manuscript was not forthcoming in 1861 (Ingleby, 247, 307). Daniel evidently took a part in the management of the Revels company; the indiscretion of his *Philotas* did not prevent him from acting as payee for their plays of 1604–5. But his connexion with them probably ceased when *Eastward Ho!* led, later in 1605, to the withdrawal of Anne's patronage. The irrepressible Mr. Fleay (i. 110) thinks that they then satirized him as Damoetas in Day's *Isle of Gulls* (1606). Daniel wrote one more mask and two pastorals, all for Court performances. By 1607 he was Groom of Anne's Privy Chamber, and by 1613 Gentleman Extraordinary of the same Chamber. In 1615 his brother John obtained through his influence a patent for the Children of the Queen's Chamber of Bristol (cf. ch. xii). He is said to have had a wife Justina, who was probably the sister of John Florio, whom he called 'brother' in 1611. The suggestion of Bolton Corney (*3 N. Q.* viii. 4, 40, 52) that this only meant fellow servant of the Queen is not plausible; this relation would have been expressed by 'fellow'. He had a house in Old Street, but kept up his Somerset connexion, and was buried at Beckington, where he had a farm named Ridge, in Oct. 1619.

Collections

1599. The Poeticall Essayes of Sam. Danyel. Newly corrected and augmented. *P. Short for Simon Waterson.* [Includes *Cleopatra.*]

1601. The Works of Samuel Daniel Newly Augmented. *For Simon Waterson.* [*Cleopatra.*]

1602. [Reissue of 1601 with fresh t.p.]

1605. Certaine Small Poems Lately Printed: with the Tragedie of Philotas. Written by Samuel Daniel. *G. Eld for Simon Waterson.* [*Cleopatra, Philotas.*]

1607. Certain Small Workes Heretofore Divulged by Samuel Daniel one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties priuie Chamber, and now againe by him corrected and augmented. *I. W. for Simon Waterson.* [Two issues. *Cleopatra, Philotas, The Queen's Arcadia.*]

1611. Certain Small Workes. . . . *I. L. for Simon Waterson.* [Two issues. *Cleopatra, Philotas, The Queen's Arcadia.*]

1623. The Whole Workes of Samuel Daniel Esquire in Poetrie. *Nicholas Okes for Simon Waterson.* [*Cleopatra, Philotas, The Queen's Arcadia, Hymen's Triumph, The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses.* This was edited by John Daniel.]

1635. Drammaticke Poems, written by Samuel Danniell Esquire, one of the Groomes of the most Honorable Privie Chamber to Queene Anne. *T. Cotes for John Waterson.* [Reissue of 1623 with fresh t.p.]

1718. *For R. G. Gosling, W. Mears, J. Browne.*

1885–96. The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel. Edited by A. B. Grosart. 5 vols. [Vol. iii (1885) contains the plays and masks.]

PLAYS

Cleopatra > *1593*

S. R. 1593, Oct. 19. 'A booke intituled The Tragedye of Cleopatra.' *Symond Waterson* (Arber, ii. 638).

1594. Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra. By Samuel Daniel. *James Roberts and Edward Allde for Simon Waterson.* [Two editions. Verse Epistle to Lady Pembroke.]

1595. *James Roberts and Edward Allde for Simon Waterson.*

1598. *Peter Short for Simon Waterson.*

Also in *Colls.* 1599–1635.

Edition by M. Lederer (1911, *Materialien*, xxxi).

The play is in the classical manner, with choruses. The Epistle speaks of the play as motived by Lady Pembroke's 'well grac'd *Antony*'; the Apology to *Philotas* shows that it was not acted. In 1607 it is described as 'newly altered', and is in fact largely rewritten, perhaps under the stimulus of the production of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. The 1607 text is repeated in 1611, and the Epistle to Lady Pembroke is rewritten. But the text of 1623 is the earlier version again.

Philotas. *1604*

S. R. 1604, Nov. 29 (Pasfield). 'A Booke called the tragedie of Philotus wrytten by Samuel Daniell.' *Waterson and Edward Blunt* (Arber, iii. 277).

1605. [Part of *Coll.* 1605. Verse Epistle to Prince Henry, signed 'Sam. Dan.'; Apology.]

1607. The Tragedie of Philotas. By Sam. Daniel. *Melch. Bradwood for Edward Blount.* [Shortened version of Epistle to Henry.]

Also in *Colls.* 1607–35.

The play is in the classical manner, with choruses. From the Apology, motived by 'the wrong application and misconceiving' of it, I extract:

> 'Above eight yeares since [1596], meeting with my deare friend D. Lateware, (whose memory I reverence) in his Lords Chamber and mine, I told him the purpose I had for *Philotas*: who sayd that himselfe had written the same argument, and caused it to be presented in St. John's Colledge in Oxford; where as I after heard, it was worthily and with great applause performed. . . . And living in the Country, about foure yeares since, and neere halfe a yeare before the late Tragedy of ours (whereunto this is now most ignorantly resembled) unfortunately fell out heere in England [Sept. 1600], I began the same, and wrote three Acts thereof,—as many to whom I then shewed it can witnesse,—purposing to have had it presented in Bath by certaine Gentlemens sonnes, as a private recreation for the Christmas, before the Shrovetide of that unhappy disorder [Feb. 1601]. But by reason of some occasion then falling out, and being called upon by my Printer for a new impression of my workes, with some additions to the Civill Warres, I intermitted this other subject. Which now lying by mee, and driven by necessity to make use of my pen, and the Stage to bee the mouth of my lines, which before were never heard to speake but in silence, I thought the representing so true a History, in the ancient forme of

a Tragedy, could not but have had an unreproveable passage with the time, and the better sort of men; seeing with what idle fictions, and grosse follies, the Stage at this day abused mens recreations. . . . And for any resemblance, that thorough the ignorance of the History may be applied to the late Earle of Essex, it can hold in no proportion but only in his weaknesses, which I would wish all that love his memory not to revive. And for mine owne part, having beene perticularly beholding to his bounty, I would to God his errors and disobedience to his Sovereigne might be so deepe buried underneath the earth, and in so low a tombe from his other parts, that hee might never be remembered among the examples of disloyalty in this Kingdome, or paraleld with Forreine Conspirators.'

The Apology is fixed by its own data to the autumn of 1604, and the performance was pretty clearly by the Queen's Revels in the same year. Daniel was called before the Privy Council on account of the play, and used the name of the Earl of Devonshire in his defence. The earl was displeased and a letter of excuse from Daniel is extant (Grosart, i. xxii, from *S. P. D. Jac. I, 1603–10*, p. 18) in which, after asserting that he had satisfied Lord Cranborne [Robert Cecil], he says:

> 'First I tolde the Lordes I had written 3 Acts of this tragedie the Christmas before my L. of Essex troubles, as diuers in the cittie could witnes. I saide the maister of the Revells had pervsed it. I said I had read some parte of it to your honour, and this I said having none els of powre to grace mee now in Corte & hoping that you out of your knowledg of bookes, or fauour of letters & mee, might answere that there is nothing in it disagreeing nor any thing, as I protest there is not, but out of the vniuersall notions of ambition and envie, the perpetuall argumentes of books or tragedies. I did not say you incouraged me vnto the presenting of it; yf I should I had beene a villayne, for that when I shewd it to your honour I was not resolud to haue had it acted, nor should it haue bene had not my necessities ouermaistred mee.'

The Queen's Arcadia. 1605

S. R. 1605, Nov. 26 (Pasfield). 'A book called The Quenes Arcadia. Presented by the university of Oxon in Christchurch.' *Waterson* (Arber, iii. 305).

1606. The Queenes Arcadia. A Pastorall Trage-comedie presented to her Maiestie and her Ladies, by the Vniuersitie of Oxford in Christs Church, In August last. *G. Eld for Simon Waterson.* [Dedicatory verses to the Queen.]

See *Collections.*

The performance was by Christ Church men on 30 Aug. 1605 during the royal visit to Oxford (cf. ch. iv). The original title appears to have been *Arcadia Reformed.* Chamberlain told Winwood (ii. 140) that the other plays were dull, but Daniel's 'made amends for all; being indeed very excelent, and some parts exactly acted'.

Hymen's Triumph. 1614

[*MS.*] *Drummond MS.* in Edinburgh Univ. Library. [Sonnet to Lady Roxborough, signed 'Samuel Danyel'. The manuscript given to the library by William Drummond of Hawthornden, a kinsman of Lady Roxborough, in 1627, is fully described by W. W. Greg in

M. L. Q. vi. 59. It is partly holograph, and represents an earlier state of the text than the quarto of 1615. A letter of 1621 from Drummond to Sir Robert Ker, afterwards Earl of Ancrum, amongst the *Lothian MSS.* (*Hist. MSS.* i. 116), expresses an intention of printing what appears to have been the same manuscript.]

S. R. 1615, Jan. 13 (Buck). 'A play called Hymens triumphes.' *Francis Constable* (iii. 561). [The clerk first wrote 'Hymens pastoralls'.]

1615. Hymens Triumph. A Pastorall Tragicomaedie. Presented at the Queenes Court in the Strand at her Maiesties magnificent intertainement of the Kings most excellent Maiestie, being at the Nuptials of the Lord Roxborough. By Samuel Daniel. *For Francis Constable.* [Dedicatory verses to the Queen, signed 'Sam. Daniel', and Prologue.]

See *Collections.*

Robert Ker, Lord Roxborough, was married to Jean Drummond, daughter of Patrick, third Lord Drummond, and long a lady of Anne's household. The wedding was originally fixed for 6 Jan. 1614, and the Queen meant to celebrate it with 'a masque of maids, if they may be found' (Birch, i. 279). It was, however, put off until Candlemas, doubtless to avoid competition with Somerset's wedding, and appears from the dedication also to have served for a house-warming, to which Anne invited James on the completion of some alterations to Somerset House. Finett (*Philoxenis,* 16), who describes the complications caused by an invitation to the French ambassador, gives the date as 2 Feb., which is in itself the more probable; but John Chamberlain gives 3 Feb., unless there is an error in the dating of the two letters to Carleton, cited by Greg from *Addl. MS.* 4173, ff. 368, 371, as of 3 and 10 Feb. In the first he writes, 'This day the Lord of Roxburgh marries M^{rs}. Jane Drummond at Somerset House, whither the King is invited to lie this night; & shall be entertained with shews & devices, specially a Pastoral, that shall be represented in a little square paved Court'; and in the second, 'This day sevennight the Lord of Roxburgh married M^{rs}. Jane Drummond at Somerset House or Queen's Court (as it must now be called). The King tarried there till Saturday after dinner. The Entertainment was great, & cost the Queen, as she says, above 3000£. The Pastoral made by Samuel Daniel was solemn & dull; but perhaps better to be read than represented.' Gawdy, 175, also mentions the 'pastoral'. There is nothing to show who were the performers.

Doubtful Play

Daniel has been suggested as the author of the anonymous *Maid's Metamorphosis.*

MASKS

The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses. 8 Jan. 1604

1604. The true discription of a Royall Masque. Presented at Hampton Court, vpon Sunday night, being the eight of Ianuary. 1604.

And Personated by the Queenes most Excellent Majestie, attended by Eleuen Ladies of Honour. *Edward Allde.*

1604. The Vision of the 12. Goddesses, presented in a Maske the 8 of Ianuary, at Hampton Court: By the Queenes most Excellent Maiestie, and her Ladies. *T. C. for Simon Waterson.* [A preface to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, is signed by Daniel, who states that the publication was motived by 'the unmannerly presumption of an indiscreet Printer, who without warrant hath divulged the late shewe . . . and the same very disorderly set forth'. Lady Bedford had 'preferred' Daniel to the Queen 'in this imployment'.]

See *Collections*.

Editions by Nichols, *James*, i. 305 (1828), E. Law (1880), and H. A. Evans (1897, *English Masques*).

The maskers, in various colours and with appropriate emblems, were twelve Goddesses, and were attended by torchbearers (cf. Carleton, *infra*); the presenters, 'for the introducing this show', Night, Sleep, Iris, Sibylla, and the Graces; the cornets, Satyrs.

The locality was the Hall at Hampton Court. At the lower end was a mountain, from which the maskers descended, and in which the cornets played; at the upper end the cave of Sleep and, on the left (Carleton), a temple of Peace, in the cupola of which was 'the consort music', while viols and lutes were 'on one side of the hall'.

The maskers presented their emblems, which Sibylla laid upon the altar of the temple. They danced 'their own measures', then took out the lords for 'certain measures, galliards, and corantoes', and after a 'short departing dance' reascended the mountain.

This was a Queen's mask, danced, according to manuscript notes in a copy of the Allde edition (B.M. 161, a. 41) thought by Mr. Law to be 'in a hand very like Lord Worcester's' (*vide infra*), and possibly identical with the 'original MS. of this mask' from which the same names are given in Collier, i. 347, by the Queen (Pallas), the Countesses of Suffolk (Juno), Hertford (Diana), Bedford (Vesta), Derby (Proserpine), and Nottingham (Concordia), and the Ladies Rich (Venus), Hatton (Macaria), Walsingham (Astraea), Susan Vere (Flora), Dorothy Hastings (Ceres), and Elizabeth Howard (Tethys).

Anticipations of masks at Court during the winter of 1603–4 are to be found in letters to Lord Shrewsbury from Arabella Stuart on 18 Dec. (Bradley, ii. 193), 'The Queene intendeth to make a Mask this Christmas, to which end my Lady of Suffolk and my Lady Walsingham hath warrants to take of the late Queenes best apparell out of the Tower at theyr discretion. Certain Noblemen (whom I may not yet name to you, because some of them have made me of theyr counsell) intend another. Certain gentlemen of good sort another'; from Cecil on 23 Dec. (Lodge, iii. 81), 'masks and much more'; and from Sir Thomas Edmondes on 23 Dec. (Lodge, iii. 83):

> 'Both the King's and Queen's Majesty have a humour to have some masks this Christmas time, and therefore, for that purpose, both the young lords and chief gentlemen of one part, and the Queen and her ladies of the other part, do severally undertake the accomplishment and furnishing

> thereof; and, because there is use of invention therein, special choice is made of Mr. Sanford to direct the order and course for the ladies';

also in the letters of Carleton to Chamberlain on 27 Nov. (Birch, i. 24; *Hardwicke Papers*, i. 383), 'many plays and shows are bespoken, to give entertainment to our ambassadors', and 22 Dec. (*S.P.D. Jac. I*, v. 20; Law, 9):

> 'We shall have a merry Christmas at Hampton Court, for both male and female maskes are all ready bespoken, whereof the Duke [of Lennox] is *rector chori* of th' one side and the La: Bedford of the other.'

I suppose Mr. Sanford to be Henry Sanford, who, like Daniel, had been of the Wilton household (cf. Aubrey, i. 311) and may well have lent him his aid.

The masks of lords on 1 Jan. and of Scots on 6 Jan. are not preserved. The latter is perhaps most memorable because Ben Jonson and his friend Sir John Roe were thrust out from it by the Lord Chamberlain (cf. ch. vi). Arabella Stuart briefly told Shrewsbury on 10 Jan. that there were three masks (Bradley, ii. 199). *Wilbraham's Journal* (*Camden Misc.* x), 66, records:

> 'manie plaies and daunces with swordes: one mask by English and Scottish lords: another by the Queen's Maiestie and eleven more ladies of her chamber presenting giftes as goddesses. These maskes, especialli the laste, costes 2000 or 3000^{l}, the aparells: rare musick, fine songes: and in jewels most riche 20000^{l}, the lest to my judgment: and her Maiestie 100,000^{l}. After Christmas was running at the ring by the King and 8 or 9 lordes for the honour of those goddesses and then they all feasted together privatelie.'

But the fullest description was given by Carleton to Chamberlain on 15 Jan. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, vi. 21, printed by Law, 33, 45; Sullivan, 192).

> 'On New yeares night we had a play of Robin goode-fellow and a maske brought in by a magicien of China. There was a heaven built at the lower end of the hall, owt of which our magicien came downe and after he had made a long sleepy speech to the King of the nature of the cuntry from whence he came comparing it with owrs for strength and plenty, he sayde he had broughte in cloudes certain Indian and China Knights to see the magnificency of this court. And theruppon a trauers was drawne and the maskers seen sitting in a voulty place with theyr torchbearers and other lights which was no vnpleasing spectacle. The maskers were brought in by two boyes and two musitiens who began with a song and whilst that went forward they presented themselves to the King. The first gave the King an Impresa in a shield with a sonet in a paper to exprese his deuice and presented a jewell of 40,000£ valew which the King is to buy of Peter Van Lore, but that is more than euery man knew and it made a faire shew to the French Ambassadors eye whose master would have bin well pleased with such a maskers present but not at that prise. The rest in theyr order deliuered theyr scutchins with letters and there was no great stay at any of them saue only at one who was putt to the interpretacion of his deuise. It was a faire horse colt in a faire greene field which he meant to be a colt of Busephalus race and had this virtu of his sire that none could mount him but one as great at lest as Alexander. The King made himself merry with threatening to send this colt to the stable and he could not breake loose till he promised to dance as well as Bankes his horse. The first measure was full of changes and seemed confused but was well gone

> through with all, and for the ordinary measures they tooke out the Queen, the ladies of Derby, Harford, Suffolke, Bedford, Susan Vere, Suthwell th' elder and Rich. In the corantoes they ran over some other of the young ladies, and so ended as they began with a song; and that done, the magicien dissolved his enchantment, and made the maskers appear in theyr likenes to be th' Erle of Pembroke, the Duke, Mons^{r}. d'Aubigny, yong Somerset, Philip Harbert the young Bucephal, James Hayes, Richard Preston, and Sir Henry Godier. Theyr attire was rich but somewhat too heavy and cumbersome for dancers which putt them besides ther galliardes. They had loose robes of crimsen sattin embrodered with gold and bordered with brood siluer laces, dublets and bases of cloth of siluer; buskins, swordes and hatts alike and in theyr hats ech of them an Indian bird for a fether with some jewells. The twelfe-day the French Ambassador was feasted publikely; and at night there was a play in the Queens presence with a masquerado of certaine Scotchmen who came in with a sword dance not vnlike a matachin, and performed it clenly. . . . The Sunday following was the great day of the Queenes maske.'

This Carleton describes at length; I only note points which supplement Daniel's description.

> 'The Hale was so much lessened by the workes that were in it, so as none could be admitted but men of apparance, the one end was made into a rock and in several places the waightes placed; in attire like savages. Through the midst from the top came a winding stayre of breadth for three to march; and so descended the maskers by three and three; which being all seene on the stayres at once was the best presentacion I have at any time seene. Theyre attire was alike, loose mantles and petticotes but of different colors, the stuffs embrodered sattins and cloth of gold and silver, for which they were beholding to Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe. . . . Only Pallas had a trick by herself for her clothes were not so much below the knee, but that we might see a woman had both feete and legs which I never knew before.'

He describes the torchbearers as pages in white satin loose gowns, although Daniel says they were 'in the like several colours' to the maskers. The temple was 'on the left side of the hall towards the upper end'. For the 'common measures' the lords taken out were Pembroke, Lennox, Suffolk, Henry Howard, Southampton, Devonshire, Sidney, Nottingham, Monteagle, Northumberland, Knollys, and Worcester.

> 'For galliardes and corantoes they went by discretion, and the yong Prince was tost from hand to hand like a tennis bal. The Lady Bedford and Lady Susan tooke owt the two ambassadors; and they bestirred themselfe very liuely: speceally the Spaniard for the Spanish galliard shewed himself a lusty old reueller. . . . But of all for goode grace and goode footmanship Pallas bare the bell away.'

The dancers unmasked about midnight, and then came a banquet in the presence-chamber, 'which was dispatched with the accustomed confusion'.

Carleton also mentions the trouble between the Spanish and French ambassadors, which is also referred to in a letter of O. Renzo to G. A. Frederico (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, vi. 37; cf. Sullivan, 195), and is the subject of several dispatches by and to the Comte de Beaumont

(*King's MSS.* cxxiv, ff. 328, 359^{v}, 363, 373, 381, 383^{v}, 389; cf. Reyher, 519, Sullivan, 193–5). It was the object of the Court not to invite both ambassadors together, as this would entail an awkward decision as to precedence. Beaumont was asked first, to the mask on 1 Jan. He hesitated to accept, expressing a fear that it was intended to ask De Taxis to the Queen's mask on Twelfth Night, 'dernier jour des festes de Noël selon la facon d'Angleterre et le plus honnorable de tout pour la cérémonie qui s'y obserue de tout temps publiquement'. After some negotiation he extracted a promise from James that, if the Spaniard was present at all, it would be in a private capacity, and he then dropped the point, and accepted his own invitation, threatening to kill De Taxis in the presence if he dared to dispute precedence with him. On 5 Jan. he learnt that Anne had refused to dance if De Taxis was not present, and that the promise would be broken. He protested, and his protest was met by an invitation for the Twelfth Night to which he had attached such importance. But the Queen's mask was put off until 8 Jan., a Scottish mask substituted on 6 Jan., and on 8 Jan. De Taxis was present, revelling it in red, while Anne paid him the compliment of wearing a red favour on her costume.

Reyher, 519, cites references to the Queen's mask in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber and of the Office of Works. E. Law (*Hist. of Hampton Court*, ii. 10) gives, presumably from one of these, 'making readie the lower ende with certain roomes of the hall at Hampton Court for the Queenes Maiestie and ladies against their mask by the space of three dayes'.

Allde's edition must have been quickly printed. On 2 Feb. Lord Worcester wrote to Lord Shrewsbury (Lodge, iii. 87): 'Whereas your Lordship saith you were never particularly advertised of the mask, I have been at sixpence charge with you to send you the book, which will inform you better than I can, having noted the names of the ladies applied to each goddess; and for the other, I would likewise have sent you the ballet, if I could have got it for money, but these books, as I hear, are all called in, and in truth I will not take upon me to set that down which wiser than myself do not understand.'

Tethys' Festival. 5 June 1610

1610. Tethys Festiual: or the Queenes Wake. Celebrated at Whitehall, the fifth day of June 1610. Deuised by Samuel Daniel, one of the Groomes of her Maiesties most Honourable priuie Chamber. *For John Budge.* [Annexed with separate title-page to *The Creation of Henry Prince of Wales* (q.v.). A Preface to the Reader criticizes, though not by name, Ben Jonson's descriptions of his masks.]

Edition in Nichols, *James* (1828), ii. 346.

The maskers, in sky-blue and cloth of silver, were Tethys and thirteen Nymphs of as many English Rivers; the antimaskers, in light robes adorned with flowers, eight Naiads; the presenters Zephyrus and two Tritons, whom with the Naiads Daniel calls 'the Ante-maske or first shew', and Mercury. Torchbearers were dispensed with, for 'they would have pestered the roome, which the season would not well permit'.

The locality was probably the Banqueting Room at Whitehall. The scene was supplemented by a Tree of Victory on a mount to the right of 'the state'. A 'travers' representing a cloud served for a curtain, and was drawn to discover, within a framework borne on pilasters, in front of which stood Neptune and Nereus on pedestals, a haven, whence the 'Ante-maske' issued. They presented on behalf of Tethys a trident to the King, and a sword and scarf to Henry, and the Naiads danced round Zephyrus. The scene was then changed, under cover of three circles of moving lights and glasses, to show five niches, of which the central one represented a throne for Tethys, with Thames at her feet, and the others four caverns, each containing three Nymphs.

The maskers marched to the Tree of Victory, at which they offered their flowers, and under which Tethys reposed between the dances. Of these they gave two; then took out the Lords for 'measures, corantos, and galliardes'; and then gave their 'retyring daunce'. Apparently as an innovation, 'to avoid the confusion which usually attendeth the desolve of these shewes', the presenters stayed the dissolve, and Mercury sent the Duke of York and six young noblemen to conduct the Queen and ladies back 'in their owne forme'.

This was a Queen's mask, and Daniel notes 'that there were none of inferior sort mixed among these great personages of state and honour (as usually there have been); but all was performed by themselves with a due reservation of their dignity. The maskers were the Queen (Tethys), the Lady Elizabeth (Thames), Lady Arabella Stuart (Trent), the Countesses of Arundel (Arun), Derby (Darwent), Essex (Lee), Dorset (Air), and Montgomery (Severn), Viscountess Haddington (Rother), and the Ladies Elizabeth Gray (Medway), Elizabeth Guilford (Dulesse), Katherine Petre (Olwy), Winter (Wye), and Windsor (Usk). The antimaskers were 'eight little Ladies'. The Duke of York played Zephyrus, and two gentlemen 'of good worth and respect' the Tritons. 'The artificiall part', says Daniel, 'only speakes Master Inago Jones.'

On 13 Jan. 1610 Chamberlain wrote to Winwood (iii. 117, misdated 'February') that 'the Queen would likewise have a mask against Candlemas or Shrovetide'. Doubtless it was deferred to the Creation, for which on 24 May the same writer (Winwood, iii. 175) mentions Anne as preparing and practising a mask. Winwood's papers (iii. 179) also contain a description, unsigned, but believed by their editor to be written by John Finett, as follows:

> 'The next day was graced with a most glorious Maske, which was double. In the first, came first in the little Duke of Yorke between two great Sea Slaves, the cheefest of Neptune's servants, attended upon by twelve [eight] little Ladies, all of them the daughters of Earls or Barons. By one of these men a speech was made unto the King and Prince, expressing the conceipt of the maske; by the other a sword worth 20,000 crowns at the least was put into the Duke of York's hands, who presented the same unto the Prince his brother from the first of those ladies which were to follow in the next maske. This done, the Duke returned into his former

place in midst of the stage, and the little ladies performed their dance to the amazement of all the beholders, considering the tenderness of their years and the many intricate changes of the dance; which was so disposed, that which way soever the changes went the little Duke was still found to be in the midst of these little dancers. These light skirmishers having done their *devoir*, in came the Princesses; first the Queen, next the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, then the Lady Arbella, the Countesses of Arundell, Derby, Essex, Dorset, and Montgomery, the Lady Hadington, the Lady Elizabeth Grey, the Lady Windsor, the Lady Katherine Peter, the Lady Elizabeth Guilford, and the Lady Mary [Anne] Wintour. By that time these had done, it was high time to go to bed, for it was within half an hour of the sun's, not setting, but rising. Howbeit, a farther time was to be spent in viewing and scrambling at one of the most magnificent banquets that I have seen. The ambassadors of Spaine, of Venice, and of the Low Countries were present at this and all the rest of these glorious sights, and in truth so they were.'

Brief notices in Stowe's *Annales* (902, paged 907 in error) and in letters by Carleton to Sir Thomas Edmondes (Birch, i. 114) and by John Noies to his wife (*Hist. MSS. Various Colls.* iii. 261) add nothing to Finett's account. There were no very serious ambassadorial complications, as the death of Henri IV put an invitation to the French ambassador out of the question (cf. Sullivan, 59). Correr notes with satisfaction that, as ambassador from Venice, he had as good a box as that of the Spanish ambassador, while, to please Spanish susceptibilities, that of the Dutch ambassador was less good (*V. P.* xi. 507).

The mask was 'excessively costly' (*V. P.* xii. 86). Several financial documents relating to it are on record (Reyher, 507, 521; Devon, 105, 127; Sullivan, 219, 221; *S. P. D. Jac. I*, liii. 4, 74; lix. 12), including a warrant of 4 March, which recites the Queen's pleasure that the Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Horse 'shall take some paines to look into the emptions and provisions of all things necessarie', another of 25 May for an imprest to Inigo Jones, an embroiderer's bill for £55, and a silkman's for £1,071 5*s*., with an endorsement by Lord Knyvet, referring the prices to the Privy Council, and counter-signatures by the Lord Chamberlain and the Master of the Horse. In this case the dresses of the maskers seem to have been provided for them. An allusion in a letter of Donne to Sir Henry Goodyere (*Letters*, i. 240) makes a sportive suggestion for a source of revenue 'if Mr. Inago Jones be not satisfied for his last masque (because I hear say it cannot come to much)'.

JOHN DAVIDSON (1549?–1603).

A Regent of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrew's, and afterwards minister of Liberton and a bitter satirist on behalf of the extreme Kirk party in Scotland.

The Siege of Edinburgh Castle. 1571

James Melville writes s.a. 1571: 'This yeir in the monethe of July, Mr. Jhone Davidsone an of our Regents maid a play at the mariage of Mr. Jhone Coluin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr. Knox presence, wherin, according to Mr. Knox doctrine, the castell of Edinbruche was besiged, takin, and the Captan, with an or two with him, hangit in effigie.'[1]

This was in intelligent anticipation of events. Edinburgh Castle was held by Kirkcaldy of Grange for Mary in 1571. On 28 May 1573 it was taken by the English on behalf of the party of James VI, and Kirkcaldy was hanged.

Melville also records plays at the 'Bachelor Act' of 1573 at St. Andrews.

SIR JOHN DAVIES (1569–1626).

Davies was a Winchester and Queen's College, Oxford, man, who entered the Middle Temple on 3 Feb. 1588, served successively as Solicitor-General (1603–6) and Attorney-General (1606–19) in Ireland, and was Speaker of the Irish Parliament in 1613. His principal poems are *Orchestra* (1594) and *Nosce Teipsum* (1599). He was invited by the Earl of Cumberland (q.v.) to write verses for 'barriers' in 1601, and contributed to the entertainments of Elizabeth by Sir Thomas Egerton (cf. ch. xxiv) and Sir Robert Cecil (q.v.) in 1602.

Collections

Works by A. B. Grosart (1869–76, *Fuller Worthies Library*. 3 vols.).

Poems by A. B. Grosart (1876, *Early English Poets*. 2 vols.).

Dissertation: M. Seemann, *Sir J. D., sein Leben und seine Werke* (1913, *Wiener Beiträge*, xli).

R. DAVIES (*c.* 1610).

Contributor to *Chester's Triumph* (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

FRANCIS DAVISON (*c.* 1575–*c.* 1619).

He was son of William Davison, Secretary of State, and compiler of *A Poetical Rapsody* (1602), of which the best edition is that of A. H. Bullen (1890–1). He entered Gray's Inn in 1593: for his contribution to the Gray's Inn mask of 1595, see s.v. ANON. *Gesta Grayorum*.

JOHN DAY (*c.* 1574–*c.* 1640).

Day was described as son of Walter Dey, husbandman, of Cawston, Norfolk, when at the age of eighteen he became a sizar of Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, on 24 Oct. 1592; on 4 May 1593 he was expelled for stealing a book (Venn, *Caius*, i. 146). He next appears in Henslowe's diary, first as selling an old play for the Admiral's in July 1598, and then as writing busily for that company in 1599–1603 and for Worcester's in 1602–3. Most of this work was in collaboration, occasionally with Dekker, frequently with Chettle, Hathway, Haughton, or Smith. From this period little or nothing survives except *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 126, doubts whether an acrostic on Thomas Downton signed 'John Daye', contributed by J. F. Herbert to *Sh. Soc. Papers*, i. 19, and now at Dulwich, is to be ascribed to the dramatist. Day's independent plays, written about

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[1] *Melville's Diary* (Bannatyne Club), 22.

1604–8, and his *Parliament of Bees* are of finer literary quality than this early record would suggest. But Ben Jonson classed him to Drummond in 1619 amongst the 'rogues' and 'base fellows' who were 'not of the number of the faithfull, i.e. Poets' (Laing, 4, 11). He must have lived long, as John Tatham, who included an elegy on him as his 'loving friend' in his *Fancies Theater* (1640), was then only about twenty-eight. He appears to have been still writing plays in 1623, but there is no trace of any substantial body of work after 1608. Fleay, i. 115, suggests from the tone of his manuscript pamphlet *Peregrinatio Scholastica* that he took orders.

Collection

1881. A. H. Bullen, *The Works of John Day.*

The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green. 1600

S. R. 1657, Sept. 14. 'A booke called The pleasant history of the blind beggar of Bednall Greene, declaring his life and death &c.' *Francis Grove* (Eyre, ii. 145).

1659. The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green, with The merry humor of Tom Strowd the Norfolk Yeoman, as it was divers times publickly acted by the Princes Servants. Written by John Day. *For R. Pollard and Tho. Dring.*

Editions by W. Bang (1902, *Materialien,* i) and J. S. Farmer (1914, *S. F. T.*).

The Prince's men of the title are probably the later Prince Charles's (1631–41), but these were the ultimate successors of Prince Henry's, formerly the Admiral's, who produced, between May 1600 and Sept. 1601, three parts of a play called indifferently by Henslowe *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* and *Thomas Strowd*. Payments were made for the first part to Day and Chettle and for the other two to Day and Haughton. On the assumption that the extant play is Part i, Bullen, *Introd.* 8 and Fleay, i. 107, make divergent suggestions as to the division of responsibility between Day and Chettle. At l. 2177 is the s.d. 'Enter Captain Westford, Sill Clark'; probably the performance in which this actor took part was a Caroline one.

Law Tricks, or Who Would Have Thought It. 1604

S. R. 1608, March 28 (Buck). 'A booke called A most wytty and merry conceited comedie called who would a thought it or Lawetrykes.' *Richard Moore* (Arber, iii. 372).

1608. Law-Trickes or, who would have Thought it. As it hath bene diuers times Acted by the Children of the Reuels. Written by John Day. *For Richard More.* [Epistle by the Book to the Reader; Epilogue.]

The name given to the company suggests that the play was on the stage in 1605–6. But I think the original production must have been in 1604, as the dispute between Westminster and Winchester for 'terms', in which Winchester is said to have been successful, 'on Saint Lukes day, coming shalbe a twelue-month' (ed. Bullen, p. 61) can only refer to the term held at Winchester in 1603. An inundation in July is also mentioned (p. 61), and Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 844, has a corresponding record for 1604, but gives the day as 3 Aug.

The Isle of Gulls. 1606

1606. The Ile of Guls. As it hath been often playd in the blacke Fryars, by the Children of the Reuels. Written by Iohn Day. *Sold by John Hodgets.* [Induction and Prologue.]

1606. *For John Trundle, sold by John Hodgets.*

1633. *For William Sheares.*

The play is thus referred to by Sir Edward Hoby in a letter of 7 March 1606 to Sir Thomas Edmondes (Birch, i. 59): 'At this time (*c.* 15 Feb.) was much speech of a play in the Black Friars, where, in the "Isle of Gulls", from the highest to the lowest, all men's parts were acted of two divers nations: as I understand sundry were committed to Bridewell.' A passage in iv. 4 (Bullen, p. 91), probably written with *Eastward Ho!* in mind, refers to the 'libelling' ascribed to poets by 'some Dor' and 'false informers'; and the Induction defends the play itself against the charge that a 'great mans life' is 'charactred' in Damoetas. Nevertheless, Damoetas, the royal favourite, 'a little hillock made great with others ruines' (p. 13) inevitably suggests Sir Robert Carr, and Fleay, i. 109, points out that the 'Duke' and 'Duchess' of the dramatis personae have been substituted for a 'King' and 'Queen'. It may not be possible now to verify all the men whose 'parts' were acted; evidently the Arcadians and Lacedaemonians stand for the two 'nations' of English and Scotch. I do not see any ground for Fleay's attempt to treat the play, not as a political, but as a literary satire, identifying Damoetas with Daniel, and tracing allusions to Jonson, Marston, and Chapman in the Induction. Hoby's indication of date is confirmed by references to the 'East-ward, West-ward or North-ward hoe' (p. 3; cf. s.vv. Chapman, Dekker), to the quartering for treason on 30 Jan. 1606 (pp. 3, 51), and conceivably to Jonson's *Volpone* of 1605 or early 1606 (p. 88, 'you wil ha my humor brought ath stage for a vserer').

The Travels of Three English Brothers. 1607

S. R. 1607, June 29 (Buck). 'A playe called the trauailles of the Three Englishe brothers as yt was played at the Curten.' *John Wright* (Arber, iii. 354).

1607. The Travailes of The three English Brothers.

Sir Thomas
Sir Anthony } Shirley.
Mr. Robert

As it is now play'd by her Maiesties Seruants. *For John Wright.* [Epistle to the Family of the Sherleys, signed 'Iohn Day, William Rowley, George Wilkins', Prologue and Epilogue.]

The source was a pamphlet on the Sherleys by A. Nixon (S. R. 8 June 1607) and the play seems to have been still on the stage when it was printed. Some suggestions as to the division of authorship are in

Fleay, ii. 277, Bullen, *Introd.* 19, and C. W. Stork, *William Rowley*, 57. A scene at Venice (Bullen, p. 55) introduces Will Kempe, who mentions Vennar's *England's Joy* (1602), and prepares to play an 'extemporall merriment' with an Italian Harlaken. He has come from England with a boy. The Epilogue refers to 'some that fill up this round circumference'.

Humour out of Breath. 1607–8

S. R. 1608, April 12 (Buck). 'A booke called Humour out of breathe. *John Helme* (Arber, iii. 374).

1608. Humour out of breath. A Comedie Diuers times latelie acted, By the Children Of The Kings Reuells. Written by Iohn Day. *For John Helme.* [Epistle to Signior No-body, signed 'Iohn Daye'.]

Editions by J. O. Halliwell (1860), A. Symons in *Nero and Other Plays* (1888, *Mermaid Series*).

The date must be taken as 1607-8, since the King's Revels are not traceable before 1607. Fleay, i. 111, notes a reference in iii. 4 to the 'great frost' of that Christmas. The Epistle speaks of the play as 'sufficiently featur'd too, had it been all of one man's getting', which may be a hint of divided authorship.

The Parliament of Bees. 1608 <> 16

[*MS.*] *Lansdowne MS.* 725, with title. 'An olde manuscript conteyning the Parliament of Bees, found in a Hollow Tree in a garden at Hibla, in a Strange Languadge, And now faithfully Translated into Easie English Verse by John Daye, Cantabridg.' [Epistles to William Augustine, signed 'John Day, Cant.' and to the Reader, signed 'Jo: Daye'.]

S. R. 1641, March 23 (Hansley). 'A booke called The Parliam^{t} of Bees, &c., by John Day.' *Will Ley* (Eyre, i. 17).

1641. The Parliament of Bees, With their proper Characters. Or A Bee-hive furnisht with twelve Honycombes, as Pleasant as Profitable. Being an Allegoricall description of the actions of good and bad men in these our daies. By John Daye, Sometimes Student of Caius Colledge in Cambridge. *For William Lee.* [Epistle to George Butler, signed 'John Day', The Author's Commission to his Bees, similarly signed, and The Book to the Reader. The text varies considerably from that of the manuscript.]

Edition by A. Symons in *Nero and Other Plays* (1888, *Mermaid Series*).

This is neither a play nor a mask, but a set of twelve short 'Characters' or 'Colloquies' in dialogue. The existence of an edition of 1607 is asserted in Gildon's abridgement (1699) of Langbaine, but cannot be verified, and is most improbable, since the manuscript Epistle refers to an earlier work already dedicated by Day, as 'an unknowing venturer', to Augustine, and this must surely be the allegorical treatise *Peregrinatio Scholastica* printed by Bullen (*Introd.* 35) from *Sloane MS.* 3150 with an Epistle by Day to William Austin, who may reasonably be identified with Augustine. But the *Peregrinatio*, although Day's first venture in dedication, was not a very early work, for Day admits that 'I boast not that gaudie spring of credit and youthfull florish of opinion as some other filde in the same rancke with me'. Moreover, it describes (p. 50) an 'antemaske', and this term, so far as we know, first came into use about 1608 (cf. ch. vi). The *Bees* therefore must be later still. On the other hand, it can hardly be later than about 1616, when died Philip Henslowe, whom it is impossible to resist seeing with Fleay, i. 115, in the Fenerator or Usuring Bee (p. 63). Like Henslowe he is a 'broaker' and 'takes up' clothes; and

> Most of the timber that his state repairs,
> He hew's out o' the bones of foundred players:
> They feed on Poets braines, he eats their breath.

Now of the twelve Characters of the *Bees*, five (2, 3, 7, 8, 9) are reproduced, in many parts verbatim, subject to an alteration of names, in *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, printed as Dekker's (q.v.) in 1636, but probably identical with *Come See a Wonder*, licensed by Herbert as Day's in 1623. Two others (4, 5) are similarly reproduced in *The Noble Soldier*, printed in 1634 under the initials 'S. R.', probably indicating Samuel Rowley, but possibly also containing work by Dekker. The precise relation of Day to these plays is indeterminate, but the scenes more obviously 'belong' to the *Bees* than to the plays, and if the *Bees* was written but not printed in 1608–16, the chances are that Day used it as a quarry of material when he was called upon to work, as reviser or collaborator, on the plays. Meanwhile, Austin, if he was the Southwark and Lincoln's Inn writer of that name (*D.N.B.*), died in 1634, and when the *Bees* was ultimately printed in 1641 a new dedicatee had to be found.

Lost and Doubtful Plays

For the Admiral's, 1598–1603.

Day appears to have sold the company an old play *1 The Conquest of Brute* in July 1598, and to have subsequently written or collaborated in the following plays:

1599–1600: *Cox of Collumpton*, with Haughton; *Thomas Merry*, or *Beech's Tragedy*, with Haughton; *The Seven Wise Masters*, with Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton; *Cupid and Psyche*, with Chettle and Dekker; *1 Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, with Chettle; and the unfinished *Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, with Dekker and Haughton.

1600–1: *2 Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, with Haughton; *Six Yeomen of the West*, with Haughton.

1601–2: *The Conquest of the West Indies*, with Haughton and Smith; *3 Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, with Haughton; *Friar Rush and The Proud Woman of Antwerp*, with Chettle and Haughton; *The Bristol Tragedy*; and the unfinished *2 Tom Dough*, with Haughton.

1602–3: *Merry as May Be*, with Hathway and Smith; *The Boss of Billingsgate*, with Hathway and another.

For Worcester's men.

1602–3: *1 and 2 The Black Dog of Newgate*, with Hathway, Smith, and another; *The Unfortunate General*, with Hathway, Smith, and a third; and the unfinished *Shore*, with Chettle.

Of the above only *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* and a note of *Cox of Collumpton* (cf. ch. xiii, s.v. Admiral's) survive; for speculations as to others see Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas* (*Cupid and Psyche*), Marlowe, *Lust's Dominion* (*Spanish Moor's Tragedy*), Yarington, *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (*Thomas Merry*), and the anonymous *Edward IV* (*Shore*) and *Fair Maid of Bristol* (*Bristow Tragedy*).

Henslowe's correspondence (*Henslowe Papers*, 56, 127) contains notes from Day and others about some of the Admiral's plays and a few lines which may be from *The Conquest of the Indies*.

Day's *Mad Pranks of Merry Mall of the Bankside* (S. R. 7 Aug. 1610) was probably a pamphlet (cf. Dekker, *The Roaring Girl*). Bullen, *Introd.* 11, thinks the *Guy Earl of Warwick* (1661), printed as 'by B. J.', too bad to be Day and Dekker's *Life and Death of Guy of Warwick* (S. R. 15 Jan. 1620). On 30 July 1623 Herbert licensed a *Bellman of Paris* by Day and Dekker for the Prince's (Herbert, 24). *The Maiden's Holiday* by Marlowe (q.v.) and Day (S. R. 8 April 1654) appears in Warburton's list of burnt plays (*3 Library*, ii. 231) as Marlowe's.

For other ascriptions to Day see *The Maid's Metamorphosis* and *Parnassus* in ch. xxiv.

THOMAS DEKKER (*c.* 1572–*c.* 1632).

Thomas Dekker was of London origin, but though the name occurs in Southwark, Cripplegate, and Bishopsgate records, neither his parentage nor his marriage, if he was married, can be definitely traced. He was not unlettered, but nothing is known of his education, and the conjecture that he trailed a pike in the Netherlands is merely based on his acquaintance with war and with Dutch. The Epistle to his *English Villanies*, with its reference to 'my three score years', first appeared in the edition of 1632; he was therefore born about 1572. He first emerges, in Henslowe's diary, as a playwright for the Admiral's in 1598, and may very well have been working for them during 1594–8, a period for which Henslowe records plays only and not authors. The further conjecture of Fleay, i. 119, that this employment went as far back as 1588–91 is hazardous, and in fact led Fleay to put his birth-date as far back as 1567. It was based on the fact that the German repertories of 1620 and 1626 contain traces of his work, and on Fleay's erroneous belief (cf. ch. xiv) that all the plays in these repertories were taken to Germany by Robert Browne as early as 1592. But it is smiled upon by Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 256) as regards *The Virgin Martyr* alone. Between 1598 and 1602 Dekker wrote busily, and as a rule in collaboration, first for the Admiral's at the Rose and Fortune, and afterwards for Worcester's at the Rose. He had a hand in some forty-four plays, of which, in anything like their original form, only half a dozen survive. *Satiromastix*, written for the Chamberlain's men and the Paul's boys in 1601, shows that his activities were not limited to the Henslowe companies. This intervention in the *Poetomachia* led Jonson to portray him as Demetrius Fannius 'the dresser of plays' in *The Poetaster*; that he is also Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida* is a not very plausible conjecture. Long after, in 1619, Jonson classed him among the 'rogues' (Laing, 4). In 1604, however, he shared with Jonson the responsibility for the London devices at James's coronation entry. About this time began his career as a writer of popular pamphlets, in which he proved the most effective successor of Thomas Nashe. These, and in particular *The Gull's Hornbook* (1609), are full of touches drawn from his experience as a dramatist. Nor did he wholly desert the stage, collaborating with Middleton for the Prince's and with Webster for Paul's, and writing also, apparently alone, for the Queen's. In 1612 he devised the Lord Mayor's pageant. In 1613 he fell upon evil days. He had always been impecunious, and Henslowe (i. 83, 101, 161) had lent him money to discharge him from the Counter in 1598 and from an arrest by the Chamberlain's in 1599. Now he fell into the King's Bench for debt, and apparently lay there until 1619. The relationship of his later work to that of Ford, Massinger, Day, and others, lies rather beyond the scope of this inquiry, but in view of the persistent attempts to find early elements in all his plays, I have made my list comprehensive. He is not traceable after 1632, and is probably the Thomas Decker, householder, buried at St. James's, Clerkenwell, on 25 Aug. 1632. A Clerkenwell recusant of this name is recorded in 1626 and 1628 (*Middlesex County Records*, iii. 12, 19).

Collections

1873. [R. H. Shepherd], *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*. 4 vols. (*Pearson Reprints*). [Contains 15 plays and 4 Entertainments.]

1884–6. A. B. Grosart, *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*. 5 vols. (Huth Library). [Contains nearly all the pamphlets, with *Patient Grissell*. A better edition of *The Gull's Hornbook* is that by R. B. McKerrow (1904); a chapter is in App. H.]

1887. E. Rhys, *Thomas Dekker* (*Mermaid Series*). [Contains *The Shoemaker's Holiday, 1, 2 The Honest Whore, Old Fortunatus, The Witch of Edmonton*.]

Dissertations: M. L. Hunt, *Thomas Dekker: A Study* (1911, *Columbia Studies in English*); W. Bang, *Dekker-Studien* (1900, *E.S.* xxviii. 208); F. E. Pierce, *The Collaboration of Webster with Dekker* (1909, *Yale Studies*, xxxvii) and *The Collaboration of Dekker and Ford* (1912, *Anglia*, xxxvi, 141, 289); E. E. Stoll, *John Webster* (1905), ch. ii, and *The Influence of Jonson on Dekker* (1906, *M. L. N.* xxi. 20); R. Brooke, *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama* (1916); F. P. Wilson, *Three Notes on Thomas Dekker* (1920, *M. L. R.* xv. 82).

PLAYS

Old Fortunatus. 1599

S. R. 1600, Feb. 20. 'A commedie called old Fortunatus in his newe lyuerie.' *William Aspley* (Arber, iii. 156).

1600. The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus. As it was plaied before the Queenes Maiestie this Christmas, by the Right Honourable the Earle of Nottingham, Lord high Admirall of England his Seruants. *S. S. for William Aspley.* [Prologue at Court, another Prologue, and Epilogue at Court; signed at end Tho. Dekker.]

Editions by Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* iii), H. Scherer (1901, *Münchener Beiträge*, xxi), O. Smeaton (1904, *T. D.*).

The Admiral's revived, from 3 Feb. to 26 May 1596, 'the 1 parte of Forteunatus'. Nothing is heard of a second part, but during 9–30 Nov. 1599 Dekker received £6 on account of the Admiral's for 'the hole history of Fortunatus', followed on 1 Dec. by £1 for altering the book and on 12 Dec. £2 'for the eande of Fortewnatus for the corte'. The company were at Court on 27 Dec. 1599 and 1 Jan. 1600. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* was played on 1 Jan.; *Fortunatus* therefore on 27 Dec. The Prologue (l. 21) makes it 'a iust yeere' since the speaker saw the Queen, presumably on 27 Dec. 1598. The S. R. entry suggests that the 1599 play was a revision of the 1596 one. Probably Dekker boiled the old two parts down into one play; the juncture may, as suggested by Fleay, i. 126, and Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 179), come about l. 1315. The Court additions clearly include, besides the Prologue and the Epilogue with its reference to Elizabeth's forty-second regnal year (1599–1600), the compliment of ll. 2799–834 at the 'eande' of the play. The 'small circumference' of the theatrical prologue was doubtless the Rose. Dekker may or may not have been the original author of the two-part play; probably he was not, if Fleay is right in assigning it to *c.* 1590 on the strength of the allusions to the Marprelate controversy left in the 1600 text, e.g. l. 59. I should not wonder if Greene, who called his son Fortunatus, were the original author. A Fortunatus play is traceable in German repertories of 1608 and 1626 and an extant version in the collection of 1620 owes something to Dekker's (Herz, 97; cf. P. Harms, *Die deutschen Fortunatus-Dramen* in *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, v). But Dekker's own source, directly or indirectly, was a German folk-tale, which had been dramatized by Hans Sachs as early as 1553.

The Shoemaker's Holiday. 1599

S. R. 1610, April 19. Transfer from Simmes to J. Wright of 'A booke called the shoomakers holyday or the gentle crafte' subject to an agreement for Simmes to 'haue the workmanshipp of the printinge thereof for the vse of the sayd John Wrighte duringe his lyfe, yf he haue a printinge house of his owne' (Arber, iii. 431).

1600. The Shomakers Holiday. Or The Gentle Craft. With the humorous life of Simon Eyre, shoomaker, and Lord Maior of London. As it was acted before the Queenes most excellent Maiestie on New yeares day at night last, by the right honourable the Earle of Notingham, Lord high Admirall of England, his seruants. *Valentine Simmes.* [Epistle to Professors of the Gentle Craft and Prologue before the Queen.]

1610, 1618, 1624, 1631, 1657.

Editions by E. Fritsche (1862), K. Warnke and E. Proescholdt (1886), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*), and A. F. Lange (1914, *R. E. C.* iii).

Henslowe advanced £3 'to bye a boocke called the gentle Craft of Thomas Dickers' on 15 July 1599. Probably the hiatus in the Diary conceals other payments for the play, and there is nothing in the form of the entry to justify the suspicions of Fleay, i. 124, that it was not new and was not by Dekker himself. Moreover, the source was a prose tract of *The Gentle Craft* by T. D[eloney], published in 1598. The Admiral's were at Court on 1 Jan. 1600, but not on 1 Jan. 1601. A writer signing himself Dramaticus, in *Sh. Soc. Papers*, iv. 110, describes a copy in which a contemporary hand has written the names 'T. Dekker, R. Wilson' at the end of the Epistle, together with the names of the actors in the margin of the text. A few of these are not otherwise traceable in the Admiral's. Fleay and Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 203) unite in condemning this communication as an obvious forgery; but I rather wish they had given their reasons.

Patient Grissell. 1600

With Chettle and Haughton.

S. R. 1600, March 28. 'The Plaie of Patient Grissell.' *Cuthbert Burby* (Arber, iii. 158).

1603. The Pleasant Comodie of Patient Grissill. As it hath beene sundrie times lately plaid by the right honorable the Earle of Nottingham (Lord high Admirall) his seruants. *For Henry Rocket.*

Editions by J. P. Collier (1841, *Sh. Soc.*), A. B. Grosart (1886, *Dekker*, v. 109), G. Hübsch (1893, *Erlanger Beiträge*, xv), J. S. Farmer (1911, *T. F. T.*).—*Dissertations* by A. E. H. Swaen in *E. S.* xxii. 451, Fr. v. Westenholz, *Die Griseldis-Sage in der Literaturgeschichte* (1888).

Henslowe paid £10 10*s.* to Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton for the play between 16 Oct. and 29 Dec. 1599, also £1 for Grissell's gown on 26 Jan. 1600 and £2 'to staye the printing' on 18 March 1600. The text refers to 'wonders of 1599' (l. 2220) and to 'this yeare' as 'leap yeare' (l. 157). The production was doubtless *c.* Feb.–March 1600. Fleay, i. 271, attempts to divide the work amongst the three contributors; cf. Hunt, 60. I see nothing to commend the theory of W. Bang (*E. S.* xxviii. 208) that the play was written by Chettle *c.* 1590–4 and revised with Dekker, Haughton, and Jonson. No doubt the dandy's duel, in which clothes alone suffer, of Emulo–Sir Owen resembles that of Brisk–Luculento in *Every Man Out of his Humour*, but this may be due to a common origin in fact (cf. Fleay, i. 361; Penniman, *War*, 70; Small, 43). Fleay, followed by Penniman, identifies Emulo with Samuel Daniel, but Small, 42, 184, satisfactorily disposes of this suggestion. There seems no reason to regard *Patient Grissell* as part of the *Poetomachia*. A 'Comoedia von der Crysella' is in the German repertory of 1626; the theme had, however, already been dealt with in a play of *Griseldis* by Hans Sachs (Herz, 66, 78).

Satiromastix. 1601

With Marston ?

S. R. 1601, Nov. 11. 'Vppon condicon that yt be lycensed to be printed, A booke called the vntrussinge of the humorous poetes by Thomas Decker.' *John Barnes* (Arber, iii. 195).

1602. Satiro-mastix. Or The vntrussing of the Humorous Poet. As it hath bin presented publikely, by the Right Honorable, the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants; and priuately, by the Children of Paules. By Thomas Dekker. *For Edward White.* [Epistle to the World, note *Ad Lectorem* of *errata*, and Epilogue. Scherer, xiv, distinguishes two editions, but T. M. Parrott's review in *M. L. R.* vi. 398 regards these as only variant states of one edition.]

Editions by T. Hawkins (1773, *O. E. D.* iii), H. Scherer (1907, *Materialien*, xx), J. H. Penniman (1913, *B. L.*).

The Epistle refers to the *Poetomachia* between 'Horace' and 'a band of leane-witted Poetasters', and on the place of *Satiromastix* in this fray there is little to be added to Small, 119. Jonson is satirized as Horace. Asinius Bubo is some unknown satellite of his, probably the same who appears as Simplicius Faber in Marston's *What You Will* (q.v.). Crispinus, Demetrius, and Tucca are taken over from Jonson's *Poetaster* (q.v.). The satirical matter is engrafted on to a play with a tragic plot and comic sub-plot, both wholly unconcerned with the *Poetomachia*. Jonson must have known that the attack was in preparation, when he made Tucca abuse Histrio for threatening to 'play' him, and Histrio say that he had hired Demetrius [Dekker] 'to abuse Horace, and bring him in, in a play' (*Poetaster*, III. iv. 212, 339). But obviously Dekker cannot have done much of his satire, until he had seen *Poetaster*, to many details of which it retorts. It is perhaps rather fantastic to hold that, as he chaffs Jonson for the boast that he wrote *Poetaster* in fifteen weeks (*Satiromastix*, 641), he must himself have taken less. In any case a date of production between that of *Poetaster* in the spring of 1601 and the S. R. entry on 11 Nov. 1601 is indicated. The argument of Scherer, x, for a date about Christmas 1601, and therefore after the S. R. entry, is rebutted by Parrott. It is generally held that Marston helped Dekker with the play, in spite of the single name on the title-page. No doubt Tucca in *Poetaster*, III. iv. 352, suggests to Histrio that Crispinus shall help Demetrius, and the plural is used in *Satiromastix* (*Epistle*, 12, and *Epilogue*, 2700) and in Jonson's own *Apologetical Dialogue* to *Poetaster* (l. 141) of the 'poetasters' who were Jonson's 'untrussers'. Small, 122, finds Marston in the plot and characterization, but not in the style.

Sir Thomas Wyatt. 1602

With Webster, and possibly Chettle, Heywood, and Smith.

1607. The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat. With the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the coming in of King Philip. As it was plaied by the Queens Maiesties Seruants. Written by Thomas Dickers and Iohn Webster. *E. A. for Thomas Archer.*

1612. *For Thomas Archer.*

Editions by J. Blew (1876), and J. S. Farmer (1914, *S. F. T.*) and with *Works* of Webster (q.v.).

Henslowe, on behalf of Worcester's men, paid Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Smith, and Webster, for *1 Lady Jane* in Oct. 1602. He then bought properties for *The Overthrow of Rebels*, almost certainly the same play, and began to pay Dekker for a *2 Lady Jane*, which apparently remained unfinished, at any rate at the time. One or both of these plays, or possibly only the shares of Dekker and Webster in one or both of them, may reasonably be taken to survive in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Stoll, 49, thinks the play, as we have it, is practically Dekker's and that there is 'no one thing' that can be claimed 'with any degree of assurance' for Webster. But this is not the general view. Fleay, ii. 269, followed in the main by Hunt, 76, gives Webster scc. i–ix, Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 233) scc. i–x and xvi (with hesitation as to iii–v), Pierce, after a careful application of a number of 'tests' bearing both on style and on matter, scc. ii, v, vi, x, xiv, xvi; but he thinks that some or all of these were retouched by Dekker. Brooke inclines to trace Webster in scc. ii, xvi, Heywood in scc. vi, x, and a good deal of Dekker. Hunt thinks the planning due to Chettle.

The Honest Whore. 1604, c. 1605

With Middleton.

S. R. 1604, Nov. 9 (Pasfield). 'A Booke called The humors of the patient man, The longinge wyfe and the honest whore.' *Thomas Man the younger* (Arber, iii. 275).

1608, April 29 (Buck). 'A booke called the second parte of the conuerted Courtisan or honest Whore.' *Thomas Man Junior* (Arber, iii. 376). [No fee entered.]

1630, June 29 (Herbert). 'The second parte of the Honest Hoore by Thomas Dekker.' *Butter* (Arber, iv. 238).

1604. The Honest Whore, With, The Humours of the Patient Man, and the Longing Wife. Tho: Dekker. *V. S. for John Hodgets.* [Part i.]

1605, 1615, 1616, N.D. [All Part i.]

1630. The Second Part of the Honest Whore, With the Humors of the Patient Man, the Impatient Wife: the Honest Whore, perswaded by strong Arguments to turne Curtizan againe: her braue refuting those Arguments. And lastly, the Comicall Passages of an Italian Bridewell, where the Scaene ends. Written by Thomas Dekker. *Elizabeth Allde for Nathaniel Butter.* [Part ii.]

1635. The Honest Whore, With, The Humours of the Patient Man, and the Longing Wife, Written by Thomas Dekker, As it hath beene Acted by her Maiesties Servants with great Applause. *N. Okes, sold by Richard Collins.* [Part i.]

Editions by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* i) and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).

Henslowe made a payment to Dekker and Middleton for 'the pasyent man & the onest hore' between 1 Jan. and 14 March 1604, on account of the Prince's men, and the mention of Towne in a stage-direction to Part i (ed. Pearson, ii. 78) shows that it was in fact acted by this company. Fleay, i. 132, and Hunt, 94, cite some allusions in Part ii suggesting a date soon after that of Part i, and this would be consistent with Henslowian methods. There is more difference of opinion about the partition of the work. Of Part i Fleay gives scc. i, iii, and xiii–xv alone to Dekker, and Hunt finds the influence of Middleton in the theme and plot of both Parts. Bullen, however (*Middleton*, i. xxv), thinks Middleton's share 'inconsiderable', giving him only I. v and III. i, with a hand in II. i and in a few comic scenes of Part ii. Ward, ii. 462, holds a similar view.

Westward Ho! 1604

With Webster.

S. R. 1605, March 2. 'A commodie called westward Hoe presented by the Children of Paules provided yat he get further authoritie before yt be printed.' *Henry Rocket* (Arber, iii. 283). [Entry crossed out and marked 'vacat'.]

1607. West-ward Hoe. As it hath beene diuers times Acted by the Children of Paules. Written by Tho: Decker, and Iohn Webster. *Sold by John Hodgets.*

Editions with *Works* of Webster (q.v.).

The allusions cited by Fleay, ii. 269, Stoll, 14, Hunt, 101, agree with a date of production at the end of 1604. Fleay assigns Acts I–III and a part of IV. ii to Webster; the rest of Acts IV, V to Dekker. But Stoll, 79, thinks that Webster only had 'some slight, undetermined part in the more colourless and stereotyped portions . . . under the shaping and guiding hand of Dekker', and Pierce, 131, after an elaborate application of tests, can only give him all or most of I. i and III. iii and a small part of I. ii and III. ii. Brooke finds traces of Webster in I. i and III. iii and Dekker in II. i, ii and V. iii, and has some useful criticism of the 'tests' employed by Pierce.

Northward Ho! 1605

With Webster.

S. R. 1607, Aug. 6 (Buck). 'A booke Called Northward Ho.' *George Elde* (Arber, iii. 358).

1607. North-Ward Hoe. Sundry times Acted by the Children of Paules. By Thomas Decker, and Iohn Webster. *G. Eld.*

Editions by J. S. Farmer (1914, *S. F. T.*) and in *Works* of Webster (q.v.).

The play is a reply to *Eastward Ho!* which was itself a reply to *Westward Ho!* and was on the stage before May 1605, and it is referred to with the other two plays in Day's *Isle of Gulls*, which was on the stage in Feb. 1606. This pretty well fixes its date to the end of 1605. I do not think that Stoll, 16, is justified in his argument for a date later than Jan. 1606, since, even if the comparison of the life of a gallant to a squib is a borrowing from Marston's *Fawn*, it seems probable that the *Fawn* itself was originally written by 1604, although possibly touched up early in 1606. Fleay, ii. 270, identifies Bellamont with Chapman, one of the authors of *Eastward Ho!* and Stoll, 65, argues in support of this. It is plausible, but does not carry with it Fleay's identification of Jenkins with Drayton. Fleay gives Webster I. ii, II. i, III. i, and IV. i, but Stoll finds as little of him as in *Westward Ho!* and Pierce, 131, only gives him all or most of I. i, II. ii, and the beginning of V and a small part of III. i. Brooke traces Webster in I. i and III. i and Dekker in IV. i.

The Whore of Babylon 1605 < > 7

S. R. 1607, April 20 (Buck). 'A booke called the Whore of Babilon.' *Nathanael Butter and John Trundell* (Arber, iii. 347).

1607. The Whore of Babylon. As it was Acted by the Princes Seruants. Written by Thomas Dekker. *For N. Butter.* [Epistle to the Reader and Prologue.]

Fleay, i. 133, and Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 210) regard the play as a revision of *Truth's Supplication to Candlelight*, for which Henslowe, on behalf of the Admiral's, was paying Dekker in Jan. 1600 and buying a robe for Time in April 1600. Truth and Time, but not Candlelight, are characters in the play, which deals with Catholic intrigues against Elizabeth, represented as Titania, and her suitors. I do not feel sure that it would have been allowed to be staged in Elizabeth's lifetime. In any case it must have been revised *c.* 1605–7, in view of the references, not only to the death of Essex (ed. Pearson, p. 246) and the reign of James (p. 234), but to the *Isle of Gulls* of 1605 (p. 214). The Cockpit, alluded to (p. 214) as a place where follies are shown in apes, is of course that in the palace, where Henry saw plays. The Epistle and Prologue have clear references to a production in 'Fortune's dial' and the 'square' of the Fortune, and the former criticizes players; but hardly proves the definite breach with the Prince's suggested by Fleay and Greg.

The Roaring Girl. *c.* 1610

With Middleton.

1611. The Roaring Girle. Or Moll Cut-Purse, As it hath lately beene Acted on the Fortune-stage by the Prince his Players. Written by T. Middleton and T. Dekkar. *For Thomas Archer.* [Epistle to the Comic Play-Readers, signed 'Thomas Middleton', Prologue and Epilogue.]

Editions by W. Scott (1810, *A.B.D.* ii), A. H. Bullen (1885, *Middleton*, iv. 1), and J. S. Farmer (1914, *S.F.T.*).

Fleay, i, 132, thinks the play written about 1604–5, but not produced until 1610. This is fantastic and Bullen points out that Mary Frith, the heroine, born not earlier than *c.* 1584–5, had hardly won her notoriety by 1604. By 1610 she certainly had, and the 'foule' book of her 'base trickes' referred to in the Epilogue was probably John Day's *Mad Pranks of Merry Mall of the Bankside*, entered on S. R.

7 Aug. 1610, but not extant. The Epilogue also tells the audience that, if they are dissatisfied,

> The Roring Girle her selfe some few dayes hence,
> Shall on this Stage, give larger recompence.

I think this can only refer to a contemplated personal appearance of Mary Frith on the stage; it has been interpreted as referring to another forthcoming play. Moll Cut-purse appears in Field's *Amends for Ladies*, but this was not a Fortune play. Bullen (*Middleton*, i. xxxv) regards the play as an example of collaboration, and gives Dekker I. II. ii, and V; Middleton, with occasional hesitation, the rest. Fleay, i. 132, only gives Middleton II. ii, IV. i, V. ii.

If It be not Good, the Devil is in It. 1610 <> 12

1612. If It Be Not Good, the Diuel is in it. A New Play, As it hath bin lately Acted, with great applause, by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants: At the Red Bull. Written by Thomas Dekker. *For I. T. sold by Edward Marchant.* [Epistle to the Queen's men signed Tho: Dekker, Prologue, and Epilogue. The running title is 'If this be not a good Play, the Diuell is in it'.]

The Epistle tells us that after 'Fortune' (the Admiral's) had 'set her foote vpon' the play, the Queen's had 'raised it up . . . the Frontispice onely a little more garnished'. Fleay, i. 133, attempts to fix the play to 1610, but hardly proves more than that it cannot be earlier than 14 May 1610, as the murder on that day of Henri IV is referred to (ed. Pearson, p. 354). The Epistle also refers to a coming new play by Dekker's 'worthy friend', perhaps Webster (q.v.). In the opening scene the devil Lurchall is addressed as Grumball, which suggests the actor Armin (cf. ch. xv). Daborne (q.v.) in the Epistle to his *Christian Turned Turk* seems to claim a share in this play.

Match Me in London (?)

S. R. 1630, 8 Nov. (Herbert). 'A Play called Mach mee in London by Thomas Decker.' *Seile* (Arber, iv. 242).

1631. A Tragi-Comedy: Called, Match mee in London. As it hath beene often presented; First, at the Bull in St. Iohns-street; And lately, at the Priuate-House in Drury-Lane, called the Phoenix. Written by Tho: Dekker. *B. Alsop and T. Fawcet for H. Seile.* [Epistle to Lodowick Carlell signed 'Tho: Dekker'.]

Herbert's diary contains the entry on 21 Aug. 1623, 'For the L. Elizabeth's servants of the Cockpit. An old play called Match me in London which had been formerly allowed by Sir G. Bucke.' On this, some rather slight evidence from allusions, and a general theory that Dekker did not write plays during his imprisonment of 1613–19, Fleay, i. 134, puts the original production by Queen Anne's men *c.* 1611 and Hunt, 160, in 1612–13. As there are some allusions to cards and the game of maw, Fleay thinks the play a revision of *The Set at Maw* produced by the Admiral's on 15 Dec. 1594. Greg (*Henslowe*,

ii. 172) points out the weakness of the evidence, but finds some possible traces of revision in the text.

The Virgin Martyr. c. 1620

With Massinger.

S. R. 1621, 7 Dec. (Buck). 'A Tragedy called The Virgin Martir.' *Thomas Jones* (Arber, iv. 62).

1622. The Virgin Martir, A Tragedie, as it hath bin divers times publickely Acted with great Applause, By the seruants of his Maiesties Reuels. Written by Phillip Messenger and Thomas Deker. *B. A. for Thomas Jones.*

1631, 1651, 1661.

The play is said to have been 'reformed' and licensed by Buck for the Red Bull on 6 Oct. 1620 (Herbert, 29). An additional scene, licensed on 7 July 1624 (*Var.* i. 424), did not find its way into print. Fleay, i. 135, 212, asserts that the 1620 play was a refashioning by Massinger of a play by Dekker for the Queen's about 1611, itself a recast of *Diocletian*, produced by the Admiral's on 16 Nov. 1594, but 'dating from 1591 at the latest'. He considers II. i, iii, III. iii, and IV. ii of the 1620 version to be still Dekker's. Ward, iii. 12, and Hunt, 156, give most of the play to Dekker. But all these views are impressionistic, and there is no special reason to suppose that Massinger revised, rather than collaborated with, Dekker, or to assume a version of *c.* 1611. As for an earlier version still, Fleay's evidence is trivial. In any case 1591 is out of the question, as Henslowe marked the *Diocletian* of 1594 'n.e.' Nor does he say it was by Dekker. A play on Dorothea the Martyr had made its way into Germany by 1626, but later German repertories disclose that there was also a distinct play on Diocletian (Herz, 66, 103; Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 172). Greg, however, finds parts of *The Virgin Martyr*, 'presumably Dekker's', to be 'undoubtedly early'. Oliphant (*E. S.* xvi. 191) makes the alternative suggestion that *Diocletian* was the basis of Fletcher's *Prophetess*, in which he believes the latter part of IV. i and V. i to be by an older hand, which he cannot identify. All this is very indefinite.

The Witch of Edmonton. 1621

With Ford and W. Rowley.

S. R. 1658, May 21. 'A booke called The witch of Edmonton, a Tragi-comedy by Will: Rowley, &c.' *Edward Blackmore* (Eyre, ii. 178).

1658. The Witch of Edmonton A known true Story. Composed into a Tragi-Comedy By divers well-esteemed Poets; William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, John Ford, &c. Acted by the Princes Servants; often at the Cock-Pit in Drury-Lane. once at Court, with singular Applause. Never printed till now. *J. Cottrel for Edward Blackmore.* [Prologue signed 'Master Bird'.]

Editions with *Works* of John Ford, by H. Weber (1811), W. Gifford

(1827), H. Coleridge (1840, 1848, 1851), A Dyce (1869), A. H. Bullen (1895).

I include this for the sake of completeness, but it is based upon a pamphlet published in 1621 and was played at Court by the Prince's men on 29 Dec. 1621 (Murray, ii. 193). It is generally regarded as written in collaboration. Views as to its division amongst the writers are summarized by Hunt, 178, and Pierce (*Anglia*, xxxvi. 289). The latter finds Dekker in nearly all the scenes, Ford in four, Rowley perhaps in five.

The Wonder of a Kingdom. 1623

Possibly with Day.

S. R. 1631, May 16 (Herbert). 'A Comedy called The Wonder of a Kingdome by Thomas Decker.' *John Jackman* (Arber, iv. 253).

1636, Feb. 24. 'Vnder the hands of Sir Henry Herbert and Master Kingston Warden (dated the 7th of May 1631) a Play called The Wonder of a Kingdome by Thomas Decker.' *Nicholas Vavasour* (Arber, iv. 355).

1636. The Wonder of a Kingdome. Written by Thomas Dekker. *Robert Raworth for Nicholas Vavasour.*

Herbert's diary for 18 Sept. 1623 has the entry: 'For a company of strangers. A new comedy called Come see a wonder, written by John Daye. It was acted at the Red Bull and licensed without my hand to it because they were none of the 4 companies.' As *The Wonder of a Kingdom* contains scenes which are obviously from Day's *Parliament of Bees* (*1608–16*) it is possible either to adopt the simple theory of a collaboration between Day and Dekker in 1623, or to hold with Fleay, i. 136, and Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 174, that Day's 'new' play of 1623 was a revision of an earlier one by Dekker. The mention of cards in the closing lines seems an inadequate ground for Fleay's further theory, apparently approved by Greg, that the original play was *The Mack*, produced by the Admiral's on 21 Feb. 1595.

The Sun's Darling. 1624

With Ford.

1656. The Sun's-Darling: A Moral Masque: As it hath been often presented at Whitehall, by their Majesties Servants; and after at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, with great Applause. Written by John Foard and Tho. Decker Gent. *J. Bell for Andrew Penneycuicke.*

1657. Reissue with same imprint.

1657. Reissue with same imprint. . . . 'As it hath been often presented by their Majesties Servants; at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane'. . . .

Editions with *Works* of John Ford, by H. Weber (1811), W. Gifford (1827), H. Coleridge (1840, 1848, 1851), A. Dyce (1869), A. H. Bullen (1895).

The play was licensed by Herbert for the Lady Elizabeth's at the Cockpit on 3 March 1624 (Chalmers, *S. A.* 217; Herbert, 27) and included in a list of Cockpit plays in 1639 (*Variorum*, iii. 159). Fleay, i. 232, Ward, ii. 470, and Pierce (*Anglia*, xxxvi. 141) regard it as a revision by Ford of earlier work by Dekker, and the latter regards the last page of Act I, Acts II and III, and the prose of Acts IV and V as substantially Dekker's. It is perhaps a step from this to the theory of Fleay and Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 190) that the play represents the *Phaethon*, which Dekker wrote for the Admiral's in Jan. 1598 and afterwards altered for a Court performance at Christmas 1600. There are allusions to 'humours' and to 'pampered jades of Asia' (ed. Pearson, pp. 316, 318) which look early, but Phaethon is not a character, nor is the story his. A priest of the Sun appears in Act I: I am surprised that Fleay did not identify him, though he is not mad, with the 'mad priest of the sun' referred to in Greene's (q.v.) Epistle to *Perimedes*. The play is not a 'masque' in the ordinary sense.

The Noble Soldier > 1631

With Day and S. Rowley?

S.R. 1631, May 16 (Herbert). 'A Tragedy called The noble Spanish Souldier by Thomas Deckar.' *John Jackman* (Arber, iv. 253).

1633, Dec. 9. 'Entred for his Copy vnder the handes of Sir Henry Herbert and Master Kingston warden *Anno Domini* 1631. a Tragedy called *The Noble Spanish soldior* written by master Decker.' *Nicholas Vavasour* (Arber, iv. 310).

1634. The Noble Souldier, Or, A Contract Broken, justly reveng'd. A Tragedy. Written by S. R. *For Nicholas Vavasour.*

Editions by A. H. Bullen (1882, *O.E.P.* i) and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S.F.T.*).

The printer tells us that the author was dead in 1634.

The initials may indicate Samuel Rowley of the Admiral's and Prince Henry's. Bullen and Hunt, 187, think that Dekker revised work by Rowley. But probably Day also contributed, for II. i, ii; III. ii; IV. i; V. i, ii, and parts of I. ii and V. iv are drawn like scenes in *The Wonder of a Kingdom* from his *Parliament of Bees* (1608–16). Fleay, i. 128, identifies the play with *The Spanish Fig* for which Henslowe made a payment on behalf of the Admiral's in Jan. 1602. This Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 220) thinks 'plausible', regarding the play as 'certainly an old play of about 1600, presumably by Dekker and Rowley with later additions by Day'. He notes that the King is not, as Fleay alleged, poisoned with a Spanish fig, but a Spanish fig is mentioned, 'and it is quite possible that such may have been the mode of poisoning in the original piece'. Henslowe does not name the payee for *The Spanish Fig*, and it was apparently not finished at the time.

Lost and Doubtful Plays

It will be convenient to set out all the certain or conjectured work by Dekker mentioned in Henslowe's Diary.

(a) *Conjectural anonymous Work before 1598*

(i) *Philipo and Hippolito.*

Produced as a new play by the Admiral's on 9 July 1594. The ascription to Dekker, confident in Fleay, i. 213, and regarded as possible by Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 165), appears to be due to the entry of a *Philenzo and Hypollita* by Massinger, who revised other early work of Dekker, in the S. R. on 29 June 1660, to the entry of a *Philenzo and Hipolito* by Massinger in Warburton's list of burnt plays (*3 Library*, ii. 231), and to the appearance of a *Julio and Hyppolita* in the German collection of 1620. A copy of Massinger's play is said (Collier, *Henslowe*, xxxi) to be amongst the *Conway MSS.*

(ii) *The Jew of Venice.*

Entered as a play by Dekker in the S. R. on 9 Sept. 1653 (*3 Library*, ii. 241). It has been suggested (Fleay, i. 121, and *Sh.* 30, 197; Greg in *Henslowe*, ii. 170) that it was the source of a German play printed from a Vienna MS. by Meissner, 131 (cf. Herz, 84). In this a personage disguises himself as a French doctor, which leads to the conjectural identification of its English original both with *The Venetian Comedy* produced by the Admiral's on 27 Aug. 1594 and with *The French Doctor* performed by the same men on 19 Oct. 1594 and later dates and bought by them from Alleyn in 1602. The weakest point in all this guesswork is the appearance of common themes in the German play and in *The Merchant of Venice*, which Fleay explains to his own satisfaction by the assumption that Shakespeare based *The Merchant of Venice* on Dekker's work.

(iii) *Dr. Faustus.*

Revived by the Admiral's on 30 Sept. 1594. On the possibility that the 1604 text contains comic scenes written by Dekker for this revival, cf. s.v. Marlowe.

(iv) *Diocletian.*

Produced by the Admiral's, 16 Nov. 1599; cf. s.v. *The Virgin Martyr* (*supra*).

(v) *The Set at Maw.*

Produced by the Admiral's on 14 Dec. 1594; cf. s.v. *Match Me in London* (*supra*).

(vi) *Antony and Valia.*

Revived by the Admiral's, 4 Jan. 1595, and ascribed by Fleay, i. 213, with some encouragement from Greg in *Henslowe*, ii. 174, to Dekker, on the ground of entries in the S. R. on 29 June 1660 and in Warburton's list of burnt plays (*3 Library*, ii. 231) of an *Antonio and Vallia* by Massinger, who revised other early work by Dekker.

(vii) *The Mack.*

Produced by the Admiral's on 21 Feb. 1595; cf. s.v. *The Wonder of a Kingdom* (*supra*).

(viii) *1 Fortunatus.*

Revived by the Admiral's on 3 Feb. 1596; cf. s.v. *Old Fortunatus* (*supra*).

(ix) *Stukeley.*

Produced by the Admiral's on 11 Dec. 1596. On Fleay's ascription to Dekker, cf. s.v. *Captain Thomas Stukeley* (Anon.).

(x) *Prologue to Tamberlaine.*

This rests on a forged entry in Henslowe's Diary for 20 Dec. 1597; cf. s.v. Marlowe.

(b) *Work for Admiral's, 1598–1602*

(i) *Phaethon.*

Payments in Jan. 1598 and for alterations for the Court in Dec. 1600; cf. s.v. *The Sun's Darling* (*supra*).

(ii) *The Triplicity or Triangle of Cuckolds.*

Payment in March 1598.

(iii) *The Wars of Henry I or The Welshman's Prize.*

Payment, with Chettle and Drayton, March 1598. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 192) speculates on possible relations of the plays to others on a Welshman and on Henry I.

(iv) *1 Earl Godwin.*

Payment, with Chettle, Drayton, and Wilson, March 1598.

(v) *Pierce of Exton.*

Payment, with Chettle, Drayton, and Wilson, April 1598. Apparently the play was not finished.

(vi) *1 Black Bateman of the North.*

Payments, with Chettle, Drayton, and Wilson, May 1598.

(vii) *2 Earl Godwin.*

Payments, with Chettle, Drayton, and Wilson, May–June 1598.

(viii) *The Madman's Morris.*

Payments, with Drayton and Wilson, July 1598.

(ix) *Hannibal and Hermes.*

Payments, with Drayton and Wilson, July 1598.

(x) *2 Hannibal and Hermes.*

Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 195) gives this name to (xiii).

(xi) *Pierce of Winchester.*

Payments, with Drayton and Wilson, July–Aug. 1598.

(xii) *Chance Medley.*

Payments to Dekker (or Chettle), with Munday, Drayton, and Wilson, Aug. 1598.

(xiii) *Worse Afeared than Hurt.*

Payments, with Drayton, Aug.–Sept. 1598.

(xiv) *1 Civil Wars of France.*

Payment, with Drayton, Sept. 1598.

(xv) *Connan Prince of Cornwall.*

Payments, with Drayton, Oct. 1598.

(xvi) *2 Civil Wars of France.*

Payment, with Drayton, Nov. 1598.

(xvii) *3 Civil Wars of France.*

Payments, with Drayton, Nov.–Dec. 1598.

(xviii) *Introduction to Civil Wars of France.*
Payments, Jan. 1599.

(xix) *Troilus and Cressida.*
Payments, with Chettle, April 1599. A fragmentary 'plot' (cf. ch. xxiv) may belong to this play.

(xx) *Agamemnon or Orestes Furious.*
Payments, with Chettle, May 1599.

(xxi) *The Gentle Craft.*
Payment, July 1599; cf. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (*supra*).

(xxii) *The Stepmother's Tragedy.*
Payments, with Chettle, Aug.–Oct. 1599.

(xxiii) *Bear a Brain.*
Payment, Aug. 1599; cf. s.vv. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (*supra*) and *Look About You* (Anon.).

(xxiv) *Page of Plymouth.*
Payments, with Jonson, Aug.–Sept. 1599.

(xxv) *Robert II or The Scot's Tragedy.*
Payments, with Chettle, Jonson, '& other Jentellman' (? Marston, q.v.), Sept. 1599.

(xxvi) *Patient Grissell.*
Payments, with Chettle and Haughton, Oct.–Dec. 1599; cf. *supra*.

(xxvii) *Fortunatus.*
Payments, Nov.–Dec. 1599; cf. s.v. *Old Fortunatus* (*supra*).

(xxviii) *Truth's Supplication to Candlelight.*
Payments, Jan. 1600. Apparently the play was not finished; cf. s.v. *The Whore of Babylon* (*supra*).

(xxix) *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy.*
Payment, with Day and Haughton, Feb. 1600. Apparently the play was not finished; cf. s.v. *Lust's Dominion* (Marlowe).

(xxx) *The Seven Wise Masters.*
Payments, with Chettle, Day, and Haughton, March 1600.

(xxxi) *The Golden Ass* or *Cupid and Psyche.*
Payments, with Chettle and Day, April–May 1600; on borrowings from this, cf. s.v. Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas.*

(xxxii) *1 Fair Constance of Rome.*
Payments, with Drayton, Hathway, Munday, and Wilson (q.v.), June 1600.

(xxxiii) [*1*] *Fortune's Tennis.*
Payment, Sept. 1600. A fragmentary plot (cf. ch. xxiv) is perhaps less likely to belong to this than to Munday's *Set at Tennis.*

(xxxiv) *King Sebastian of Portugal.*
Payments, with Chettle, April–May 1601.

(xxxv) *The Spanish Fig.*
Payment, Jan. 1602. The payee is unnamed; cf. *The Noble Soldier* (*supra*).

(xxxvi) Prologue and Epilogue to *Pontius Pilate.*
Payment, Jan. 1602.

(xxxvii) Alterations to *Tasso's Melancholy.*
Payments, Jan.–Dec. 1602.

(xxxviii) *Jephthah.*
Payments, with Munday, May 1602.

(xxxix) *Caesar's Fall, or The Two Shapes.*
Payments, with Drayton, Middleton, Munday, and Webster, May 1602.

(c) *Work for Worcester's, 1602*

(i) *A Medicine for a Curst Wife.*
Payments, July–Sept. 1602. The play was begun for the Admiral's and transferred to Worcester's.

(ii) *Additions to Sir John Oldcastle.*
Payments, Aug.–Sept. 1602; cf. s.v. Drayton.

(iii) *1 Lady Jane*, or *The Overthrow of Rebels.*
Payments, with Chettle, Heywood, Smith, and Webster, Oct. 1602; cf. s.v. *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (*supra*).

(iv) *2 Lady Jane.*
Payment, Oct. 1602. Apparently the play was not finished; cf. s.v. *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (*supra*).

(v) *Christmas Comes but Once a Year.*
Payments, with Chettle, Heywood, and Webster, Nov. 1602.

(d) *Work for Prince's, 1604*

The Patient Man and the Honest Whore.
Payments, with Middleton, Jan.–March 1602; cf. s.v. *The Honest Whore* (*supra*).

The following plays are assigned to Dekker in S. R. but are now lost:

The Life and Death of Guy of Warwick, with Day (S. R. 15 Jan. 1620).
Gustavus King of Swethland (S. R. 29 June 1660).
The Tale of Ioconda and Astolso, a Comedy (S. R. 29 June 1660).

The two latter are also in Warburton's list of burnt plays (*3 Library*, ii. 231).

The following are assigned to Dekker in Herbert's licence entries:

A French Tragedy of *The Bellman of Paris*, by Dekker and Day, for the Prince's, on 30 July 1623.

The Fairy Knight, by Dekker and Ford, for the Prince's, on 11 June 1624.

The Bristow Merchant, by Dekker and Ford, for the Palsgrave's, on 22 Oct. 1624.

Fleay, i. 232, seems to have nothing but the names to go upon in suggesting identifications of the two latter with the *Huon of Bordeaux*, revived by Sussex's on 28 Dec. 1593, and Day's *Bristol Tragedy* (q.v.) respectively.

For other ascriptions to Dekker see *Capt. T. Stukeley, Charlemagne, London Prodigal, Sir Thomas More, The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* in ch. xxiv. He has also been conjectured to be the author of the songs in the 1632 edition of Lyly's plays.

ENTERTAINMENTS

Coronation Entertainment. 1604

See ch. xxiv, C.

Troia Nova Triumphans. 29 Oct. 1612

S. R. 1612, Oct. 21. 'To be prynted when yt is further Aucthorised, A Booke called Troia Nova triumphans. London triumphinge. or the solemne receauinge of Sir John Swynerton knight into the citye at his Retourne from Westminster after the taking his oathe written by Thomas Decker.' *Nicholas Okes* (Arber, iii. 500).

1612. Troia-Noua Triumphans. London Triumphing, or, The Solemne, Magnificent, and Memorable Receiuing of that worthy Gentleman, Sir Iohn Swinerton Knight, into the Citty of London, after his Returne from taking the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow next after Simon and Iudes day, being the 29. of October, 1612. All the Showes, Pageants, Chariots of Triumph, with other Deuices (both on the Water and Land) here fully expressed. By Thomas Dekker. *Nicholas Okes, sold by John Wright.*

Edition in Fairholt (1844), ii. 7.

The opening of the description refers to 'our best-to-be-beloved friends, the noblest strangers'. John Chamberlain (Birch, i. 202) says that the Palsgrave was present and Henry kept away by his illness, that the show was 'somewhat extraordinary' and the water procession wrecked by 'great winds'. At Paul's Chain the Mayor was met by the 'first triumph', a sea-chariot, bearing Neptune and Luna, with a ship of wine. Neptune made a speech. At Paul's Churchyard came 'the second land-triumph', the throne or chariot of Virtue, drawn by four horses on which sat Time, Mercury, Desire, and Industry. Virtue made a speech, and both pageants preceded the Mayor down Cheapside. At the little Conduit in Cheapside was the Castle of Envy, between whom and Virtue there was a dialogue, followed by fireworks from the castle. At the Cross in Cheapside was another 'triumph', the House of Fame, with representations of famous Merchant-Tailors, 'a perticular roome being reserved for one that represents the person of Henry, the now Prince of Wales'. After a speech by Fame, the pageant joined the procession, and from it was heard a song on the way to the Guildhall. On the way to Paul's after dinner, Virtue and Envy were again beheld, and at the Mayor's door a speech was made by Justice.

THOMAS DELONEY (*c.* 1543–*c.* 1600).

A ballad writer and pamphleteer, who wrote a ballad on the visit to Tilbury in 1588. See ch. xxiv, C.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX (1566–1601).

It is possible that Essex, who sometimes dabbled in literature, had himself a hand in the device of *Love and Self-Love*, with which he entertained Elizabeth on 17 Nov. 1595, and of which some of the speeches are generally credited to Bacon (q.v.).

WILLIAM DODD (*c.* 1597–1602).

A Scholar and Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and a conjectured author of *Parnassus* (cf. ch. xxiv).

MICHAEL DRAYTON (*c.* 1563–1631).

Drayton was born at Hartshill in Warwickshire, and brought up in the household of Sir Henry Goodyere of Polesworth, whose daughter Anne, afterwards Lady Rainsford, is the Idea of his pastorals and sonnets. With *The Harmony of the Church* (1591) began a life-long series of ambitious poems, in all the characteristic Elizabethan manners, for which Drayton found many patrons, notably Lucy Lady Bedford, Sir Walter Aston of Tixall, Prince Henry and Prince Charles, and Edward Earl of Dorset. The guerdons of his pen were not sufficient to keep him from having recourse to the stage. Meres classed him in 1598 among the 'best for tragedy', and Henslowe's diary shows him a busy writer for the Admiral's men, almost invariably in collaboration with Dekker and others, from Dec. 1597 to Jan. 1599, and a more occasional one from Oct. 1599 to May 1602. At a later date he may possibly have written for Queen Anne's men, since commendatory verses by T. Greene are prefixed to his *Poems* of 1605. In 1608 he belonged to the King's Revels syndicate at Whitefriars. No later connexion with the stage can be traced, and he took no steps to print his plays with his other works. His Elegy to Henry Reynolds of *Poets and Poesie* (C. Brett, *Drayton's Minor Poems*, 108) does honour to Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont, and tradition makes him a partaker in the drinking-bout that led to Shakespeare's end. Jonson wrote commendatory verses for him in 1627, but in 1619 had told Drummond (Laing, 10) that 'Drayton feared him; and he esteemed not of him'. The irresponsible Fleay, i. 361; ii. 271, 323, identifies him with Luculento of *E. M. O.*, Captain Jenkins of Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho!*, and the eponym of the anonymous *Sir Giles Goosecap*; Small, 98, with the Decius criticized in the anonymous *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, who may also be Dekker.

The collections of Drayton's *Poems* do not include his plays.—*Dissertations*: O. Elton, *M. D.* (1895, *Spenser Soc.*, 1905); L. Whitaker, *M. D. as a Dramatist* (1903, *M. L. A.* xviii. 378).

Sir John Oldcastle. 1599

With Hathaway, Munday, and Wilson.

S. R. 1600, Aug. 11 (Vicars). 'The first parte of the history of the life of Sir John Oldcastell lord Cobham. Item the second and last parte of the history of Sir John Oldcastell lord Cobham with his martyrdom.' *Thomas Pavier* (Arber, iii. 169).

1600. The first part Of the true and honorable historie, of the life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham. As it hath been lately acted by the right honorable the Earle of Notingham Lord high Admirall of England his seruants. *V. S. for Thomas Pavier.* [Prologue.]

1600. . . . Written by William Shakespeare. *For T. P.* [Probably a forgery of later date than that given in the imprint; cf. p. 479.]

1664. In Third Folio Shakespeare.

1685. In Fourth Folio Shakespeare.

Editions in collections of the Shakespeare *Apocrypha*, and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* i), P. Simpson (1908, *M. S. R.*), J. S. Farmer (1911, *T. F. T.*).

Henslowe advanced £10 to the Admiral's as payment to Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Hathway for the first part of 'the lyfe of Sr Jhon Ouldcasstell' and in earnest for the second part on 16 Oct. 1599, and an additional 10*s.* for the poets 'at the playnge of Sr John Oldcastell the ferste tyme as a gefte' between 1 and 8 Nov. 1599. Drayton had £4 for the second part between 19 and 26 Dec. 1599, and properties were being bought for it in March 1600. It is not preserved. By Aug. 1602 the play had been transferred to Worcester's men. More properties were bought, doubtless for a revival, and Dekker had £2 10*s.* for 'new a dicyons'. Fleay, ii. 116, attempts to disentangle the work of the collaborators. Clearly the play was an answer to *Henry IV*, in which Sir John Falstaff was originally Sir John Oldcastle, and this is made clear in the prologue:

> It is no pampered glutton we present,
> Nor aged Councellour to youthfull sinne.

Doubtful and Lost Plays

For ascriptions see *Edward IV*, *London Prodigal*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Sir T. More*, and *Thomas Lord Cromwell* in ch. xxiv.

The complete series of his work for the Admiral's during 1597–1602 is as follows:

(i) *Mother Redcap.*

Payments, with Munday, Dec. 1597–Jan. 1598.

(ii) *The Welshman's Prize, or The Famous Wars of Henry I and the Prince of Wales.*

Payments, with Chettle and Dekker, March 1598. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 192) thinks that the play may have had some relation to Davenport's *Henry I* of 1624 entered as by Shakespeare and Davenport in S. R. on 9 Sept. 1653.

(iii) *1 Earl Godwin and his Three Sons.*

Payments, with Chettle, Dekker, and Wilson, March 1598.

(iv) *2 Earl Godwin and his Three Sons.*

Payments, with Chettle, Dekker, and Wilson, May to June 1598.

(v) *Pierce of Exton.*

Payment of £2, with Chettle, Dekker, and Wilson, April 1598; but apparently not finished.

(vi) *1 Black Bateman of the North.*
Payments, with Chettle, Dekker, and Wilson, May 1598.

(vii) *Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-lion.*
Payments, with Chettle, Munday, and Wilson, June 1598.

(viii) *The Madman's Morris.*
Payments, with Dekker and Wilson, July 1598.

(ix) *Hannibal and Hermes.*
Payments, with Dekker and Wilson, July 1598.

(x) *Pierce of Winchester.*
Payments, with Dekker and Wilson, July–Aug. 1598.

(xi) *Chance Medley.*
Payments, with Chettle or Dekker, Munday, and Wilson, Aug. 1598.

(xii) *Worse Afeared than Hurt.*
Payments, with Dekker, Aug.–Sept. 1598.

(xiii–xv) *1, 2, 3 The Civil Wars of France.*
Payments, with Dekker, Sept.–Dec. 1598. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 198) suggests some relation with Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* (q.v.).

(xvi) *Connan Prince of Cornwall.*
Payments, with Dekker, Oct. 1598.

(xvii) *William Longsword.*
Apparently Drayton's only unaided play and unfinished. His autograph receipt for a payment in Jan. 1599 is in Henslowe, i. 59.

[There is now a break in Drayton's dramatic activities, but not in his relations with Henslowe, for whom he acted as a witness on 8 July 1599. On 9 Aug. 1598 he had stood security for the delivery of a play by Munday (Henslowe, i. 60, 93).]

(xviii–xix) *1, 2 Sir John Oldcastle.*
See above.

(xx) *Owen Tudor.*
Payments, with Hathway, Munday, and Wilson, Jan. 1600; but apparently not finished.

(xxi) *1 Fair Constance of Rome.*
Payments, with Dekker, Hathway, Munday, and Wilson (q.v.), June 1600.

(xxii) *The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey.*
Payments, with Chettle (q.v.), Munday, and Smith, Aug.–Nov. 1601.

(xxiii) *Caesar's Fall, or The Two Shapes.*
Payments, with Dekker, Middleton, Munday, and Webster, May 1602.

GILBERT DUGDALE (*c.* 1604).
Author of *Time Triumphant*, an account of the entry and coronation of James I (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

JOHN DUTTON (*c.* 1598–1602).
Perhaps only a 'ghost-name', but conceivably the author of *Parnassus* (cf. ch. xxiv).

JOHN DYMMOCKE (*c.* 1601).
Possibly the translator of *Pastor Fido* (cf. ch. xxiv).

RICHARD EDES (1555–1604).
Edes, or Eedes, entered Christ Church, Oxford, from Westminster in 1571, took his B.A. in 1574, his M.A. in 1578, and was University Proctor in 1583. He took orders, became Chaplain to the Queen, and was appointed Canon of Christ Church in 1586 and Dean of Worcester in 1597. Some of his verse, both in English and Latin, has survived, and Meres includes him in 1598 amongst ‘ our best for Tragedie ’. The Epilogue, in Latin prose, of a play called *Caesar Interfectus*, which was both written and spoken by him, is given by F. Peck in *A Collection of Curious Historical Pieces*, appended to his *Memoirs of Cromwell* (1740), and by Boas, 163, from *Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon.* e. 5, f. 359. A later hand has added the date 1582, from which Boas infers that *Caesar Interfectus*, of which Edes was probably the author, was one of three tragedies recorded in the Christ Church accounts for Feb.–March 1582. Edes appears to have written or contributed to Sir Henry Lee's (q.v.) Woodstock Entertainment of 1592.

RICHARD EDWARDES (*c.* 1523–1566).
Edwardes was a Somersetshire man. He entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 11 May 1540, and became Senior Student of Christ Church in 1547. Before the end of Edward's reign he was seeking his fortune at Court and had a fee or annuity of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* (Stopes, *Hunnis*, 147). He must not be identified with the George Edwardes of Chapel lists, *c.* 1553 (ibid. 23; *Shakespeare's Environment*, 238; Rimbault, x), but was of the Chapel by 1 Jan. 1557 (Nichols, *Eliz.* i. xxxv; *Illustrations*, App. 14), when he made a New Year's gift of ‘ certeigne verses ’, and was confirmed in office by an Elizabethan patent of 27 May 1560. He succeeded Bower as Master of the Children, receiving his patent of appointment on 27 Oct. 1561 and a commission to take up children on 4 Dec. 1561 (Wallace, i. 106; ii. 65; cf. ch. xii). Barnabe Googe in his *Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonettes* (15 March 1563) puts his ‘ doyngs ’ above those of Plautus and Terence. In addition to plays at Court, he took his boys on 2 Feb. 1565 and 2 Feb. 1566 to Lincoln's Inn (cf. ch. vii), of which he had become a member on 25 Nov. 1564 (*L. I. Admission Register*, i. 72). He appeared at Court as a ‘ post ’ on behalf of the challengers for a tilt in Nov. 1565 (cf. ch. iv). In 1566 he helped in the entertainment of Elizabeth at Oxford, and on Oct. 31 of that year he died. His reputation as poet and dramatist is testified to in verses by Barnabe Googe, George Turberville, Thomas Twine, and others and proved enduring. The author [Richard Puttenham ?] of *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) couples him with the Earl of Oxford as deserving the highest price for comedy and enterlude, and Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598) includes him amongst those ‘ best for comedy ’. Several of his poems are in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576). Warton, iv. 218, says that William Collins (the poet) had a volume of prose stories printed in 1570, ‘ sett forth by maister Richard Edwardes mayster of her

maiesties revels'. One of these contained a version of the jest used in the *Induction* of *The Taming of the Shrew* (q.v.). There is nothing else to connect Edwardes with the Revels office, and probably 'revels' in Warton's account is a mistake for 'children' or 'chapel'.

Dissertations: W. Y. Durand, *Notes on R. E.* (1902, *J. G. P.* iv. 348), *Some Errors concerning R. E.* (1908, *M. L. N.* xxiii. 129).

Damon and Pythias. 1565

S. R. 1567–8. 'A boke intituled ye tragecall comodye of Damonde and Pethyas.' *Rycharde Jonnes* (Arber, i. 354).

Warton, iv. 214, describes an edition, not now known, as printed by William How in Fleet Street. The Tragical comedie of Damon and Pythias, newly imprinted as the same was playde before the queenes maiestie by the children of her grace's chapple. Made by Mayster Edwards, then being master of the children. *William How.* [Only known through the description of Warton, iv. 214.]

1571. The excellent Comedie of two the moste faithfullest Freendes, Damon and Pithias. Newly Imprinted, as the same was shewed before the Queenes Maiestie, by the Children of her Graces Chappell, except the Prologue that is somewhat altered for the proper vse of them that hereafter shall haue occasion to plaie it, either in Priuate, or open Audience. Made by Maister Edwards, then beynge Maister of the Children. *Richard Jones.*

1582. *Richard Jones.*

Editions in Dodsley^4, iv (1874), and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* i) and J. S. Farmer (1908, *T. F. T.*).—*Dissertation*: W. Y. Durand, *A Local Hit in E.'s D. and P.* (*M. L. N.* xxii. 236).

The play is not divided into acts or scenes; the characters include Carisophus a parasite, and Grim the Collier. The prologue [not that used at Court] warns the audience that they will be 'frustrate quite of toying plays' and that the author's muse that 'masked in delight' and to some 'seemed too much in young desires to range' will leave such sports and write a 'tragical comedy . . . mixed with mirth and care'. Edwardes adds (cf. App. C, No. ix):

> Wherein, talking of courtly toys, we do protest this flat,
> We talk of Dionysius court, we mean no court but that.

A song at the end wishes Elizabeth joy and describes her as 'void of all sickness, in most perfect health'. Durand uses this reference to date the play in the early months of 1565, since a letter of De Silva (*Sp. P.* i. 400) records that Elizabeth had a feverish cold since 8 Dec. 1564, but was better by 2 Jan. 1565. He identifies the play with the 'Edwardes tragedy' of the Revels Accounts for 1564–5 (cf. App. B), and points out that there is an entry in those accounts for 'rugge bumbayst and cottone for hosse', and that in *Damon and Pythias* (Dodsley, iv. 71) the boys have stuffed breeches with 'seven ells of rug' to one hose. A proclamation of 6 May 1562 (*Procl.* 562) had forbidden the use of more than a yard and three-quarters of stuff in the 'stockes' of hose, and an enforcing proclamation (*Procl.* 619) was required on 12 Feb. 1566. Boas, 157, notes a revival at Merton in 1568.

Fleay, 60, thinks that the play contains attacks on the Paul's boys in return for satire of Edwardes as Ralph Roister in Ulpian Fulwell's *Like Will to Like* (q.v.).

Lost Play

Palamon and Arcite. 1566

This play was acted in two parts on 2 and 4 Sept. 1566, before Elizabeth in the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford (cf. ch. iv). The first night was made memorable by the fall of part of the staircase wall, by which three persons were killed. The Queen was sorry, but the play went on. She gave Edwardes great thanks for his pains. The play was in English. Several contemporary writers assign it to Edwardes, and Nicholas Robinson adds that he and other Christ Church men translated it out of Latin, and that he remained two months in Oxford working at it. Bereblock gives a long analysis of the action, which shows that, even if there is no error as to the intervening Latin version, the original source was clearly Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*. W. Y. Durand, *Journ. Germ. Phil.* iv. 356, argues that Edwardes's play was not a source of *Two Noble Kinsmen*, on the ground of the divergence between that and Bereblock's summary.

There is no evidence of any edition of the play, although Plummer, xxi, says that it ' has been several times printed '.

Doubtful Plays

Fleay, ii. 295, assigns to Edwardes *Godly Queen Hester*, a play of which he had only seen a few lines, and which W. W. Greg, in his edition in *Materialien*, v, has shown with great probability to date from about 1525–9. His hand has also been sought in R. B.'s *Apius and Virginia* and in *Misogonus* (cf. ch. xxiv).

ELIZABETH (1533–1603).

H. H. E. Craster (*E. H. R.* xxix. 722) includes in a list of Elizabeth's English translations a chorus from Act II of the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*, extant in *Bodl. MS. e Museo*, 55, f. 48, and printed in H. Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors* (ed. Park, 1806), i. 102. It probably dates later than 1561. But he can find no evidence for a Latin version of a play of Euripides referred to by Walpole, i. 85.

RICHARD FARRANT (?–1580).

Farrant's career as Master of the Children of Windsor and Deputy Master of the Children of the Chapel and founder of the first Blackfriars theatre has been described in chh. xii and xvii. It is not improbable that he wrote plays for the boys, and W. J. Lawrence, *The Earliest Private Theatre Play* (*T. L. S.*, 11 Aug. 1921), thinks that one of these was *Wars of Cyrus* (cf. ch. xxiv), probably based on W. Barker's translation (1567) of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and that the song of Panthea ascribed to Farrant in a Christ Church manuscript (cf. vol. ii, p. 63) has dropped out from the extant text of this. Farrant's song, ' O Jove from stately throne ', mentioning Altages, may be from another play. I think that *Wars of Cyrus*, as it stands, is clearly post-*Tamburlaine*, and although there are indications of lost songs at ll. 985, 1628, there is none pointing to a lament of Panthea. But conceivably the play was based on one by Farrant.

GEORGE FEREBE (*c.* 1573–1613 <)
A musician and Vicar of Bishop's Cannings, Wilts.

The Shepherd's Song. 1613

S. R. 1613, June 16. 'A thinge called The Shepeherdes songe before Queene Anne in 4. partes complete Musical vpon the playnes of Salisbury &c.' *Walter Dight* (Arber, iii. 526).

Aubrey, i. 251, says 'when queen Anne came to Bathe, her way lay to traverse the famous Wensdyke, which runnes through his parish. He made severall of his neighbours good musitians, to play with him in consort, and to sing. Against her majesties comeing, he made a pleasant pastorall, and gave her an entertaynment with his fellow songsters in shepherds' weeds and bagpipes, he himself like an old bard. After that wind musique was over, they sang their pastorall eglogues (which I have, to insert into Liber B).' Wood's similar account in *Fasti* (1815), i. 270, is probably based on Aubrey's. He dates the entertainment June 11 (cf. ch. iv and App. A, s. ann. 1613), and gives the opening of the song as

> Shine, O thou sacred Shepherds Star,
> On silly shepherd swaines.

Aubrey has a shorter notice in another manuscript and adds, 'He gave another entertaynment in Cote-field to King James, with carters singing, with whipps in their hands; and afterwards, a footeball play'.

GEORGE FERRERS (*c.* 1500–79).
A Lincoln's Inn lawyer, son of Thomas Ferrers of St. Albans, who was Page of the Chamber to Henry VIII, and acted as Lord of Misrule to Edward VI at the Christmases of 1551–2 and 1552–3 (*Mediaeval Stage*, i. 405; Feuillerat, *Edw. and M.* 56, 77, 90). He sat in Parliaments of both Mary and Elizabeth, and wrote some of the poems in *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1559–78). He contributed verses to the Kenilworth entertainment of 1575, must then have been a very old man, and died in 1579. Puttenham says of Edward VI's time, 'Maister *Edward Ferrys* . . . wrate for the most part to the stage, in Tragedie and sometimes in Comedie or Enterlude', and again, 'For Tragedie, the Lord of Buckhurst & Maister *Edward Ferrys*, for such doings as I haue sene of theirs, do deserue the hyest price'; and is followed by Meres, who places 'Master Edward Ferris, the author of the *Mirror for Magistrates*' amongst 'our best for Tragedie' (cf. App. C, Nos. xli, lii). Obviously George Ferrers is meant, but Anthony Wood hunted out an Edward Ferrers, belonging to another family, of Baddesley Clinton, in Warwickshire, and took him for the dramatist. He died in 1564 and had a son Henry, amongst whose papers were found verses belonging to certain entertainments, mostly of the early 'nineties,

which an indiscreet editor thereupon ascribed to George Ferrers (cf. s.v. Sir H. Lee).

NATHAN FIELD (1587–?).

For life *vide supra* Actors (ch. xv).

A Woman is a Weathercock. 1609 (?)

S. R. 1611, Nov. 23 (Buck). 'A booke called, A woman is a weathercocke, beinge a Comedye.' *John Budge* (Arber, iii. 471).

1612. A Woman is a Weather-cocke. A New Comedy, As it was acted before the King in White-Hall. And diuers times Priuately at the White-Friers, By the Children of her Maiesties Reuels. Written by Nat: Field. *For John Budge.* [Epistles to Any Woman that hath been no Weathercock and to the Reader, both signed 'N. F.', and Commendatory verses 'To his loved son, Nat. Field, and his Weathercock Woman', signed 'George Chapman'.]

Editions in *O. E. D.* (1830, ii), by J. P. Collier (1833, *Five Old Plays*), in Dodsley⁴ (1875, xi), and by A. W. Verity in *Nero and Other Plays* (1888, *Mermaid Series*).

This must, I suppose, have been one of the five plays given at Court by the Children of the Whitefriars in the winter of 1609–10. Fleay, i. 185, notes that I. ii refers to the Cleve wars, which began in 1609. The Revels children were not at Court in 1610–11. In his verses to *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1609–10) Field hopes for his 'muse in swathing clouts', to 'perfect such a work as' Fletcher's. The first Epistle promises that when his next play is printed, any woman 'shall see what amends I have made to her and all the sex'; the second ends, 'If thou hast anything to say to me, thou know'st where to hear of me for a year or two, and no more, I assure thee', as if Field did not mean to spend his life as a player.

Amends for Ladies. > 1611

1618. Amends for Ladies. A Comedie. As it was acted at the Blacke-Fryers, both by the Princes Seruants, and the Lady Elizabeths. By Nat. Field. *G. Eld for Math. Walbancke.*

1639. . . . With the merry prankes of Moll Cut-Purse: Or, the humour of roaring A Comedy full of honest mirth and wit. . . . *Io. Okes for Math. Walbancke.*

Editions, with *A W. is a W.* (q.v.).

The title-page points to performances in Porter's Hall (*c.* 1615–16) by the combined companies of the Prince and Princess; but the Epistle to *A W. is a W.* (q.v.) makes it clear that the play was at least planned, and probably written, by the end of 1611. Collier, iii. 434, and Fleay, i. 201, confirm this from an allusion to the play in A. Stafford's *Admonition to a Discontented Romanist*, appended to his *Niobe Dissolved into a Nilus* (S. R. 10 Oct. 1611). Fleay is less happy in fixing an inferior limit of date by the publication of the version of the *Curious Impertinent* story in Shelton's *Don Quixote* (1612), since that story was certainly available in Baudouin's French translation as early as 1608.

The introduction of Moll Cutpurse suggests rivalry with Dekker and Middleton's *Roaring Girl* (also *c.* 1610–11) at the Fortune, which theatre is chaffed in ii. 1 and iii. 4.

Later Play

The Fatal Dowry (1632), a King's men's play, assigned on the title-page to P. M. and N. F., probably dates from 1616–19. C. Beck, *Philip Massinger, The Fatall Dowry, Einleitung zu einer neuen Ausgabe* (1906, *Erlangen diss.*), assigns the prose of II. ii and IV. i to Field. There is an edition by C. L. Lockert (1918).

Doubtful Plays

Attempts have been made to trace Field's hand in *Bonduca, Cupid's Revenge, Faithful Friends, Honest Man's Fortune, Thierry and Theodoret,* and *Four Plays in One*, all belonging to the Beaumont (q.v.) and Fletcher series, and in *Charlemagne* (cf. ch. xxiv).

JOHN FLETCHER (1579–1625).

Fletcher was born in Dec. 1579 at Rye, Sussex, the living of his father Richard Fletcher, who became Bishop of Bristol, Worcester, and in 1594 London. His cousins, Giles and Phineas, are known as poets. He seems too young for the John Fletcher of London who entered Corpus Christi, Cambridge, in 1591. After his father's death in 1596, nothing is heard of him until his emergence as a dramatist, and of this the date cannot be precisely fixed. Davenant says that 'full twenty yeares, he wore the bayes', which would give 1605, but this is in a prologue to *The Woman Hater*, which Davenant apparently thought Fletcher's, although it is Beaumont's; and Oliphant's attempt to find his hand, on metrical grounds, in *Captain Thomas Stukeley* (1605) rests only on one not very conclusive scene. But he had almost certainly written for the Queen's Revels before the beginning, about 1608, of his collaboration with Beaumont, under whom his later career is outlined. It is possible that he is the John Fletcher who married Joan Herring on 3 Nov. 1612 at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and had a son John about Feb. 1620 in St. Bartholomew's the Great (Dyce, i. lxxiii), and if so one may put the fact with Aubrey's gossip (cf. s.v. Beaumont), and with Oldwit's speech in Shadwell's *Bury-Fair* (1689): 'I knew Fletcher, my friend Fletcher, and his maid Joan; well, I shall never forget him: I have supped with him at his house on the Bank-side; he loved a fat loin of pork of all things in the world; and Joan his maid had her beer-glass of sack; and we all kissed her, i' faith, and were as merry as passed.' I have sometimes wondered whether Jonson is chaffing Beaumont and Fletcher in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), v. iii, iv, as Damon and Pythias, 'two faithfull friends o' the Bankside', that 'have both but one drabbe', and enter with a gammon of bacon under their cloaks. I do not think this can refer to Francis Bacon. Fletcher died in Aug. 1625 and was buried in St. Saviour's (*Athenaeum*, 1886, ii. 252).

For Plays *vide* s.v. Beaumont, and for the ascribed lost play of *Cardenio*, s.v. Shakespeare.

PHINEAS FLETCHER (1582–1650).

Phineas Fletcher, son of Giles, a diplomatist and poet, brother of Giles, a poet, and first cousin of John (q.v.), was baptized at Cranbrook, Kent, on 8 April 1582. From Eton he passed to King's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. in 1604, his M.A. in 1608, and became a Fellow in 1611. He was Chaplain to Sir Henry Willoughby of Risley from 1616 to 1621, and thereafter Rector of Hilgay, Norfolk, to his death in 1650. He wrote much Spenserian poetry, but his dramatic work was purely academic. In addition to *Sicelides*, he may have written an English comedy, for which a payment was made to him by King's about Easter 1607 (Boas, i. xx).

Collections

1869. A. B. Grosart, *The Poems of P. F.* 4 vols. (*Fuller Worthies Library*).

1908–9. F. S. Boas, *The Poetical Works of Giles Fletcher and P. F.* 2 vols. (*Cambridge English Classics*).

Sicelides. 1615

[*MSS.*] *Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS.* 214.

Addl. MS. 4453. 'Sicelides: a Piscatorie made by Phinees Fletcher and acted in Kings Colledge in Cambridge.' [A shorter version than that of Q. and the *Rawl. MS.*]

S. R. 1631, April 25 (Herbert). 'A play called Scicelides, acted at Cambridge.' *William Sheeres* (Arber, iv. 251).

1631. Sicelides A Piscatory, As it hath been Acted in Kings Colledge, in Cambridge. *I. N. for William Sheares.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

A reference (III. iv) to the shoes hung up by Thomas Coryat in Odcombe church indicates a date of composition not earlier than 1612. The play was intended for performance before James at Cambridge, but was actually given before the University after his visit, on 13 March 1615 (cf. ch. iv).

FRANCIS FLOWER (*c.* 1588).

A Gray's Inn lawyer, one of the devisers of dumb-shows and directors for the *Misfortunes of Arthur* of Thomas Hughes (q.v.) in 1588, for which he also wrote two choruses.

JOHN FORD (1586–1639<).

Ford's dramatic career, including whatever share he may have had with Dekker (q.v.) in *Sun's Darling* and *Witch of Edmonton*, falls substantially outside my period. But amongst plays entered as his by Humphrey Moseley on 29 June 1660 (Eyre, ii. 271) are:

> 'An ill begining has A good end, and a bad begining may have a good end, a Comedy.'
>
> 'The London Merchant, a Comedy.'

These ascriptions recur in Warburton's list of lost plays (*3 Library*, ii. 231), where the first play has the title 'A good beginning may have

A good end'. It is possible, therefore, that Ford either wrote or revised the play of 'A badd beginininge makes a good endinge', which was performed by the King's men at Court during 1612–13 (cf. App. B). One may suspect the *London Merchant* to be a mistake for the *Bristow Merchant* of Ford and Dekker (q.v.) in 1624. The offer of the title in *K. B. P.* ind. 11 hardly proves that there was really a play of *The London Merchant*. Ford's *Honor Triumphant: or The Peeres Challenge, by Armes defensible at Tilt, Turney, and Barriers* (1606; ed. *Sh. Soc.* 1843) is a thesis motived by the jousts in honour of Christian of Denmark (cf. ch. iv). It has an Epistle to the Countesses of Pembroke and Montgomery, and contains four arguments in defence of amorous propositions addressed respectively to the Duke of Lennox and the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Montgomery.

EDWARD FORSETT (*c.* 1553–*c.* 1630).

A political writer (*D. N. B.*) and probable author of the academic *Pedantius* (cf. App. K).

ABRAHAM FRAUNCE (*c.* 1558–1633<).

Fraunce was a native of Shrewsbury, and passed from the school of that place, where he obtained the friendship of Philip Sidney, to St. John's, Cambridge, in 1576. He took his B.A. in 1580, played in Legge's academic *Richardus Tertius* and in *Hymenaeus* (Boas, 394), which he may conceivably have written (cf. App. K), became Fellow of the college in 1581, and took his M.A. in 1583. He became a Gray's Inn man, dedicated various treatises on logic and experiments in English hexameters to members of the Sidney and Herbert families during 1583–92, and appears to have obtained through their influence some office under the Presidency of Wales. He dropped almost entirely out of letters, but seems to have been still alive in 1633.

Latin Play

Victoria. 1580 <> 3

[*MS.*] In possession of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley at Penshurst, headed 'Victoria'. [Lines 'Philippo Sidneio', signed 'Abrahamus Fransus'. Prologue.]

Edition by G. C. Moore Smith (1906, *Materialien*, xiv).

The play is an adaptation of *Il Fedele* (1575) by Luigi Pasqualigo, which is also the foundation of the anonymous *Two Italian Gentlemen* (q.v.). As Sidney was knighted on 13 Jan. 1583, the play was probably written, perhaps for performance at St. John's, Cambridge, before that date and after Fraunce took his B.A. in 1580.

Translation

Phillis and Amyntas. 1591

S. R. 1591, Feb. 9 (Bp. of London). 'A book intituled The Countesse of Pembrookes Ivye churche, and Emanuel.' *William Ponsonby* (Arber, ii. 575).

1591. The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch. Containing the affectionate life, and vnfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas: That in a Pastorall; This in a Funerall; both in English Hexameters. By Abraham Fraunce. *Thomas Orwin for William Ponsonby.*

Dissertation: E. Köppel, *Die englischen Tasso-Übersetzungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1889, *Anglia*, xi).

This consists of a slightly altered translation of the *Aminta* (1573) of Torquato Tasso, followed by a reprint of Fraunce's English version (1587) of Thomas Watson's *Amyntas* (1585), which is not a play, but a collection of Latin eclogues. There is nothing to show that Fraunce's version of *Aminta* was ever acted.

WILLIAM FULBECK (1560–1603?).

He entered Gray's Inn in 1584, contributed two speeches to the *Misfortunes of Arthur* of Thomas Hughes (q.v.) in 1588, and wrote various legal and historical books.

ULPIAN FULWELL (*c.* 1568).

Fulwell was born in Somersetshire and educated at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. On 14 April 1577 he was of the parish of Naunton, Gloucestershire, and married Mary Whorewood of Lapworth, Warwickshire.[1]

Like Will to Like. c. 1568

S. R. 1568–9. 'A play lyke Wyll to lyke quod the Devell to the Collyer.' *John Alde* (Arber, i. 379).

1568. An Enterlude Intituled Like wil to like quod the Deuel to the Colier, very godly and ful of pleasant mirth. . . . Made by Vlpian Fulwell. *John Allde.*

1587. *Edward Allde.*

Editions in Dodsley^4, iii (1874), and by J. S. Farmer (1909, *T. F. T.*).

A non-controversial moral. The characters, allegorical and typical, are arranged for five actors, and include Ralph Roister, and 'Nicholas Newfangle the Vice', who 'rideth away upon the Devil's back' (Dodsley, iii. 357). There is a prayer for the Queen at the end.

This might be *The Collier* played at Court in 1576. Fleay, 60; i. 235, puts it in 1561–3, assigns it to the Paul's boys, and suggests that Richard Edwardes (q.v.) is satirized as Ralph Roister. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 228) suggests that Fulwell's may be the play revived by Pembroke's at the Rose on 28 Oct. 1600 as 'the [devell] licke vnto licke'.

WILLIAM GAGER (>1560–1621).

Gager entered Christ Church, Oxford, from Westminster in 1574, and took his B.A. in 1577, his M.A. in 1580, and his D.C.L. in 1589. In 1606 he became Chancellor of the diocese of Ely. He had a high reputation for his Latin verses, many of which are contained in *Exequiae D. Philippi Sidnaei* (1587) and other University volumes. A large collection in *Addl. MS.* 22583 includes lines to George Peele

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[1] R. Hudson, *Memorials of a Warwickshire Parish*, 141.

(q.v.). Meres in 1598 counts him as one of 'the best for comedy amongst vs'. His correspondence with John Rainolds affords a summary of the controversy on the ethics of the stage in its academic aspect.

Latin Plays

Meleager. Feb. 1582

1592. Meleager. Tragoedia noua. Bis publice acta in aede Christi Oxoniae. *Oxoniae. Joseph Barnes.* [Epistle to Earl of Essex, 'ex aede Christi Oxoniae, Calendis Ianuarij MDXCII. Gulielmus Gagerus'; Commendatory verses by Richard Edes, Alberico Gentili, and I. C[ase ?]; Epistle *Ad lectorem Academicum; Prologus ad academicos; Argumentum; Prologus ad illustrissimos Penbrochiae ac Lecestriae Comites.* At end, *Epilogus ad Academicos; Epilogus ad clarissimos Comites Penbrochiensem ac Lecestrensem; Panniculus Hippolyto . . . assutus* (*vide infra*); *Apollo* προλογίζει *ad serenissimam Reginam Elizabetham 1592; Prologus in Bellum Grammaticale ad eandem sacram Maiestatem; Epilogus in eandem Comoediam ad Eandem.*]

The dedication says 'Annus iam pene vndecimus agitur . . . ex quo Meleager primum, octauus ex quo iterum in Scenam venit', and adds that Pembroke, Leicester, and Sidney were present on the second occasion. *Meleager* is 'primogenitus meus'. The first production was doubtless one of those recorded in the Christ Church accounts in Feb. 1582 (Boas, 162), and the second during Leicester's visit as Chancellor in Jan. 1585 (Boas, 192).

Dido. 12 June 1583

[*MSS.*] *Christ Church, Oxford, MS.* [complete text].

Addl. MS. 22583. [Acts II, III only, with Prologue, Argument, and Epilogue.]

Edition of B.M. fragment by A. Dyce (1850, *Marlowe's Works*). *Abstract* from *Ch. Ch. MS.* in Boas, 183.

The play was produced before Alasco at Christ Church on 12 June 1583. It is unlikely that it influenced Marlowe's play.

Ulysses Redux. 6 Feb. 1592

1592. Vlysses Redux Tragoedia Nova. In Aede Christi Oxoniae Publice Academicis Recitata, Octavo Idus Februarii. 1591. *Oxoniae. Joseph Barnes.* [*Prologus ad Academicos*; Epistle to Lord Buckhurst, 'ex aede Christi Oxoniae sexto Idus Maij, 1592 . . . Gulielmus Gagerus'; Commendatory verses by Thomas Holland, Alberico Gentili, Richard Edes, Henry Bust, Matthew Gwinne, Richard Late-warr, Francis Sidney, John Hoschines (Hoskins), William Ballowe, James Weston; Verses *Ad Zoilum*; Epistle *Ad Criticum.* At end, *Prologus in Rivales Comoediam; Prologus in Hippolytum Senecae Tragoediam; Epilogus in eundem; Momus; Epilogus Responsiuus.*]

The play was produced on Sunday, 6 Feb. 1592, and an indiscreet invitation to John Rainolds opened the flood-gates of controversy upon Gager's head (cf. vol. i, p. 251 and App. C, No. l). Gager's *Rivales* was revived on 7 Feb. and the pseudo-Senecan *Hippolytus*, with Gager's *Panniculus*, on 8 Feb. followed by a speech in the character of Momus as a carper at plays, and a reply to Momus by way of Epilogue. The latter was printed in an enlarged form given to it during the course of the controversy (Boas, 197, 234, with dates which disregard leap-year).

Additions to Hippolytus. 8 Feb. 1592

1592. Panniculus Hippolyto Senecae assutus, 1591. [Appended to *Meleager*; for Gager's prologue, &c., cf. s.v. *Ulysses Redux*.]

These consist of two scenes, one of the nature of an opening, the other an insertion between Act I and Act II, written for a performance of the play at Christ Church on 8 Feb. 1592.

Oedipus

Addl. MS. 22583, f. 31, includes with other poems by Gager five scenes from a tragedy on *Oedipus*, of which nothing more is known.

Lost Play

Rivales. 11 June 1583

This comedy was produced before Alasco at Christ Church, on 11 June 1583. It is assigned to Gager by A. Wood, *Annals*, ii. 216, and referred to as his in the controversy with Rainolds (Boas, 181), who speaks of it as ' the vnprinted Comedie ', and criticizes its ' filth '. It contained scenes of country wooing, drunken sailors, a *miles gloriosus*, a *blanda lena*. The prologue to *Dido* says of it:

> Hesterna Mopsum scena ridiculum dedit.

It was revived at Christ Church on 7 Feb. 1592 (Boas, 197) and again at the same place before Elizabeth on 26 Sept. 1592, when, according to a Cambridge critic, it was 'but meanely performed '. Presumably it is the prologue for this revival which is printed with *Ulysses Redux* (q.v.).

BERNARD GARTER (*c.* 1578).

A London citizen, whose few and mainly non-dramatic writings were produced from 1565 to 1579. For his description of the Norwich entertainment (*1578*), cf. ch. xxiv.

THOMAS GARTER (*c.* 1569).

He may conceivably be identical with Bernard Garter, since Thomas and Bernard are respectively given from different sources (cf. *D.N.B.*) as the name of the father of Bernard Garter of Brigstocke, Northants, whose son was alive in 1634.

Susanna. c. 1569

S.R. 1568–9. 'Ye playe of Susanna.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 383).

1578?

No copy is known, but S. Jones, *Biographica Dramatica* (1812),

iii. 310, says: ' Susanna. By Thomas Garter 4to 1578. The running-title of this play is, *The Commody of the moste vertuous and godlye Susanna.*' According to Greg, *Masques*, cxxiii, the original authority for the statement is a manuscript note by Thomas Coxeter (*ob.* 1747) in a copy of G. Jacob's *Lives of the Dramatic Poets* (1719–20). ' Susanna ' is in Rogers and Ley's list, and an interlude ' Susanna's Tears ' in Archer's and Kirkman's.

GEORGE GASCOIGNE (*c.* 1535–77).

George Gascoigne was son of Sir John Gascoigne of Cardington, Bedfordshire. He was probably born between 1530 and 1535, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. He misspent his youth as a dissipated hanger-on at Court, under the patronage of Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton and others, and won some reputation as a versifier. About 1566 he married Elizabeth Breton of Walthamstow, widow of a London merchant, and mother of Nicholas Breton, the poet. From March 1573 to Oct. 1574 he served as a volunteer under William of Orange in the Netherlands. In 1575 he was assisting in preparing shows before Elizabeth at Kenilworth and Woodstock. It is possible that he was again in the Netherlands and present at the sack of Antwerp in 1576. On 7 Oct. 1577 he died at Stamford.

Collections

N.D. [1573] A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie. . . . *For Richard Smith.* [Datable by a prefatory epistle of 20 Jan. 1573, signed ' H. W.' and a reference in Gascoigne's own epistle of 31 Jan. 1575 to Q$_2$. Includes *Jocasta, Supposes,* and the Mask.]

1575. The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire. Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the Authour. *H. Bynneman for Richard Smith.* [A second issue, *For Richard Smith.*]

1587. The whole workes of George Gascoigne Esquyre: Newlye compyled into one Volume. . . . *Abel Jeffes.* [Adds the *Princely Pleasures.* A second issue, ' The pleasauntest workes . . .']

1869–70. W. C. Hazlitt, *The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne.* 2 vols. (*Roxburghe Library*). [Adds *Glass of Government* and *Hemetes.*]

1907–10. J. W. Cunliffe, *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne.* 2 vols. (*C. E. C.*).

Dissertation: F. E. Schelling, *The Life and Writings of George Gascoigne* (1893, *Pennsylvania Univ. Publ.*).

Jocasta. 1566

With Francis Kinwelmershe.

[*MS.*] *B.M. Addl. MS.* 34063, formerly the property of Roger, second Lord North, whose name and the motto ' Durum Pati [15]68 ' are on the title.

1573. Iocasta: A Tragedie written in Greke by Euripides, translated and digested into Acte by George Gascoyne, and Francis

Kinwelmershe of Grayes Inne, and there by them presented. 1566. *Henry Bynneman for Richard Smith.* [Part of *Collection*, 1573; also in 1575, 1587. Argument; Epilogue 'Done by Chr. Yeluerton'.]

Editions by F. J. Child (1848, *Four Old Plays*) and J. W. Cunliffe (1906, *B. L.*, and 1912, *E. E. C. T.*).—*Dissertation*: M. T. W. Foerster, *Gascoigne's J. a Translation from the Italian* (1904, *M. P.* ii. 147).

A blank-verse translation of Lodovico Dolce's *Giocasta* (1549), itself a paraphrase or adaptation of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides (Creizenach, ii. 408). After Acts I and IV appears 'Done by F. Kinwelmarshe' and after II, III, V 'Done by G. Gascoigne'. Before each act is a description of a dumb-show and of its accompanying music.

Supposes. *1566*

1573. Supposes: A Comedie written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, and Englished by George Gascoyne of Grayes Inne Esquire, and there presented. [Part of *Collection*, 1573; also in 1575 (with addition of '1566' to title) and 1587. Prologue.]

Editions by T. Hawkins (1773, *O. E. D.* iii), J. W. Cunliffe (1906, *B. L.*), and R. W. Bond (1911, *E. P. I.*).

A prose translation of Ludovico Ariosto's *I Suppositi* (1509). There was probably a revival at Trinity, Oxford, on 8 Jan. 1582, when Richard Madox records, 'We supt at y^{e} presidents lodging and after had y^{e} supposes handeled in y^{e} haul indifferently' (Boas, 161).

The Glass of Government. *c. 1575*

1575. The Glasse of Governement. A tragicall Comedie so entituled, bycause therein are handled aswell the rewardes for Vertues, as also the punishment for Vices. Done by George Gascoigne Esquier. 1575. Seen and allowed, according to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. *For C. Barker.* [Colophon] *H. M. for Christopher Barker.* [Epistle to Sir Owen Hopton, by 'G. Gascoigne', dated 26 Apr. 1575; Commendatory verses by B. C.; Argument; Prologue; Epilogue. A reissue has a variant colophon (*Henry Middleton*) and Errata.]

Edition by J. S. Farmer (1914, *S. F.*).—*Dissertation*: C. H. Herford, *G.'s G. of G.* (*E. S.* ix. 201).

This, perhaps only a closet drama, is an adaptation of the 'Christian Terence' (cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 216), with which Gascoigne may have become familiar in Holland during 1573–4. The prologue (cf. App. C, No. xiv) warns that the play is not a mere 'worthie jest', and that

> Who list laye out some pence in such a marte,
> Bellsavage fayre were fittest for his purse.

MASK

Montague Mask. *1572*

1573. A Devise of a Maske for the right honourable Viscount Mountacute. [Part of *Collection*, 1573; also in 1575, 1587.]

Anthony and Elizabeth Browne, children of Anthony, first Viscount Montague, married Mary and Robert, children of Sir William Dormer of Eythorpe, Bucks., in 1572 (cf. ch. v).

ENTERTAINMENTS

See s.v. Lee, *Woodstock Entertainment* (*1575*) and ch. xxiv, s.v. *Kenilworth Entertainment* (*1575*).

THOMAS GOFFE (1591–1629).

Selimus and the *Second Maiden's Tragedy* have been ascribed to him, but as regards the first absurdly, and as regards the second not plausibly, since he only took his B.A. degree in 1613. His known plays are later in date than 1616.

ARTHUR GOLDING (1536–1605<).

Arthur was son of John Golding of Belchamp St. Paul, Essex, and brother-in-law of John, 16th Earl of Oxford. He was a friend of Sidney and known to Elizabethan statesmen of puritanical leanings. Almost his only original work was a *Discourse upon the Earthquake* (1580), but he was a voluminous translator of theological and classical works, including Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1565, 1567). Beza's tragedy was written when he was Professor at Lausanne in 1550 (Creizenach, ii. 456).

Abraham's Sacrifice. 1575

1577. A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice, Written in french, by Theodore Beza, and translated into Inglish by A. G. Finished at Powles Belchamp in Essex, the xj of August, 1575. *Thomas Vautrollier.* [Woodcuts, which do not suggest a scenic representation.]

Edition by M. W. Wallace (1907, *Toronto Philological Series*).

HENRY GOLDINGHAM (*c.* 1575).

A contributor to the Kenilworth and Norwich entertainments (cf. ch. xxiv, C) and writer of *The Garden Plot* (1825, *Roxburghe Club*). Gawdy, 13, mentions ' a yonge gentleman touard my L. of Leycester called Mr. Goldingam ', as concerned *c.* 1587 in a street brawl.

WILLIAM GOLDINGHAM (*c.* 1567).

Author of the academic *Herodes* (cf. App. K).

HENRY GOLDWELL (*c.* 1581).

Describer of *The Fortress of Perfect Beauty* (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

STEPHEN GOSSON (1554–1624).

Gosson was born in Kent during 1554, was at Corpus Christi, Oxford, 1572 to 1576, then came to London, where he obtained some reputation as playwright and poet. Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) commends his pastorals, which are lost. Lodge speaks of him also as a ' player '.[1] In 1579 he forsook the stage, became a tutor in the country and published *The School of Abuse* (App. C, No. xxii). This he dedicated to Sidney, but 'was for his labour scorned'. He was answered the same year in a lost pamphlet called *Strange News out of Afric* and also by Lodge (q.v.), and rejoined with *A Short Apology of the School of Abuse* (App. C, No. xxiv). The players revived his plays to spite him and on 23 Feb. 1582 produced *The Play of Plays and Pastimes* to confute him. In the same year he produced his final contribution to the controversy in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (App. C, No. xxx). In 1591 Gosson became Rector of Great Wigborough, Essex, and in 1595 published the anonymous pamphlet *Pleasant Quips for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen.* In 1600 he became Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. In 1616 and 1617 he wrote to Alleyn (q.v.) as his 'very loving and ancient friend'.[1] He died 13 Feb. 1624.

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[1] Lodge, *Defence of Plays*, 7.

Gosson claims to have written both tragedies and comedies,[2] but no play of his is extant. He names three of them. Of *Catiline's Conspiracies* he says that it was 'usually brought into the Theater', and that 'because it is known to be a pig of mine own sow, I will speak the less of it; only giving you to understand, that the whole mark which I shot at in that work was to show the reward of traitors in Catiline, and the necessary government of learned men in the person of Cicero, which foresees every danger that is likely to happen and forestalls it continually ere it take effect'.[3] Lodge disparages the originality of this play and compares it unfavourably with Wilson's *Short and Sweet*[4] (q.v.). Of two other plays Gosson says: 'Since my publishing the *School of Abuse* two plays of my making were brought to the stage; the one was a cast of Italian devices, called, The Comedy of *Captain Mario*; the other a Moral, *Praise at Parting*. These they very impudently affirm to be written by me since I had set out my invective against them. I can not deny they were both mine, but they were both penned two years at the least before I forsook them, as by their own friends I am able to prove.'[5] It is conceivable that Gosson may be the translator of *Fedele and Fortunio* (cf. ch. xxiv).

ROBERT GREENE (1558–92).

Robert Greene was baptized at Norwich on 11 July 1558. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar in 1575 and took his B.A. in 1578 and his M.A. by 1583, when he was residing in Clare Hall. The addition of an Oxford degree in July 1588 enabled him to describe himself as *Academiae Utriusque Magister in Artibus*. He has been identified with a Robert Greene who was Vicar of Tollesbury, Essex, in 1584–5, but there is no real evidence that he took orders. The earlier part of his career may be gathered from his autobiographic pamphlet, *The Repentance of Robert Greene* (1592), eked out by the portraits, also evidently in a measure autobiographic, of Francesco in *Never Too Late* (1590) and of Roberto in *Green's Groats-worth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance* (1592). It seems that he travelled in youth and learnt much wickedness; then married and lived for a while with his wife and had a child by her. During this period he began his series of euphuistic love-romances. About 1586, however, he deserted his wife, and lived a dissolute life in London with the sister of Cutting Ball, a thief who ended his days at Tyburn, as his mistress. By her he had a base-born son, Fortunatus. He does not seem to have been long in London before he 'had wholly betaken me to the penning of plays which was my continual exercise'.[1] His adoption of his profession seems to be described in *The Groatsworth of Wit*. Roberto meets a player, goes with him, and soon becomes 'famozed for an arch-plaimaking poet'.[2] Similarly, in *Never Too Late*, Francesco 'fell in amongst a company of players, who persuaded him to try his wit in writing of comedies, tragedies, or pastorals, and if he could perform anything worthy of the stage, then they would largely reward him for his pains'. Hereupon Francesco 'writ a comedy, which so generally pleased the audience that happy were those actors in short time, that could get any of his works, he grew so exquisite in that faculty'.[3] Greene's early dramatic efforts seem to have brought him into rivalry with Marlowe (q.v.). In the preface to *Perimedes the Blacksmith* (S. R. 29 March 1588) he writes: 'I keep my old course to palter up something in prose, using mine old poesie still, Omne tulit punctum, although lately two Gentlemen Poets made two mad men of Rome beat it out of their paper bucklers: and had it in derision for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins, every word filling the mouth like the faburden of Bo-Bell, daring God out of heaven with that Atheist *Tamburlan*, or blaspheming with the mad priest of the Sun. . . . Such mad and scoffing poets that have poetical spirits, as bred of Merlin's race, if there be any in England that set the end of scholarism in an English blank-verse, I think either it is the humour of a novice that tickles them with self-love, or too much frequenting the hot-house (to use the German proverb) hath sweat out all the greatest part of their wits. . . . I but answer in print what they have offered on the stage.'[4] The references here to Marlowe are unmistakable. His fellow 'gentleman poet' is unknown; but the 'mad priest of the Sun' suggests the play of 'the lyfe and deathe of Heliogabilus', entered on S. R. to John Danter on 19 June 1594, but now lost.[5] In 1589 Greene published his *Menaphon* (S. R. 23 Aug.), in which he further alluded to Marlowe as the teller of 'a Canterbury tale; some prophetical full-mouth that as he were a Cobler's eldest son, would by the last tell where anothers shoe wrings'.[6] Doron, in the same story, appears to parody a passage in the anonymous play of *The Taming of A Shrew*, which is further alluded to in a prefatory epistle *To the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities* contributed to Greene's book by Thomas Nashe. Herein Nashe, while praising Peele and his *Arraignment of Paris*, satirizes Marlowe, Kyd, and particularly the players (cf. App. C, No. xlii). To *Menaphon* are also prefixed lines by Thomas Brabine which tells the 'wits' that 'strive to thunder from a stage-man's throat' how the novel is beyond them. 'Players, avaunt!'[1] In the following year, 1590, Greene continued the attack on the players in the autobiographic romance, already referred to, of *Never Too Late* (cf. App. C, No. xliii). In 1590 Greene, whose publications had hitherto been mainly toys of love and romance, began a series of moral pamphlets, full of professions of repentance and denunciations of villany. To these belong, as well as *Never Too Late*, *Greene's Mourning Garment* (1590) and *Greene's Farewell to Folly* (1591). A preface to the latter contains some satirical references to the anonymous play of *Fair Em* (cf. ch. xxiv.) One R. W. retorted upon Greene in a pamphlet called *Martine Mar-Sextus* (S. R. 8 Nov. 1591), in which he abuses lascivious authors who finally 'put on a mourning garment and cry Farewell'.[2] Similarly, Greene's exposures of 'cony-catching' or 'sharping' provoked the following passage in the *Defence of Cony-catching* (S. R. 21 April 1592) by one Cuthbert Conycatcher: 'What if I should prove you a cony-catcher, Master R. G., would it not make you blush at the matter? . . . Ask the Queen's players if you sold them not Orlando Furioso for twenty nobles, and when they were in the country sold the same play to the Lord Admiral's men for as many more. . . . I hear, when this was objected, that you made this excuse; that there was no more faith to be held with players than with them that valued faith at the price of a feather; for as they were comedians to act, so the actions of their lives were camelion-like; that they were uncertain, variable, time-pleasers, men that measured honesty by profit, and that regarded their authors not by desert but by necessity of time.'[3] It is probable that the change in the tone of Greene's writings did not correspond to any very thorough-going reformation of life. There is nothing to show that Greene had any share in the Martinist controversy. But he became involved in one of the personal animosities to which it led. Richard Harvey, the brother of Gabriel, in his *Lamb of God* (S. R. 23 Oct. 1589), while attacking Lyly as Paphatchet, had 'mistermed all our other poets and writers about London, piperly make-plaies and make-bates. Hence Greene, beeing chiefe agent for the companie [i.e. the London poets] (for hee writ more than foure other, how well I will not say: but *sat citò, si sat benè*) tooke occasion to canuaze him a little.'[4] Apparently he called the Harveys, in his *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (S. R. 21 July 1592, cf. App. C, No. xlvii), the sons of a ropemaker, which is what they were.[5]

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[1] Collier, *Memoirs of Alleyn*, 133.

[2] *Plays Confuted*, 167

[3] *School of Abuse*, 40.

[4] Lodge, *Defence of Plays*, 28.

[5] *Plays Confuted*, 165.

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[1] *Repentance* (Grosart, xii. 177).
[2] Grosart, xii. 134.
[3] Ibid. viii. 128.
[4] Ibid. vii. 7.
[5] App. M; cf. E. Köppel (*Archiv*, cii. 357); W. Bang (*E. S.* xxviii. 229).
[6] Grosart, vi. 86, 119.

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[1] Grosart, vi. 31.

[2] Sig. A 3v. *Farewell to Folly* was entered on S.R. on 11 June 1587 (Arber, ii. 471), but the first extant edition of 1591 was probably the first published, and the use of the term 'Martinize' in the preface dates it as at least post-1589 (cf. Simpson, ii. 349).

[3] Grosart, xi. 75.

[4] *Strange News* (Nashe, i. 271); cf. *Pierce Penniless; his Supplication to the Devil* (Nashe, i. 198) and *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (Nashe, iii. 130). The passage about 'make-plays' is in an Epistle only found in some copies of *The Lamb of God* (Nashe, v. 180).

[5] This allusion is not in the extant 1592 editions of the pamphlet (Grosart, xi. 206, 258).

In August Greene partook freely of Rhenish wine and pickled herrings at a supper with Nashe and one Will Monox, and fell into a surfeit. On 3 September he died in a squalid lodging, after writing a touching letter to his deserted wife, and begging his landlady, Mrs. Isam, to lay a wreath of bays upon him. These details are recorded by Gabriel Harvey, who visited the place and wrote an account of his enemy's end in a letter to a friend, which he published in his *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets: especially Touching Robert Greene, and Other Parties by him Abused* (S. R. 4 Dec. 1592).[1] This brought Nashe upon him in the *Strange News of the Intercepting of Certain Letters*[2] (S. R. 12 Jan. 1593) and began a controversy between the two which lasted for several years. In *Pierce's Supererogation* (27 Apr. 1593) Harvey spoke of 'Nash, the ape of Greene, Greene the ape of Euphues, Euphues the ape of Envy', and declared that Nashe 'shamefully and odiously misuseth every friend or acquaintance as he hath served . . . Greene, Marlowe, Chettle, and whom not?'[3] In *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (1596), Nashe defends himself against these accusations. 'I never abusd Marloe, Greene, Chettle in my life. . . . He girds me with imitating of Greene. . . . I scorne it . . . hee subscribing to me in anything but plotting Plaies, wherein he was his crafts master.'[4] The alleged abuse of Marlowe, Greene, and Chettle belongs to the history of another pamphlet. This is *Green's Groats-worth of Wit, Bought with a Million of Repentance* (S. R. 20 Sept. 1592, 'upon the peril of Henry Chettle'[5]). According to the title-page, it was 'written before his death and published at his dying request'. To this is appended the famous address *To those Gentlemen, his Quondam Acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plays*.[6] The reference here to Shakespeare is undeniable. Of the three playwrights warned, the first and third are almost certainly Marlowe and Peele; the third may be Lodge, but on the whole is far more likely to be Nashe (q.v.). It appears, however, that Nashe himself was supposed to have had a hand in the authorship. Chettle did his best to take the responsibility off Nashe's shoulders in the preface to his *Kind-Hart's Dream* (S. R. 8 Dec. 1592; cf. App. C, No. xlix). In the epistle prefixed to the second edition of *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil* (*Works*, i. 154), written early in 1593, Nashe denies the charge for himself and calls *The Groatsworth* 'a scald trivial lying pamphlet'; and it is perhaps to this that Harvey refers as abuse of Greene, Marlowe, and Chettle, although it is not clear how Marlowe comes in. There is an echo of Greene's hit at the 'upstart crow, beautified with our feathers' in the lines of R. B., *Greene's Funerals* (1594, ed. McKerrow, 1911, p. 81):

> Greene, gaue the ground, to all that wrote upon him.
> Nay more the men, that so eclipst his fame:
> Purloynde his plumes, can they deny the same?

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[1] Ed. Grosart, i. 167.

[2] Ed. McKerrow, i. 247.

[3] Ed. Gosart, ii. 222, 322.

[4] Ed. McKerrow, iii. 131.

[5] Arber, ii. 620.

[6] App. C, No. xlviii.

It should be added that the theory that Greene himself was actor as well as playwright rests on a misinterpretation of a phrase of Harvey's and is inconsistent with the invariable tone of his references to the profession.

Collections

1831. A. Dyce, *The Dramatic Works of R. G.* 2 vols.

1861, &c. A. Dyce, *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of R. G. and George Peele.*

1881–6. A. B. Grosart, *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of R. G.* 15 vols. (*Huth Library*).

1905. J. C. Collins, *The Plays and Poems of R. G.* 2 vols.

1909. T. H. Dickinson, *The Plays of R. G.* (*Mermaid Series*).

Dissertations: W. Bernhardi, *R. G.'s Leben und Schriften* (1874); J. M. Brown, *An Early Rival of Shakespeare* (1877); N. Storojenko, *R. G.: His Life and Works* (1878, tr. E. A. B. Hodgetts, in Grosart, i); R. Simpson, *Account of R. G., his Life and Works, and his Attacks on Shakspere,* in *School of Sh.* (1878), ii; C. H. Herford, *G.'s Romances and Shakespeare* (1888, *N.S.S. Trans.* 181); K. Knauth, *Ueber die Metrik R. G.'s* (1890, Halle diss.); H. Conrad, *R. G. als Dramatiker* (1894, *Jahrbuch,* xxix. 210); W. Creizenach, *G. über Shakespeare* (1898, *Wiener Festschrift*); G. E. Woodberry, *G.'s Place in Comedy,* and C. M. Gayley, *R. G., His Life and the Order of his Plays* (1903, *R.E.C.* i); K. Ehrke, *R. G.'s Dramen* (1904); S. L. Wolff, *R. G. and the Italian Renaissance* (1907, *E.S.* xxxvii. 321); F. Brie, *Lyly und G.* (1910, *E.S.* xlii. 217); J. C. Jordan, *R. G.* (1915).

Alphonsus. c. 1587

1599. The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus King of Aragon. As it hath bene sundrie times Acted. Made by R. G. *Thomas Creede.*

There is general agreement that, on grounds of style, this should be the earliest of Greene's extant plays. In IV. 1444 is an allusion to 'mighty Tamberlaine', and the play reads throughout like an attempt to emulate the success of Marlowe's play of 1587 (?). In IV. i Mahomet speaks out of a brazen head. The play may therefore be alluded to in the 'Mahomet's poo [pow]' of Peele's (q.v.) *Farewell* of April 1589, although Peele may have intended his own lost play of *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek.* There is no reference in *Alphonsus* to the Armada of 1588. On the whole, the winter of 1587 appears the most likely date for it, and if so, it is possibly the play whose ill success is recorded by Greene in the preface to *Perimedes* (1588). The Admiral's revived a *Mahomet* on 16 Aug. 1594, inventoried 'owld Mahemetes head' in 1598, and revived the play again in Aug. 1601, buying the book from Alleyn, who might have brought it from Strange's, or bought it from the Queen's (Greg, *Henslowe,* ii. 167; *Henslowe Papers,* 116). Collins dates *Alphonsus* in 1591, on a theory, inconsistent with the biographical indications of the pamphlets, that Greene's play-writing did not begin much before that year. A 'Tragicomoedia von einem Königk in Arragona' played at Dresden in 1626 might be either this play or *Mucedorus* (Herz, 66, 78).

A Looking Glass for London and England. c. 1590

With Lodge.

S. R. 1594, March 5. 'A booke intituled the lookinge glasse for London by Thomas Lodg and Robert Greene gent.' *Thomas Creede* (Arber, ii. 645).

1594. A Looking Glasse for London and England. Made by Thomas Lodge Gentleman, and Robert Greene. In Artibus Magister. *Thomas Creede, sold by William Barley.*

1598. *Thomas Creede, sold by William Barley.*

1602. *Thomas Creede, for Thomas Pavier.*

1617. *Bernard Alsop.*

Edition by J. S. Farmer (1914, *S.F.T.*).

The facts of Lodge's (q.v.) life leave 1588, before the Canaries voyage, or 1589–91, between that voyage and Cavendish's expedition, as possible dates for the play. In favour of the former is Lodge's expressed intention in 1589 to give up 'penny-knave's delight'. On the other hand, the subject is closely related to that of Greene's moral pamphlets, the series of which begins in 1590, and the fall of Nineveh is referred to in *The Mourning Garment* of that year. Fleay, ii. 54, and Collins, i. 137, accept 1590 as the date of the play. Gayley, 405, puts it in 1587, largely on the impossible notion that its 'priest of the sun' (IV. iii. 1540) is that referred to in the *Perimedes* preface, but partly also from the absence of any reference to the Armada. It is possible that 'pleasing Alcon' in Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (1591) may refer to Lodge as the author of the character Alcon in this play. *The Looking Glass* was revived by Strange's men on 8 March 1592. The clown is sometimes called Adam in the course of the dialogue (ll. 1235 sqq., 1589 sqq., 2120 sqq.), and a comparison with *James IV* suggests that the original performer was John Adams of the Queen's men, from whom Henslowe may have acquired the play. Fleay, ii. 54, and Gayley, 405, make attempts to distinguish Greene's share from Lodge's, but do not support their results by arguments. Crawford, *England's Parnassus*, xxxii, 441, does not regard Allot's ascription of the passages he borrowed to Greene and Lodge respectively as trustworthy. Unnamed English actors played a 'comedia auss dem propheten Jona' at Nördlingen in 1605 (Herz, 78).

Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. c. 1589

S. R. 1594, May 14. 'A booke entituled the Historye of ffryer Bacon and ffryer Boungaye.' *Adam Islip* (Arber, ii. 649). [Against this and other plays entered on the same day, Adam Islip's name is crossed out and Edward White's substituted.]

1594. The Honorable Historie of frier Bacon, and frier Bongay. As it was plaid by her Maiesties seruants. Made by Robert Greene Maister of Arts. *For Edward White.* [Malone dated one of his copies of the 1630 edition '1599' in error; cf. Gayley, 430.]

1630. . . . As it was lately plaid by the Prince Palatine his Seruants . . . *Elizabeth Allde.* [The t.p. has a woodcut representing Act II, sc. iii.]

1655. *Jean Bell.*

Editions by A. W. Ward (1878, &c.), C. M. Gayley (1903, *R.E.C.* i), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C.E.D.*), and J. S. Farmer (1914, *S.F.T.*).—*Dissertation*: O. Ritter, *De R. G. Fabula: F. B. and F. B.* (1866, *Thorn diss.*).

Fleay, in *Appendix B* to Ward's ed., argues from I. i. 137, 'next Friday is S. James', that the date of the play is 1589, in which year St. James's Day fell on a Friday. This does not seem to me a very reliable argument. Probably the play followed not long after Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (q.v.), itself probably written in 1588–9. The date of 1589, which Ward, i. 396, and Gayley, 411, accept, is likely enough. Collins prefers 1591–2, and notes (ii. 4) a general resemblance in tone and theme to *Fair Em*, but there is nothing to indicate the priority of either play, and no charge of plagiarism in the pamphlets (*vide supra*) to which *Fair Em* gave rise. *Friar Bacon* was revived by Strange's men on 19 Feb. 1592, and again by the Queen's and Sussex's men together on 1 April 1594. Doubtless it was Henslowe's property, as Middleton wrote a prologue and epilogue for a performance by the Admiral's men at Court at Christmas 1602 (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 149).

Orlando Furioso. c. 1591

[*MS.*] The Dulwich MSS. contain an actor's copy with cues of Orlando's part. Doubtless it belonged to Alleyn. The fragment covers ll. 595–1592 of the Q_q, but contains passages not in those texts. It is printed by Collier, *Alleyn Papers*, 198, Collins, i. 266, and Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 155.

S.R. 1593, Dec. 7. 'A plaie booke, intituled, the historye of Orlando ffurioso, one of the xij peeres of Ffraunce.' *John Danter* (Arber, ii. 641).

1594, May 28. 'Entred for his copie by consent of John Danter . . . A booke entytuled The historie of Orlando furioso, &c. Prouided alwaies, and yt is agreed that soe often as the same booke shalbe printed, the saide John Danter to haue thimpryntinge thereof. *Cuthbert Burby* (Arber, ii. 650).

1594. The Historie of Orlando Furioso One of the twelve Pieres of France. As it was plaid before the Queenes Maiestie. *John Danter for Cuthbert Burby.*

1599. *Simon Stafford for Cuthbert Burby.*

Edition by W. W. Greg (1907, *M.S.R.*).

The Armada (1588) is referred to in I. i. 87. Two passages are common to the play and Peele's *Old Wive's Tale* (before 1595), and were probably borrowed by Peele with the name Sacripant, which Greene got from Ariosto. The play cannot be the 'King Charlemagne' of Peele's (q.v.) *Farewell* (April 1589), as Charlemagne does not appear in it. The appearance of Sir John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in 1591 suggests that as a likely date. This also would fit the story (*vide supra*) of the second sale to the Admiral's men, when the Queen's 'were in the country' (cf. vol. ii, p. 112). Strange's men played *Orlando* for Henslowe on 22 Feb. 1592. Collins, i. 217, seems to accept 1591 as the date, but Fleay, i. 263, Ward, i. 395, and Gayley, 409, prefer 1588–9. So does Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 150) on the assumption that *Old Wive's Tale* (q.v.) 'must belong to 1590'. A 'Comoedia von Orlando Furioso' was acted at Dresden in 1626 (Herz, 66, 77).

James the Fourth. c. 1591

S. R. 1594, May 14. 'A booke intituled the Scottishe story of James the Ffourth slayne at Fflodden intermixed with a plesant Comedie presented by Oboron Kinge of ffayres.' *Thomas Creede* (Arber, ii. 648.)

1598. The Scottish Historie of Iames the fourth, slaine at Flodden. Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie, presented by Oboram, King of Fayeries: As it hath bene sundrie times publikely plaide. Written by Robert Greene, Maister of Arts. *Thomas Creede.*

Editions by J. M. Manly (1897, *Specimens*, ii. 327) and A. E. H. Swaen and W. W. Greg (1921, *M. S. R.*).—*Dissertation*: W. Creizenach, *Zu G.'s J. IV* (1885, *Anglia*, viii. 419).

There is very little to date the play. Its comparative merit perhaps justifies placing it, as Greene's maturest drama, in 1591. Collins, i. 44, agrees; but Fleay, i. 265; Ward, i. 400; Gayley, 415, prefer 1590. Fleay finds traces of a second hand, whom he believes to be Lodge, but he is not convincing. In l. 2269 the name Adam appears for Oberon in a stage-direction, which, when compared with *A Looking-Glass*, suggests that the actor was John Adams of the Queen's.

Lost Play

Warburton's list of burnt plays (*3 Library*, ii. 231) contains the duplicate entries 'Hist of Jobe by Rob. Green' and 'The Tragd of Jobe. Good.' Greg suggests a confusion with Sir Robert Le Grys, who appears in the list as 'Sr Rob. le Green'.

The statement that Greene had a share in a play on Henry VIII (*Variorum*, xix. 500) seems to be based on a confusion with a Robert Greene named by Stowe as an authority for his *Annales* (Collins, i. 69).

Doubtful Plays

Greene's hand has been sought in *Contention of York and Lancaster*, *Edward III*, *Fair Em*, *George a Greene*, *Troublesome Reign of King John*, *Knack to Know a Knave*, *Thracian Wonder*, *Leire*, *Locrine*, *Mucedorus*, *Selimus*, *Taming of A Shrew*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (cf. ch. xxiv), and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *Henry VI*.

FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE (*c.* 1554–1628).

Greville's father, Sir Fulke, was a cadet of the Grevilles of Milcote, and held great estates in Warwickshire. The son was born at Beauchamp Court ten years before he entered Shrewsbury School on 17 Oct. 1564 with Philip Sidney, of whom he wrote, *c.* 1610–12, a *Life* (ed. Nowell Smith, 1907). In 1568 he went to Jesus College, Cambridge, and from 1577 was a courtier in high favour with Elizabeth, and entrusted with minor diplomatic and administrative tasks. He took part in the great tilt of 15 May 1581 (cf. ch. xxiv) and was a steady patron of learning and letters. His own plays were for the closet. He was knighted in 1597. James granted him Warwick Castle in 1605, but he was no friend of Robert Cecil, and took no great part in affairs until 1614, when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1621 he was created Lord Brooke. On 1 Sept. 1628 he was stabbed to death by his servant Ralph Haywood. D. Lloyd, *Statesmen of England* (1665), 504, makes him claim to have been 'master' to Shakespeare and Jonson.

Collections

S. R. 1632, Nov. 10 (Herbert). 'A booke called Certaine learned and elegant Workes of Fulke Lord Brooke the perticular names are as followeth (viz^{t}) . . . The Tragedy of Alaham. The Tragedy of Mustapha (by assignment from Master Butter). . . . *Seile* (Arber, iv. 288).

1633. Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes of the Right Honorable Fulke Lord Brooke, Written in his Youth, and familiar exercise with Sir Philip Sidney. The seuerall Names of which Workes the following page doth declare. *E. P. for Henry Seyle.* [Contains *Alaham* and *Mustapha.*]

1670. The Remains of Sir Fulk Grevill Lord Brooke: Being Poems of Monarchy and Religion: Never before Printed. *T. N. for Henry Herringham.* [Contains *Alaham* and *Mustapha.*]

1870. A. B. Grosart, *The Works in Verse and Prose Complete of the Lord Brooke.* 4 vols. (*Fuller Worthies Library*).

Dissertations: M. W. Croll, *The Works of F. G.* (1903, *Pennsylvania thesis*); R. M. Cushman (*M. L. N.* xxiv. 180).

Alaham. c. 1600 (?)

[*MS.*] Holograph at Warwick Castle (cf. Grosart, iv. 336).

1633. [Part of *Coll.* 1633. Prologue and Epilogue; at end, 'This Tragedy, called Alaham, may be printed, this 13 day of June 1632, Henry Herbert.']

Croll dates 1586–1600 on metrical grounds, and Cushman 1598–1603, as bearing on Elizabethan politics after Burghley's death.

Mustapha. 1603 < > 8

[*MSS.*] Holograph at Warwick Castle (cf. Grosart, iv. 336). *Camb. Univ. MS.* F. f. 2. 35.

S. R. 1608, Nov. 25 (Buck). 'A booke called the Tragedy of Mustapha and Zangar.' *Nathanaell Butter* (Arber, iii. 396).

1609. The Tragedy of Mustapha. *For Nathaniel Butter.*

S. R. 1632, Nov. 10. Transfer from Butter to Seile (Arber, iv. 288) (*vide Collections, supra*).

Cushman dates 1603–9, as bearing on the Jacobean doctrine of divine right.

MATTHEW GWINNE (*c.* 1558–1627).

Gwinne, the son of a London grocer of Welsh descent, entered St. John's, Oxford, from Merchant Taylors in 1574, and became Fellow of the College, taking his B.A. in 1578, his M.A. in 1582, and his M.D.

in 1593. In 1592 he was one of the overseers for the plays at the visit of Elizabeth (Boas, 252). He became Professor of Physic at Gresham College in 1597 and afterwards practised as a physician in London.

LATIN PLAYS

Nero > 1603

S. R. 1603, Feb. 23 (Buckerydge). 'A booke called Nero Tragedia nova Matheo Gwyn medicine Doctore Colegij Divi Johannis precursoris apud Oxonienses socio Collecta.' *Edward Blunt* (Arber, iii. 228).

1603. Nero Tragoedia Nova; Matthaeo Gwinne Med. Doct. Collegii Diui Joannis Praecursoris apud Oxonienses Socio collecta è Tacito, Suetonio, Dione, Seneca. *Ed. Blount.* [Epistle to James, 'Londini ex aedibus Greshamiis Cal. Jul. 1603', signed 'Matthaeus Gvvinne'; commendatory verses to Justus Lipsius, signed 'Io. Sandsbury Ioannensis'; Prologue and Epilogue.]

1603. *Ed. Blount.* [Epistle to Thomas Egerton and Francis Leigh, 'Londini ex aedibus Greshamiis in festo Cinerum 1603'; Epilogue.]

1639. *M. F. Prostant apud R. Mynne.*

Boas, 390, assigns the play to St. John's, Oxford, *c.* Easter 1603, but the S. R. entry and the 'Elisa regnat' of the Epilogue point to an Elizabethan date.

Vertumnus. 29 Aug. 1605

[*MS.*] *Inner Temple Petyt MS.* 538, 43, f. 293, has a *scenario*, with the title 'The yeare about'.

1607. Vertumnus sive Annus Recurrens Oxonii, xxix Augusti, Anno. 1605. Coram Iacobo Rege, Henrico Principe, Proceribus. A Joannensibus in Scena recitatus ab vno scriptus, Phrasi Comica propè Tragicis Senariis. *Nicholas Okes, impensis Ed. Blount.* [Epistle to Henry, signed 'Matthaeus Gwinne'; Verses to Earl of Montgomery; commendatory verses, signed 'Guil. Paddy', 'Ioa. Craigius', 'Io. Sansbery Ioannensis', 'Θώμας ὁ Φρεάῤῥεος'; *Author ad Librum.* Appended are verses, signed 'M. G.' and headed 'Ad Regis introitum, è Ioannensi Collegio extra portam Vrbis Borealem sito, tres quasi Sibyllae, sic (ut e sylua) salutarunt', which are thought to have given a hint for *Macbeth.*]

This was shown to James during his visit to Oxford, and it sent him to sleep. The performance was at Christ Church by men of St. John's.

STEPHEN HARRISON (*c.* 1604).

Designer and describer of the arches at the coronation of James I (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

RICHARD HATHWAY (*c.* 1600).

Practically nothing is known of Hathway outside Henslowe's diary, although he was included by Meres amongst the 'best for comedy' in 1598, and wrote commendatory verses for Bodenham's *Belvedere* (1600). It is only conjecture that relates him to the Hathaways of Shottery in

Warwickshire, of whom was Shakespeare's father-in-law, also a Richard. He has left nothing beyond an undetermined share of *1 Sir John Oldcastle,* but the following plays by him are traceable in the diary:

(a) *Plays for the Admiral's, 1598–1602*

(i) *King Arthur.*
April 1598.

(ii) *Valentine and Orson.*
With Munday, July 1598. It is uncertain what relation, if any, this bore to an anonymous play of the same name which was twice entered in the S. R. on 23 May 1595 and 31 March 1600 (Arber, ii. 298, iii. 159), was ascribed in both entries to the Queen's and not the Admiral's, and is not known to be extant.

(iii, iv) *1, 2 Sir John Oldcastle.*
With Drayton (q.v.), Munday, and Wilson, Oct.–Dec. 1599.

(v) *Owen Tudor.*
With Drayton, Munday, and Wilson, Jan. 1600; but apparently not finished.

(vi) *1 Fair Constance of Rome.*
With Dekker, Drayton, Munday, and Wilson (q.v.), June 1600.

(vii) *2 Fair Constance of Rome.*
June 1600; but apparently not finished.

(viii) *Hannibal and Scipio.*
With Rankins, Jan. 1601. Greg, ii. 216, bravely suggests that Nabbes's play of the same name, printed as a piece of Queen Henrietta's men in 1637, may have been a revision of this.

(ix) *Scogan and Skelton.*
With Rankins, Jan.–March 1601.

(x) *The Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt.*
With Rankins, Mar.–Apr. 1601, but never finished, as shown by a letter to Henslowe from S. Rowley, bidding him let Hathway 'have his papars agayne' (*Henslowe Papers,* 56).

(xi, xii) *1, 2 The Six Clothiers.*
With Haughton and Smith, Oct.–Nov. 1601; but the second part was apparently unfinished.

(xiii) *Too Good To Be True.*
With Chettle (q.v.) and Smith, Nov. 1601–Jan. 1602.

(xiv) *Merry as May Be.*
With Day and Smith, Nov. 1602.

(b) *Plays for Worcester's, 1602–3*

(xv, xvi) *1, 2 The Black Dog of Newgate.*
With Day, Smith, and an anonymous 'other poete', Nov. 1602—Feb. 1603.

(xvii) *The Unfortunate General.*
With Day, Smith, and a third, Jan. 1603.

(c) *Play for the Admiral's, 1603*

(xviii) *The Boss of Billingsgate.*

With Day and one or more other 'felowe poetes', March 1603.

CHRISTOPHER HATTON (1540–91).

Christopher Hatton, of Holdenby, Northants, entered the Inner Temple in Nov. 1559. He was Master of the Game at the Grand Christmas of 1561, and the mask to which he is said to have owed his introduction to Elizabeth's favour was probably that which the revellers took to Court, together with Norton (q.v.) and Sackville's *Gorboduc* on 18 Jan. 1562. He became a Gentleman Pensioner in 1564, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Captain of the Guard in 1572, Vice-Chamberlain and Privy Councillor in 1578, when he was knighted, and Lord Chancellor on 25 April 1587. He was conspicuous at Court in masks and tilts, and is reported, even as Lord Chancellor, to have laid aside his gown and danced at the wedding of his nephew and heir, Sir William Newport, alias Hatton, to Elizabeth Gawdy at Holdenby in June 1590.

His only contribution to the drama is as writer of an act of *Gismond of Salerne* at the Inner Temple in 1568 (cf. s.v. Wilmot).

WILLIAM HAUGHTON (*c.* 1575–1605).

Beyond his extant work and the entries in Henslowe's diary, in the earliest of which, on 5 Nov. 1597, he appears as 'yonge' Haughton, little is known of Haughton. Cooper, *Ath. Cantab.* ii. 399, identified him with an alleged Oxford M.A. of the same name who was incorporated at Cambridge in 1604, but turns out to have misread the name, which is 'Langton' (Baugh, 15). He worked for the Admiral's during 1597–1602, and found himself in the Clink in March 1600. Baugh, 22, prints his will, made on 6 June 1605, and proved on 20 July. He left a widow Alice and children. Wentworth Smith (q.v.) and one Elizabeth Lewes were witnesses. He was then of Allhallows, Stainings. He cannot be traced in the parish, but the name, which in his will is Houghton, is also spelt by Henslowe Harton, Horton, Hauton, Hawton, Howghton, Haughtoun, Haulton, and Harvghton, and was common in London. He might be related to a William Houghton, saddler, who held a house in Turnmill Street in 1577 (Baugh, 11), since in 1601 (*H. P.* 57) Day requested that a sum due to Haughton and himself might be paid to 'Will Hamton sadler'.

Englishmen for My Money, or *A Woman Will Have Her Will.* 1598

S. R. 1601, Aug. 3. 'A comedy of A woman Will haue her Will.' *William White* (Arber, iii. 190).

1616. English-Men For my Money: or, A pleasant Comedy, called, A Woman will haue her Will. *W. White.*

1626. . . . As it hath beene diuers times Acted with great applause. *I. N., sold by Hugh Perry.*

1631. *A. M., sold by Richard Thrale.*

Editions in *O.E.D.* (1830, i) and Dodsley^4, x (1875), and by J. S. Farmer (1911, *T.F.T.*), W. W. Greg (1912, *M. S. R.*), and A. C. Baugh, (1917).

The evidence for Haughton's evidence is in two payments in Henslowe's diary of 18 Feb. and early in May 1598 on behalf of the Admiral's. The sum of these is only £2, but it seems possible that at least one, and perhaps more than one, other payment was made for the book in 1597 (cf. Henslowe, ii. 191).

Patient Grissell. 1599

With Chettle and Dekker (q.v.).

Lost and Doubtful Plays

The following plays by Haughton, all for the Admiral's, are traceable in Henslowe's diary:

(i) *A Woman Will Have Her Will.*
See *supra.*

(ii) *The Poor Man's Paradise.*
Aug. 1599; apparently not finished.

(iii) *Cox of Collumpton.*
With Day, Nov. 1599; on a 'note' of the play by Simon Forman, cf. ch. xiii (Admiral's).

(iv) *Thomas Merry*, or *Beech's Tragedy.*
With Day, Nov.–Dec. 1599, on the same theme as one of Yarington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (q.v.).

(v) *The Arcadian Virgin.*
With Chettle, Dec. 1599; apparently not finished.

(vi) *Patient Grissell.*
With Chettle and Dekker (q.v.), Oct.–Dec. 1599.

(vii) *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy.*
With Day and Dekker, Feb. 1600; but apparently then unfinished; possibly identical with *Lust's Dominion* (cf. s.v. Marlowe).

(viii) *The Seven Wise Masters.*
With Chettle, Day, and Dekker, March 1600.

(ix) *Ferrex and Porrex.*
March–April 1600.

(x) *The English Fugitives.*
April 1600, but apparently not finished.

(xi) *The Devil and His Dame.*
6 May 1600; probably the extant anonymous *Grim the Collier of Croydon* (q.v.).

(xii) *Strange News Out of Poland.*
With 'M^r. Pett', May 1600.

(xiii) *Judas.*

Haughton had 10*s*. for this, May 1600; apparently the play was finished by Bird and S. Rowley, Dec. 1601.

(xiv) *Robin Hood's Pennorths.*

Dec. 1600—Jan. 1601; but apparently not finished.

(xv, xvi) *2, 3 The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.*

With Day (q.v.), Jan.–July 1600.

(xvii) *The Conquest of the West Indies.*

With Day and Smith, April–Sept. 1601.

(xviii) *The Six Yeomen of the West.*

With Day, May–June 1601.

(xix) *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Antwerp.*

With Chettle and Day, July 1601—Jan. 1602.

(xx) *2 Tom Dough.*

With Day, July–Sept. 1601; but apparently not finished.

(xxi, xxii) *1, 2 The Six Clothiers.*

With Hathway and Smith, Oct.–Nov. 1601; but apparently the second part was not finished.

(xxiii) *William Cartwright.*

Sept. 1602; perhaps never finished.

WALTER HAWKESWORTH (?–1606).

A Yorkshireman by birth, Hawkesworth entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1588, and became a Fellow, taking his B.A. in 1592 and his M.A. in 1595. In 1605 he went as secretary to the English embassy in Madrid, where he died.

LATIN PLAYS

Leander. 1599

[*MSS.*] *T.C.C. MS.* R. 3. 9. *Sloane MS.* 1762. ['Authore M^ro^ Haukesworth, Collegii Trinitatis olim Socio Acta est secundo A. D. 1602 comitiis Baccalaureorum . . . primo acta est A. D. 1598.' Prologue, 'ut primo acta est'; Additions for revival; Actor-lists.]

St. John's, Cambridge, MS. J. 8. [Dated at end '7 Jan. 1599'.]

Emmanuel, Cambridge, MS. I. 2. 30.

Cambridge Univ. Libr. MS. Ee. v. 16.

Bodl. Rawl. Misc. MS. 341.

Lambeth MS. 838.

The production in 1599 and 1603 indicated by the MSS. agrees with the Trinity names in the actor-lists (Boas, 399).

Labyrinthus. 1603 (?)

[*MSS.*] *T. C. C. MS.* R. 3. 6.

Cambridge Univ. Libr. MS. Ee. v. 16. [Both 'authore M^{ro} Haukesworth'. Prologue. Actor-list in *T. C. C. MS.*]

St. John's, Cambridge, MS. J. 8. *T. C. C. MS.* R. 3. 9. *Bodl. Douce MSS.* 43, 315. *Lambeth MS.* 838.

S.R. 1635, July 17 (Weekes). 'A Latyn Comedy called Laborinthus &c.' *Robinson* (Arber, iv. 343).

1636. Labyrinthus Comoedia, habita coram Sereniss. Rege Iacobo in Academia Cantabrigiensi. *Londini, Excudebat H. R.* [Prologue.]

An allusion in the text (v. 5) to the marriage '*heri*' of Leander and Flaminia has led to the assumption that production was on the day after the revival of *Leander* in 1603; the actor-list has some inconsistencies, and is not quite conclusive for any year of the period 1603-6 (Boas, 317, 400).

MARY HERBERT, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE (1561-1621).

Mary, daughter of Sir Henry, and sister of Sir Philip, Sidney, married Henry, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, in 1577. She had literary tastes and was a liberal patroness of poets, notably Samuel Daniel. Most of her time appears to have been spent at her husband's Wiltshire seats of Wilton, Ivychurch, and Ramsbury, but in the reign of James she rented Crosby Hall in Bishopsgate, and in 1615 the King granted her for life the manor of Houghton Conquest, Beds.

Dissertation: F. B. Young, *Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (1912).

TRANSLATION

Antony. 1590

S. R. 1592, May 3. 'Item Anthonius a tragedie wrytten also in French by Robert Garnier . . . donne in English by the Countesse of Pembrok.' *William Ponsonby* (Arber, ii. 611).

1592. A Discourse of Life and Death. Written in French by Ph. Mornay. Antonius, A Tragoedie written also in French by Ro. Garnier Both done in English by the Countesse of Pembroke. *For William Ponsonby.*

1595. The Tragedie of Antonie. Doone . . . *For William Ponsonby.*

Edition by A. Luce (1897). The *Marc-Antoine* (1578) of Robert Garnier was reissued in his *Huit Tragédies* (1580).

ENTERTAINMENT

Astraea. 1592 (?)

In Davison's *Poetical Rapsody* (1602, S. R. 28 May 1602) is 'A Dialogue betweene two Shepheards, Thenot and Piers, in Praise of Astrea. Made by the excellent Lady the Lady Mary Countesse of Pembrook at the Queenes Maiesties being at her house at —— Anno 15—'.

S. Lee (*D. N. B.*) puts the visit at Wilton 'late in 1599'. But there was no progress in 1599, and progresses to Wilts. planned in 1600, 1601, and 1602 were abandoned. Presumably the verses were written for the visit to Ramsbury of 27-9 Aug. 1592 (cf. App. A).

JASPER HEYWOOD (1535-98).

Translator of Seneca (q.v.).

THOMAS HEYWOOD (*c.* 1570–1641).

Heywood regarded Lincolnshire as his ‘country’ and had an uncle Edmund, who had a friend Sir Henry Appleton. K. L. Bates has found Edmund Heywood’s will of 7 Oct. 1624 in which Thomas Heywood and his wife are mentioned, and has shown it to be not improbable that Edmund was the son of Richard Heywood, a London barrister who had manors in Lincolnshire. If so, Thomas was probably the son of Edmund’s disinherited elder brother Christopher who was aged 30 in 1570. And if Richard Heywood is the same who appears in the circle of Sir Thomas More, a family connexion with the dramatist John Heywood may be conjectured. The date of Thomas’s birth is unknown, but he tells us that he was at Cambridge, although a tradition that he became Fellow of Peterhouse cannot be confirmed, and is therefore not likely to have begun his stage career before the age of 18 or thereabouts. Perhaps we may conjecture that he was born *c.* 1570, for a Thomas Heywood is traceable in the St. Saviour’s, Southwark, token-books from 1588 to 1607, and children of Thomas Heywood ‘player’ were baptized in the same parish from 28 June 1590 to 5 Sept. 1605 (Collier, in *Bodl. MS.* 29445). This is consistent with his knowledge (App. C, No. lvii) of Tarlton, but not of earlier actors. He may, therefore, so far as dates are concerned, easily have written *The Four Prentices* as early as 1592; but that he in fact did so, as well as his possible contributions to the Admiral’s repertory of 1594–7, are matters of inference (cf. Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 284). The editors of the *Apology for Actors* (Introd. v) say that in his *Funeral Elegy upon James I* (1625) he claims to have been ‘the theatrical servant of the Earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakespeare’. I have never seen the Elegy. It is not in the B. M., but a copy passed from the Bindley to the Brown collection. There is no other evidence that Southampton ever had a company of players. The first dated notice of Heywood is in a payment of Oct. 1596 on behalf of the Admiral’s ‘for Hawodes bocke’. On 25 March 1598 he bound himself to Henslowe for two years as an actor, doubtless for the Admiral’s, then in process of reconstitution. Between Dec. 1598 and Feb. 1599 he wrote two plays for this company, and then disappears from their records. He was not yet out of his time with Henslowe, but if *Edward IV* is really his, he may have been enabled to transfer his services to Derby’s men, who seem to have established themselves in London in the course of 1599. By the autumn of 1602 he was a member of Worcester’s, for whom he had probably already written *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*. He now reappears in Henslowe’s diary both as actor and as playwright. On 1 Sept. he borrowed *2s. 6d.* to buy garters, and between 4 Sept. and 6 March 1603 he wrote or collaborated in not less than seven plays for the company. During the same winter he also helped in one play for the Admiral’s. It seems probable that some of his earlier work was transferred to Worcester’s. He remained with them, and in succession to them Queen Anne’s, until the company broke up soon after the death of the Queen in 1619. Very little of his work got into print. Of the twelve plays at most which appeared before 1619, the first seven were unauthorized issues; from 1608 onwards, he himself published five with prefatory epistles. About this date, perhaps in the enforced leisure of plague-time, he also began to produce non-dramatic works, both in prose and verse, of which the *Apology for Actors*, published in 1612, but written some years earlier (cf. App. C, No. lvii), is the most important. The loss of his *Lives of All the Poets*, apparently begun *c.* 1614 and never finished, is irreparable. After 1619 Heywood is not traceable at all as an actor; nor for a good many years, with the exception of one play, *The Captives*, for the Lady Elizabeth's in 1624, as a playwright, either on the stage or in print. In 1623 a Thomas Heywarde lived near Clerkenwell Hill (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, xlvi. 345) and is probably the dramatist. In 1624 he claims in the Epistle to *Gynaikeion* the renewed patronage of the Earl of Worcester, since 'I was your creature, and amongst other your servants, you bestowed me upon the excellent princesse Q. Anne . . . but by her lamented death, your gift is returned againe into your hands'. But about 1630 he emerges again. Old plays of his were revived and new ones produced both by Queen Henrietta's men at the Cockpit and the King's at the Globe and Blackfriars. He wrote the Lord Mayor's pageants for a series of years. He sent ten more plays to the press, and included a number of prologues, epilogues, and complimentary speeches of recent composition in his *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas* of 1637. This period lies outside my survey. I have dealt with all plays in which there is a reasonable prospect of finding early work, but have not thought it necessary to discuss *The English Traveller*, or *A Maidenhead Well Lost*, merely because of tenuous attempts by Fleay to connect them with lost plays written for Worcester's or still earlier anonymous work for the Admiral's, any more than *The Fair Maid of the West*, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, or *A Challenge for Beauty*, with regard to which no such suggestion is made. As to *Love's Mistress*, see the note on *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*. The Epistle to *The English Traveller* (1633) is worth quoting. Heywood describes the play as 'one reserued amongst two hundred and twenty, in which I haue had either an entire hand, or at the least a maine finger', and goes on to explain why his pieces have not appeared as *Works*. 'One reason is, that many of them by shifting and change of Companies, haue beene negligently lost, Others of them are still retained in the hands of some Actors, who thinke it against their peculiar profit to haue them come in Print, and a third, That it neuer was any great ambition in me, to bee in this kind Volumniously read.' Heywood's statement would give him an average of over five plays a year throughout a forty years' career, and even if we assume that he included every piece which he revised or supplied with a prologue, it is obvious that the score or so plays that we have and the dozen or so others of which we know the names must fall very short of his total output. 'Tho. Heywood, Poet', was buried at St. James's, Clerkenwell, on 16 Aug. 1641 (*Harl. Soc. Reg.* xvii. 248), and therefore the alleged mention of him as still alive in *The Satire against Separatists* (1648) must rest on a misunderstanding.

Collections

1842–51. B. Field and J. P. Collier, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood.* 2 vols. (*Shakespeare Society*). [Intended for a complete edition, although issued in single parts; a title-page for vol. i was issued in 1850 and the 10th Report of the Society treats the plays for 1851 as completing vol. ii. Twelve plays were issued, as cited *infra.*]

1874. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood.* 6 vols. (*Pearson Reprints*). [All the undoubted plays, with *Edward IV* and *Fair Maid of the Exchange*; also Lord Mayors' Pageants and part of *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas.*]

1888. A. W. Verity, *The Best Plays of Thomas Heywood* (*Mermaid Series*). [*Woman Killed with Kindness, Fair Maid of the West, English Traveller, Wise Woman of Hogsdon, Rape of Lucrece.*]

Dissertations: K. L. Bates, *A Conjecture as to Thomas Heywood's Family* (1913, *J.G.P.* xii. 1); P. Aronstein, *Thomas Heywood* (1913, *Anglia,* xxxvii. 163).

The Four Prentices of London. 1592 (?)

S. R. 1594, June 19. 'An enterlude entituled Godfrey of Bulloigne with the Conquest of Jerusalem.' *John Danter* (Arber, ii. 654).

1615. The Foure Prentises of London. With the Conquest of Ierusalem. As it hath bene diuerse times Acted, at the Red Bull, by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants. Written by Thomas Heywood. *For I. W.* [Epistle to the Prentices, signed 'Thomas Heywood' and Prologue, really an Induction.]

1632. ... Written and newly reuised by Thomas Heywood. *Nicholas Okes.*

Editions in Dodsley^{2,3} (1780–1827) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* iii).

The Prologue gives the title as *True and Strange, or The Four Prentises of London.* The Epistle speaks of the play as written 'many yeares since, in my infancy of iudgment in this kinde of poetry, and my first practice' and 'some fifteene or sixteene yeares agoe'. This would, by itself, suggest a date shortly after the publication of Fairfax's translation from Tasso under the title of *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or The Recouerie of Ierusalem* in 1600. But the Epistle also refers to a recent revival of 'the commendable practice of long forgotten armes' in 'the Artillery Garden'. This, according to Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 906, was in 1610, which leads Fleay, i. 182, followed by Greg (*Henslowe,* ii. 166), to assume that the Epistle was written for an edition, now lost, of about that date. In support they cite Beaumont's *K.B.P.* iv. 1 (dating it 1610 instead of 1607), 'Read the play of the *Foure Prentices of London,* where they tosse their pikes so'. Then, calculating back sixteen years, they arrive at the anonymous *Godfrey of Bulloigne* produced by the Admiral's on 19 July 1594, and identify this with *The Four Prentices,* in which Godfrey is a character. But this *Godfrey of Bulloigne* was a second part, and it is difficult to suppose that the first part was anything but the play entered on the S. R. earlier in 1594. This, from its title, clearly left no room for a second part covering the same ground as *The Four Prentices*, which ends with the capture of Jerusalem. If then Heywood's play is as old as 1594 at all, it must be identified with the first part of *Godfrey of Bulloigne*. And is not this in its turn likely to be the *Jerusalem* played by Strange's men on 22 March and 25 April 1592? If so, Heywood's career began very early, and, as we can hardly put his Epistle earlier than the opening of the Artillery Garden in 1610, his 'fifteene or sixteene yeares' must be rather an understatement. There is of course nothing in the Epistle itself to suggest that the play had been previously printed, but we know from the Epistle to *Lucrece* that the earliest published plays by Heywood were surreptitious.

Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 230, hesitatingly suggests that a purchase by Worcester's of 'iiij lances for the comody of Thomas Hewedes & Mr. Smythes' on 3 Sept. 1602 may have been for a revival of *The Four Prentices*, 'where they tosse their pikes so', transferred from the Admiral's. But I think his afterthought, that the comedy was Heywood and Smith's *Albere Galles*, paid for on the next day, is sound.

Sir Thomas Wyatt. 1602

See s.v. Dekker.

The Royal King and the Loyal Subject. 1602 (?)

S. R. 1637, March 25 (Thomas Herbert, deputy to Sir Henry Herbert). 'A Comedy called the Royall king and the Loyall Subiects by Master Heywood.' *James Beckett* (Arber, iv. 376).

1637. The Royall King, and the Loyall Subject. As it hath beene Acted with great Applause by the Queenes Maiesties Servants. Written by Thomas Heywood. *Nich. and John Okes for James Becket.* [Prologue to the Stage and Epilogue to the Reader.]

Editions by J. P. Collier (1850, *Sh. Soc.*) and K. W. Tibbals (1906, *Pennsylvania Univ. Publ.*).—*Dissertation*: O. Kämpfer, *Th. Heywood's The Royal King and Painter's Palace of Pleasure* (1903, *Halle diss.*).

The Epilogue describes the play as 'old', and apparently relates it to a time when rhyme, of which it makes considerable use, was more looked after than 'strong lines', and when stuffed and puffed doublets and trunk-hose were worn, which would fit the beginning of the seventeenth century. An anonymous Marshal is a leading character, and the identification by Fleay, i. 300, with the *Marshal Osric* written by Heywood and Smith for Worcester's in Sept. 1602 is not the worst of his guesses.

A Woman Killed With Kindness. 1603

1607. A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse. Written by Tho: Heywood. *William Jaggard, sold by John Hodgets.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

1617. . . . As it hath beene oftentimes Acted by the Queenes Maiest. Seruants. . . . The third Edition. *Isaac Jaggard.*

Editions in Dodsley$^{1, 2, 3}$ (1744–1827) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii), J. P. Collier (1850, *Sh. Soc.*), A. W. Ward (1897, *T. D.*), F. J. Cox (1907), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*), K. L. Bates

(1919).—*Dissertation*: R. G. Martin, *A New Source for a Woman Killed with Kindness* (1911, *E. S.* xliii. 229).

Henslowe, on behalf of Worcester's, paid Heywood £6 for this play in Feb. and March 1603 and also bought properties for it. It is mentioned in T. M., *The Black Book of London* (1604), sig. E3.

The Wise Woman of Hogsdon. c. 1604 (?)

S. R. 1638, Mar. 12 (Wykes). 'A Play called The wise woman of Hogsden by Thomas Haywood.' *Henry Sheapard* (Arber, iv. 411).

1638. The Wise-woman of Hogsdon. A Comedie. As it hath been sundry times Acted with great Applause. Written by Tho: Heywood. *M. P. for Henry Shephard.*

Fleay, i. 291, suggested a date *c.* 1604 on the grounds of allusions to other plays of which *A Woman Killed with Kindness* is the latest (ed. Pearson, v. 316), and a conjectural identification with Heywood's *How to Learn of a Woman to Woo*, played by the Queen's at Court on 30 Dec. 1604. The approximate date is accepted by Ward, ii. 574, and others. It may be added that there are obvious parallelisms with the anonymous *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (1602) generally assigned to Heywood.

If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody. 1605

S. R. 1605, July 5 (Hartwell). 'A booke called yf you knowe not me you knowe no body.' *Nathaniel Butter* (Arber, iii. 295).

1605, Sept. 14 (Hartwell). 'A Booke called the Second parte of Yf you knowe not me you knowe no bodie with the buildinge of the exchange.' *Nathaniel Butter* (Arber, iii. 301).

[*Part i*]

1605. If you Know not me, You Know no bodie: Or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth. *For Nathaniel Butter.*

1606, 1608, 1610, 1613, 1623, 1632, 1639.

[*Part ii*]

1606. The Second Part of, If you Know not me, you know no bodie. With the building of the Royall Exchange: And the famous Victorie of Queene Elizabeth, in the Yeare 1588. *For Nathaniell Butter.*

1609. . . . With the Humors of Hobson and Tawny-cote. *For Nathaniell Butter.*

N.D. [1623 ?].

1632. *For Nathaniel Butter.* [With different version of Act v.]

Editions by J. P. Collier (1851, *Sh. Soc.*) and J. Blew (1876).—*Dissertation*: B. A. P. van Dam and C. Stoffel, *The Fifth Act of Thomas Heywood's Queen Elizabeth: Second Part* (1902, *Jahrbuch*, xxxviii. 153).

Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas, 248, has 'A Prologue to the Play of Queene Elizabeth as it was last revived at the Cock-pit, in which the Author taxeth the most corrupted copy now imprinted, which was published without his consent'. It says:

> This: (by what fate I know not) sure no merit,
> That it disclaimes, may for the age inherit.

> Writing 'bove one and twenty; but ill nurst,
> And yet receiv'd, as well perform'd at first,
> Grac't and frequented, for the cradle age,
> Did throng the Seates, the Boxes, and the Stage
> So much; that some by Stenography drew
> The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word trew:)

There is also an Epilogue, which shows that both parts were revived. The piracy may serve to date the original production in 1605 and the Caroline revival probably led to the reprints of 1632. As the play passed to the Cockpit, it was presumably written for Queen Anne's. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 223) rightly resists the suggestion that it was the old *Philip of Spain* bought by the Admiral's from Alleyn in 1602. It is only Part i which has characteristics attributable to stenography, and this remained unrevised. According to Van Dam and Stoffel, the 1606 and 1632 editions of Part ii represent the same original text, in the first case shortened for representation, in the second altered by a press-corrector.

Fortune by Land and Sea. c. 1607 (?)

With W. Rowley.

S. R. 1655, June 20. 'Fortune by Land & sea, a tragicomedie, written by Tho: Heywood & Wm. Rowley.' *John Sweeting* (Eyre, i. 486).

1655. Fortune by Land and Sea. A Tragi-Comedy. As it was Acted with great Applause by the Queens Servants. Written by Tho. Haywood and William Rowly. *For John Sweeting and Robert Pollard.*

Edition by B. Field (1846, *Sh. Soc.*).—*Dissertation*: Oxoniensis, *Illustration of Fortune by Land and Sea* (1847, *Sh. Soc. Papers*, iii. 7).

The action is placed in the reign of Elizabeth (cf. ed. Pearson, vi, pp. 409, 431), but this may be due merely to the fact that the source is a pamphlet (S. R. 15 Aug. 1586) dealing with Elizabethan piracy. Rowley's co-operation suggests the date 1607–9 when he was writing for Queen Anne's men, and other trifling evidence (Aronstein, 237) makes such a date plausible.

The Rape of Lucrece. 1603 <> 8

S. R. 1608, June 3 (Buck). 'A Booke called A Romane tragedie called The Rape of Lucrece.' *John Busby and Nathanael Butter* (Arber, iii. 380).

1608. The Rape of Lucrece. A True Roman Tragedie. With the seuerall Songes in their apt places, by Valerius, the merrie Lord amongst the Roman Peeres. Acted by her Maiesties Seruants at the Red Bull, neare Clarkenwell. Written by Thomas Heywood. *For I. B.* [Epistle to the Reader, signed 'T. H.']

1609. *For I. B.*

1630. . . . The fourth Impression. . . . *For Nathaniel Butter.*

1638. . . . The copy revised, and sundry Songs before omitted, now inserted in their right places. . . . *John Raworth for Nathaniel Butter.* [Note to the Reader at end.]

Edition in 1825 (*O. E. D.* i).

Fleay, i. 292, notes the mention of ‘ the King’s head ’ as a tavern sign for ‘ the Gentry ’, which suggests a Jacobean date. The play was given at Court, apparently by the King’s and Queen’s men together, on 13 Jan. 1612. The Epistle says that it has not been Heywood’s custom ‘ to commit my Playes to the Presse ’, like others who ‘ have used a double sale of their labours, first to the Stage, and after to the Presse ’. He now does so because ‘ some of my Playes have (unknowne to me, and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the Printers hands (and therefore so corrupt and mangled, copied only by the eare) that I have beene as unable to knowe them, as ashamed to challenge them ’. A play on the subject seems to have been on tour in Germany in 1619 (Herz, 98). *The Rape of Lucrece* was on the Cockpit stage in 1628, according to a newsletter in *Athenaeum* (1879), ii. 497, and to the 1638 edition are appended songs ‘ added by the stranger that lately acted Valerius his part ’. It is in the Cockpit list of plays in 1639 (*Variorum*, iii. 159).

The Golden Age > 1611

S. R. 1611, Oct. 14 (Buck). William Barrenger, ‘A booke called, The golden age with the liues of Jupiter and Saturne.’ *William Barrenger* (Arber, iii. 470).

1611. The Golden Age. Or The liues of Iupiter and Saturne, with the defining of the Heathen Gods. As it hath beene sundry times acted at the Red Bull, by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants. Written by Thomas Heywood. *For William Barrenger.* [Epistle to the Reader, signed ‘ T. H.’ Some copies have ‘ defining ’ corrected to ‘ deifying ’ in the title.]

Edition by J. P. Collier (1851, *Sh. Soc.*).

The Epistle describes the play as ‘ the eldest brother of three Ages, that haue aduentured the Stage, but the onely yet, that hath beene iudged to the presse ’, and promises the others. It came to the press ‘ accidentally ’, but Heywood, ‘ at length hauing notice thereof ’, prefaced it, as it had ‘ already past the approbation of auditors ’. Fleay, i. 283, followed hesitatingly by Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 175), thinks it a revision of the *Olympo* or *Seleo & Olempo*, which he interprets *Coelo et Olympo*, produced by the Admiral’s on 5 March 1595. The Admiral’s inventories show that they had a play with Neptune in it, but it is only at the very end of *The Golden Age* that the sons of Saturn draw lots and Jupiter wins Heaven or Olympus. Fleay’s assumption that the play was revised *c.* 1610, because of Dekker, *If it be not Good*, i. 1, ‘ The Golden Age is moulding new again ’, is equally hazardous.

The Silver Age > 1612

1613. The Silver Age, Including. The loue of Iupiter to Alcmena: The birth of Hercules. And the Rape of Proserpine. Concluding, With the Arraignement of the Moone. Written by Thomas Heywood. *Nicholas Okes, sold by Beniamin Lightfoote.* [Epistle to the Reader, signed ‘ T. H.’; Prologue and Epilogue.]

Edition by J. P. Collier (1851, *Sh. Soc.*).

The Epistle says, 'Wee begunne with *Gold,* follow with *Siluer,* proceede with *Brasse,* and purpose by Gods grace, to end with *Iron*'. Fleay, i. 283, and Greg (*Henslowe,* ii. 175) take this and *The Brazen Age* to be the two parts of the anonymous *Hercules,* produced by the Admiral's men on 7 and 23 May 1595 respectively. It may be so. But the text presumably represents the play as given at Court, apparently by the King's and Queen's men together, on 12 Jan. 1612. An Anglo-German *Amphitryo* traceable in 1626 and 1678 may be based on Heywood's work (Herz, 66 ; *Jahrbuch,* xli. 201).

The Brazen Age > 1613

1613. The Brazen Age, The first Act containing, The death of the Centaure Nessus, The Second, The Tragedy of Meleager : The Third The Tragedy of Iason and Medea. The Fourth. Vulcans Net. The Fifth. The Labours and death of Hercules : Written by Thomas Heywood. *Nicholas Okes for Samuel Rand.* [Epistle to the Reader ; Prologue and Epilogue.]

Cf. s.v. *The Silver Age.*

The Iron Age. c. 1613 (?)

1632. [*Part i*] The Iron Age : Contayning the Rape of Hellen : The siege of Troy : The Combate betwixt Hector and Aiax : Hector and Troilus slayne by Achilles : Achilles slaine by Paris : Aiax and Vlesses contend for the Armour of Achilles : The Death of Aiax, &c. Written by Thomas Heywood. *Nicholas Okes.* [Epistles to Thomas Hammon and to the Reader, signed 'Thomas Heywood'.]

1632. [*Part ii*] The Second Part of the Iron Age. Which contayneth the death of Penthesilea, Paris, Priam, and Hecuba : The burning of Troy : The deaths of Agamemnon, Menelaus, Clitemnestra, Hellena, Orestes, Egistus, Pillades, King Diomed, Pyrhus, Cethus, Synon, Thersites, &c. Written by Thomas Heywood. *Nicholas Okes.* [Epistles to the Reader and to Thomas Mannering, signed 'Thomas Heywood'.]

Dissertation : R. G. Martin, *A New Specimen of the Revenge Play* (1918, *M. P.* xvi. 1).

The Epistles tell us that 'these were the playes often (and not with the least applause,) Publickely Acted by two Companies, vppon one Stage at once, and haue at sundry times thronged three seuerall Theaters, with numerous and mighty Auditories' ; also that they 'haue beene long since Writ'. This, however, was in 1632, and I can only read the Epistles to the earlier *Ages* as indicating that the *Iron Age* was contemplated, but not yet in existence, up to 1613. I should therefore put the play *c.* 1613, and take the three theatres at which it was given to be the Curtain, Red Bull, and Cockpit. Fleay, i. 285, thinks that Part i was the anonymous *Troy* produced by the Admiral's on 22 June 1596. More plausible is the conjecture of Greg (*Henslowe,* ii. 180) that this was 'an earlier and shorter version later expanded into the two-part play'. Spencer had a play on the Destruction of Troy at Nuremberg in 1613 (Herz, 66).

Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas. 1630–6 (?)

S. R. 1635, Aug. 29 (Weekes). 'A booke called Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's selected out of Lucian Erasmus Textor Ovid &c. by Thomas Heywood.' *Richard Hearne* (Arber, iv. 347).

1637. Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's, selected out of Lucian, Erasmus, Textor, Ovid, &c. With sundry Emblems extracted from the most elegant Iacobus Catsius. As also certaine Elegies, Epitaphs, and Epithalamions or Nuptiall Songs; Anagrams and Acrosticks; With divers Speeches (upon severall occasions) spoken to their most Excellent Majesties, King Charles, and Queene Mary. With other Fancies translated from Beza, Bucanan, and sundry Italian Poets. By Tho. Heywood. *R. O. for R. H., sold by Thomas Slater.* [Epistle to the Generous Reader, signed 'Tho. Heywood', and Congratulatory Poems by Sh. Marmion, D. E., and S. N.]

Edition by W. Bang (1903, *Materialien*, iii).

The section called 'Sundry Fancies writ upon severall occasions' (Bang, 231) includes a number of Prologues and Epilogues, of which those which are datable fall between 1630 and 1636. Bang regards all the contents of the volume as of about this period. Fleay, i. 285, had suggested that *Deorum Judicium, Jupiter and Io, Apollo and Daphne, Amphrisa,* and possibly *Misanthropos* formed the anonymous *Five Plays in One* produced by the Admiral's on 7 April 1597, and also that *Misanthropos,* which he supposed to bear the name *Time's Triumph,* was played with *Faustus* on 13 April 1597 and carelessly entered by Henslowe as 'times triumpe & fortus'. Greg (*Henslowe,* ii. 183) says of the *Dialogues and Dramas,* 'many of the pieces in that collection are undoubtedly early'. He rejects Fleay's views as to *Misanthropos* on the grounds that it is 'unrelieved tediousness' and has no claim to the title *Time's Triumph,* and is doubtful as to *Deorum Judicium.* The three others he seems inclined to accept as possibly belonging to the 1597 series, especially *Jupiter and Io,* where the unappropriated head of Argus in one of the Admiral's inventories tempts him. He is also attracted by an alternative suggestion of Fleay's that one of the *Five Plays in One* may have been a *Cupid and Psyche,* afterwards worked up into *Love's Mistress* (1636). This he says, 'if it existed', would suit very well. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that it did exist. Moreover, P. A. Daniel has shown that certain lines found in *Love's Mistress* are assigned to Dekker in *England's Parnassus* (1600, ed. Crawford, xxxi. 509, 529) and must be from the *Cupid and Psyche* produced by the Admiral's *c.* June 1600 (*Henslowe,* ii. 212). There is no indication that Heywood collaborated with Dekker, Chettle, and Day in this; but it occurs to me that, if he was still at the Rose, he may have acted in the play and cribbed years afterwards from the manuscript of his part. I will only add that *Misanthropos* and *Deorum Judicium* seem to me out of the question. They belong to the series of 'dialogues' which Heywood in his Epistle clearly treats as distinct from the 'dramas', for after describing them he goes on, 'For such as delight in Stage-poetry, here are also divers Dramma's, never before published: Which, though some may condemne for their shortnesse, others againe will commend for their sweetnesse'. It is only *Jupiter and Io* and *Apollo and Daphne*, which are based on Ovid, and *Amphrisa*, for which there is no known source, that can belong to this group; and Heywood gives no indication as to their date.

Lost and Doubtful Plays

On *How to Learn of a Woman to Woo*, see s.v. *The Wise Woman of Hogsden*. The author of *The Second Part of Hudibras* (1663) names Heywood as the author of *The Bold Beauchamps*, which is mentioned with *Jane Shore* in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Ind. 59.

The following is a complete list of the plays, by Heywood or conjecturally assigned to him, which are recorded in Henslowe's diary:

Possible plays for the Admiral's, 1594–7

For conjectures as to the authorship by Heywood of *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1594), *The Siege of London* (>1594), *Wonder of a Woman* (1595), *Seleo and Olympo* (1595), *1, 2 Hercules* (1595), *Troy* (1596), *Five Plays in One* (1597), *Time's Triumph* (>1597), see *The Four Prentices*, the anonymous *Edward IV*, W. Rowley's *A New Wonder*, *The Golden Age*, *The Silver Age*, *The Iron Age*, *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*.

Plays for the Admiral's, 1598–1603

(i) *War without Blows and Love without Suit.*

Dec. 1598–Jan. 1599; identified, not plausibly, by Fleay, i. 287, with the anonymous *Thracian Wonder* (q.v.).

(ii) *Joan as Good as my Lady.*

Feb. 1599, identified, conjecturally, by Fleay, i. 298, with *A Maidenhead Well Lost*, printed as Heywood's in 1634.

(iii) *1 The London Florentine.*

With Chettle, Dec. 1602—Jan. 1603.

Plays for Worcester's, 1602–3

(iv) *Albere Galles.*

With Smith, Sept. 1602, possibly identical with the anonymous *Nobody and Somebody* (q.v.).

(v) *Cutting Dick* (additions only).

Sept. 1602, identified by Fleay, ii. 319, with the anonymous *Trial of Chivalry*, but not plausibly (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 231).

(vi) *Marshal Osric.*

With Smith, Sept. 1602, conceivably identical with *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* (q.v.).

(vii) *1 Lady Jane.*

With Chettle, Dekker, Smith, and Webster, Oct. 1602, doubtless represented by the extant *Sir Thomas Wyatt* of Dekker (q.v.) and Webster, in which, however, Heywood's hand has not been traced.

(viii) *Christmas Comes but Once a Year.*
With Chettle, Dekker, and Webster, Nov. 1602.

(ix) *The Blind Eats many a Fly.*
Nov. 1602–Jan. 1603.

(x) [Unnamed play.]
With Chettle, Jan. 1603, but apparently not finished, or possibly identical with the *Shore* of Chettle (q.v.) and Day. The title *Like Quits Like,* inserted into one entry for this play, is a forgery (Greg, *Henslowe,* i. xliii).

(xi) *A Woman Killed With Kindness.*
Feb.–March 1603. *Vide supra.*

Heywood's hand or 'finger' has also been suggested in the *Appius and Virginia* printed as Webster's (q.v.), in *Pericles,* and in *Fair Maid of the Exchange, George a Greene, How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad, Thomas Lord Cromwell,* and *Work for Cutlers* (cf. ch. xxiv).

GRIFFIN HIGGS (1589–1659).

A student at St. John's, Oxford (1606), afterwards Fellow of Merton (1611), Chaplain to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (1627), and Dean of Lichfield (1638). The MS. of *The Christmas Prince* (*1607*) was once thought to be in his handwriting (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

THOMAS HUGHES (*c.* 1588).

A Cheshire man, who matriculated from Queens' College, Cambridge, in Nov. 1571 and became Fellow of the College on 8 Sept. 1576.

The Misfortunes of Arthur. 28 Feb. 1588

1587. Certain deuises and shewes presented to her Maiestie by the Gentlemen of Grayes-Inne at her Highnesse Court in Greenewich, the twenty-eighth day of Februarie in the thirtieth yeare of her Maiesties most happy Raigne. *Robert Robinson.* [' An Introduction penned by Nicholas Trotte Gentleman one of the society of Grayes-Inne'; followed by 'The misfortunes of Arthur (Vther Pendragons Sonne) reduced into Tragicall notes by Thomas Hughes one of the societie of Grayes-Inne. And here set downe as it past from vnder his handes and as it was presented, excepting certaine wordes and lines, where some of the Actors either helped their memories by brief omission: or fitted their acting by some alteration. With a note at the ende, of such speaches as were penned by others in lue of some of these hereafter following'; Arguments, Dumb Shows, and Choruses between the Acts; at end, two substituted speeches 'penned by William Fulbecke gentleman, one of the societie of Grayes-Inne'; followed by 'Besides these speaches there was also penned a Chorus for the first act, and an other for the second act, by Maister Frauncis Flower, which were pronounced accordingly. The dumbe showes were partly deuised by Maister Christopher Yeluerton, Maister Frauncis Bacon, Maister Iohn Lancaster and others, partly by the saide Maister Flower, who with

Maister Penroodocke and the said Maister Lancaster directed these proceedings at Court.']

Editions in Collier, *Five Old Plays* (1833), and Dodsley[4] (1874, iv), and by H. C. Grumbine (1900), J. S. Farmer (1911, *T. F. T.*), and J. W. Cunliffe (1912, *E. E. C. T.*).

Of the seven collaborators, three—Bacon, Yelverton, and Fulbecke—subsequently attained distinction. It is to be wished that editors of more important plays had been as communicative as offended dignity, or some other cause, made Thomas Hughes.

WILLIAM HUNNIS (?–1597).

[Nearly all that is known of Hunnis, except as regards his connexion with the Blackfriars, and much that is conjectural has been gathered and fully illustrated by Mrs. C. C. Stopes in *Athenaeum* and *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* papers, and finally in *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal* (1910, *Materialien*, xxix).]

The date of Hunnis's birth is unknown, except as far as it can be inferred from the reference to him as 'in winter of thine age' in 1578. He is described on the title-page of his translation of *Certayne Psalmes* (1550) as 'seruant' to Sir William Herbert, who became Earl of Pembroke. He is in the lists of the Gentlemen of the Chapel about 1553, but he took part in plots against Mary and in 1556 was sent to the Tower. He lost his post, but this was restored between Elizabeth's accession in 1558 and the opening of the extant *Cheque Book* of the Chapel in 1561, and on 15 Nov. 1566 he was appointed Master of the Children in succession to Richard Edwardes (q.v.). For the history of his Mastership, cf. ch. xii (Chapel). Early in 1559 he married Margaret, widow of Nicholas Brigham, Teller of the Exchequer, through whom he acquired a life-interest in the secularized Almonry at Westminster. She died in June 1559, and about 1560 Hunnis married Agnes Blancke, widow of a Grocer. He took out the freedom of the Grocers' Company, and had a shop in Southwark. He was elected to the livery of the Company in 1567, but disappears from its records before 1586. In 1569 he obtained a grant of arms, and is described as of Middlesex. From 1576–85, however, he seems to have had a house at Great Ilford, Barking, Essex. His only known child, Robin, was page to Walter Earl of Essex in Ireland, and is said in *Leicester's Commonwealth* to have tasted the poison with which Leicester killed Essex in 1576 and to have lost his hair. But he became a Rider of the Stable under Leicester as Master of the Horse during 1579–83, and received payments for posting services in later years up to 1593. In 1562 William Hunnis became Keeper of the Orchard and Gardens at Greenwich, and held this post with his Mastership to his death. He supplied greenery and flowers for the Banqueting Houses of 1569 and 1571 (cf. ch. i). In 1570 the Queen recommended him to the City as Taker of Tolls and Dues on London Bridge, and his claim was bought off for £40. In 1583 he called attention to the poor remuneration of the Mastership, and in 1585 he received grants of land at Great Ilford and elsewhere. He died on 6 June 1597.

Hunnis published several volumes of moral and religious verse, original and translated: *Certayne Psalmes* (1550); *A Godly new Dialogue of Christ and a Sinner* (S. R. 1564, if this is rightly identified with the *Dialogue* of Hunnis's 1583 volume); *A Hive Full of Honey* (1578, S. R. 1 Dec. 1577, dedicated to Leicester); *A Handful of Honnisuckles* (N.D., S.R. 11 Dec. 1578, a New Year's gift to the Ladies of the Privy Chamber); *Seven Sobbes of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne* (1583, S. R. 7 Nov. 1581, with the *Handful of Honnisuckles, The Widow's Mite*, and *A Comfortable Dialogue between Christ and a Sinner*, dedicated to Lady Sussex); *Hunnies Recreations* (1588, S. R. 4 Dec. 1587, dedicated to Sir Thomas Heneage). Several poems by Hunnis are also with those of Richard Edwardes and others in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (1567); one, the *Nosegay*, in Clement Robinson's *A Handfull of Pleasant Delites* (1584); and it is usual to assign to him two bearing the initials W. H., *Wodenfride's Song in Praise of Amargana* and *Another of the Same*, in *England's Helicon* (1600).

The name of no play by Hunnis has been preserved, although he may probably enough have written some of those produced by the Chapel boys during his Mastership. That he was a dramatist is testified to by the following lines contributed by Thomas Newton, one of the translators of Seneca, to his *Hive Full of Honey*.

> In prime of youth thy pleasant Penne depaincted Sonets sweete,
> Delightfull to the greedy Eare, for youthfull Humour meete.
> Therein appeared thy pregnant wit, and store of fyled Phraze
> Enough t' astoune the doltish Drone, and lumpish Lout amaze,
> Thy Enterludes, thy gallant Layes, thy Rond'letts and thy Songes,
> Thy Nosegay and thy Widowes' Mite, with that thereto belonges . . .
> . . . Descendinge then in riper years to stuffe of further reache,
> Thy schooled Quill by deeper skill did graver matters teache,
> And now to knit a perfect Knot; In winter of thine age
> Such argument thou chosen hast for this thy Style full sage.
> As far surmounts the Residue.

Newton's account of his friend's poetic evolution seems to assign his 'enterludes' to an early period of mainly secular verse; but if this preceded his *Certayne Psalmes* of 1550, which are surely of 'graver matters', it must have gone back to Henry VIII's reign, far away from his Mastership. On the other hand, Hunnis was certainly contributing secular verse and devices to the Kenilworth festivities (cf. s.v. Gascoigne) only three years before Newton wrote. Mrs. Stopes suggests, with some plausibility, that the Amargana songs of *England's Helicon* may come from an interlude. She also assigns to Hunnis, by conjecture, *Godly Queen Hester*, in which stress is laid on Hester's Chapel Royal, and *Jacob and Esau* (1568, S. R. 1557–8), which suggests gardens.

LEONARD HUTTEN (*c.* 1557–1632).

Possibly the author of the academic *Bellum Grammaticale* (cf. App. K).

THOMAS INGELEND.

Lee (*D. N. B.*) conjecturally identifies Ingelend with a man of the same name who married a Northamptonshire heiress.

The Disobedient Child. c. 1560

S. R. 1569–70. 'An enterlude for boyes to handle and to passe tyme at christinmas.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 398). [The method of exhaustions points to this as the entry of the play.]

N.D. A pretie and Mery new Enterlude: called the Disobedient Child. Compiled by Thomas Ingelend late Student in Cambridge. *Thomas Colwell.*

Editions by J. O. Halliwell (1848, *Percy Soc.* lxxv), in Dodsley^4 (1874, ii), and by J. S. Farmer (1908, *T. F. T.*).—*Dissertation*: F. Holthausen, *Studien zum älteren englischen Drama* (1902, *E. S.* xxxi. 90).

J. Bolte, *Vahlen-Festschrift*, 594, regards this as a translation of the *Iuvenis, Pater, Uxor* of J. Ravisius Textor (*Dialogi*, ed. 1651, 71), which Holthausen reprints, but which is only a short piece in one scene. Brandl, lxxiii, traces the influence of the *Studentes* (1549) of Christopherus Stymmelius (Bahlmann, *Lat. Dr.* 98). The closing prayer is for Elizabeth.

JAMES I (1566–1625).

An Epithalamion on the Marquis of Huntly's Marriage. 21 July 1588

R. S. Rait, *Lusus Regis* (1901), 2, printed from *Bodleian MS.* 27843 verses by James I, which he dated *c.* 1581. The occasion and correct date are supplied by another text, with a title, in A. F. Westcott, *New Poems of James I* (1911). The bridal pair were George Gordon, 6th Earl and afterwards 1st Marquis of Huntly, and Henrietta Stuart, daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox. The verses consist of a hymeneal dialogue, with a preliminary invocation by the writer, and speeches by Mercury, Nimphes, Agrestis, Skolar, Woman, The Vertuouse Man, Zani, The Landvart Gentleman, The Soldat. The earlier lines seem intended to accompany a tilting at the ring or some such contest, but at l. 74 is a reference to the coming of 'strangers in a maske'.

Westcott, lviii, says that James helped William Fowler in devising a mimetic show for the banquet at the baptism of Prince Henry on 23 Aug. 1594.

JOHN JEFFERE (?–?).

Nothing is known of him, beyond his possible authorship of the following play:

The Bugbears. 1563 <

[*MS.*] *Lansdowne MS.* 807, f. 57. [The MS. contains the relics of John Warburton's collection, and on a slip once attached to the fly-leaf is his famous list of burnt plays, which includes 'Bugbear C. Jo^{n}. Geffrey' (Greg in *3 Library*, ii. 232). It appears to be the work of at least five hands, of which one, acting as a corrector, as well as a scribe, may be that of the author. The initials J. B. against a line or two inserted at the end do not appear to be his, but, as there was no single scribe, he may be writer of a final note to the text, written in printing characters, 'Soli deo honor et gloria Johannus Jeffere scribebat hoc'. This note is followed by the songs and their music, and at the top of the first is written 'Giles peperel for Iphiginia'. On the last page are the names 'Thomas Ba . . .' and 'Frances Whitton', which probably do not indicate authorship. A title-page may be missing, and a later hand has written at the head of the text, 'The Buggbears'.]

Editions by C. Grabau (1896–7, *Archiv*, xcviii. 301; xcix. 311) and R. W. Bond (1911, *E. P. I.*).—*Dissertation*: W. Dibelius (*Archiv*, cxii. 204).

The play is an adaptation of A. F. Grazzini, *La Spiritata* (1561), and uses also material from J. Weier (*De Praestigiis Daemonum* (1563) and from the life of Michel de Nôtredame (Nostradamus), not necessarily later than his death in 1566. Bond is inclined to date the play, partly on metrical grounds, about 1564 or 1565. Grabau and Dibelius suggest a date after 1585, apparently under the impression that the name Giles in the superscription to the music may indicate the composition of Nathaniel Giles, of the Chapel Royal, who took his Mus. Bac. in 1585. But the name, whether of a composer, or of the actor of the part of Iphigenia, is Giles Peperel. The performers were 'boyes', but the temptation to identify the play with the *Effiginia* shown by Paul's at Court on 28 Dec. 1571 is repressed by the description of *Effiginia* in the Revels account as a 'tragedye', whereas *The Bugbears* is a comedy. Moreover, Iphigenia is not a leading part, although one added by the English adapter.

LAURENCE JOHNSON (*c.* 1577).

A possible author of *Misogonus* (cf. ch. xxiv).

BENJAMIN JONSON (1572–1637).

Benjamin Johnson, or Jonson, as he took the fancy to spell his name, was born, probably on 11 June 1572, at Westminster, after the death of his father, a minister, of Scottish origin. He was withheld, or withdrawn, from the University education justified by his scholastic attainments at Westminster to follow his step-father's occupation of bricklaying, and when this proved intolerable, he served as a soldier in the Netherlands. In a prologue to *The Sad Shepherd*, left unfinished at his death in August 1637, he describes himself as 'He that has feasted you these forty years', and by 1597 at latest his connexion with the stage had begun. Aubrey tells us (ii. 12, 226) that he 'acted and wrote, but both ill, at the Green Curtaine, a kind of nursery or obscure playhouse, somewhere in the suburbes (I thinke towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell)', and again that he 'was never a good actor, but an excellent instructor'. The earliest contemporary records, however, show Jonson not at the Curtain, but on the Bankside. On 28 July 1597 Henslowe (i. 200) recorded a personal loan to 'Bengemen Johnson player' of £4 'to be payd yt agayne when so euer ether I or any for me shall demande yt', and on the very same day he opened on another page of his diary (i. 47) an account headed 'Received of Bengemenes Johnsones share as ffoloweth 1597' and entered in it the receipt of a single sum of 3*s*. 9*d*., to which no addition was ever made. Did these entries stand alone, one would infer, on the analogy of other transactions of Henslowe's and from the signatures of two Admiral's men as witnesses to the loan, that Jonson had purchased a share in the Admiral's company for £4, that he borrowed the means to do this from Henslowe, and that Henslowe was to recoup himself by periodical deductions from the takings of the company as they passed through his hands. But there is no other evidence that Jonson ever had an interest in the Admiral's, and there are facts which, if one could believe that Henslowe would regard the takings of any company but the Admiral's as security for a loan, would lead to the conclusion that Jonson's 'share' was with Pembroke's men at the Swan. The day of Henslowe's entries, 28 July 1597, is the very day on which the theatres were suppressed as a result of the performance of *The Isle of Dogs* (cf. App. D, No. cx), and it is hardly possible to doubt that Jonson was one of the actors who had a hand with Nashe (q.v.) in that play. The Privy Council registers record his release, with Shaw and Spencer of Pembroke's men, from the Marshalsea on 3 Oct. 1597 (Dasent, xxviii. 33; cf. App. D, No. cxii); while Dekker in *Satiromastix* (l. 1513) makes Horace admit that he had played Zulziman in Paris Garden, and Tucca upbraid him because 'when the Stagerites banisht thee into the Ile of Dogs, thou turn'dst Bandog (villanous Guy) & ever since bitest'. The same passage confirms Aubrey's indication that Jonson was actor, and a bad actor, as well as poet. 'Thou putst vp a supplication', says Tucca, 'to be a poor iorneyman player, and hadst beene still so, but that thou couldst not set a good face vpon 't: thou hast forgot how thou amblest (in leather pilch) by a play-wagon, in the high way, and took'st mad Ieronimoes part, to get seruice among the mimickes.' Elsewhere (l. 633) Tucca taunts him that 'when thou ranst mad for the death of Horatio, thou borrowedst a gowne of Roscius the stager, (that honest Nicodemus) and sentst it home lowsie'. This imprisonment for the *Isle of Dogs* is no doubt the 'bondage' for his 'first error' to which Jonson refers in writing to Salisbury about *Eastward Ho!* in 1605, and the 'close imprisonment, under Queen Elizabeth', during which he told Drummond he was beset by spies (Laing, 19). Released, Jonson borrowed 5*s*. more from Henslowe (i. 200) on 5 Jan. 1598, and entered into a relationship with him and the Admiral's as a dramatist, which lasted intermittently until 1602. It was broken, not only by plays for the King's men, whose employment of him, which may have been at the Curtain, was due, according to Rowe, to the critical instinct of Shakespeare (H.-P. ii. 74), and for the Chapel children when these were established at Blackfriars in 1600, but also by a quarrel with Gabriel Spencer, whose death at his hands during a duel with swords in Hoxton Fields on 22 Sept. 1598 was 'harde & heavey' news to Henslowe (*Henslowe Papers*, 48) and brought Jonson to trial for murder, from which he only escaped by reading his neck-verse (Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, i. xxxviii; iv. 350; cf. Laing, 19). Jonson's pen was critical, and to the years 1600–2 belongs the series of conflicts with other poets and with the actors generically known as the *Poetomachia* or Stage Quarrel (cf. ch. xi). Meanwhile Jonson, perhaps encouraged by his success in introducing a mask into *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), seems to have conceived the ambition of becoming a Court poet. At first he was not wholly successful, and the selection of Daniel to write the chief Christmas mask of 1603–4 appears to have provoked an antagonism between the two poets, which shows itself in Jonson's qualified acknowledgement to Lady Rutland of the favours done him by Lady Bedford (*Forest*, xii):

> though she have a better verser got,
> (Or poet, in the court-account) than I,
> And who doth me, though I not him envy,

and long after in the remark to Drummond (Laing, 10) that 'Daniel was at jealousies with him'. But the mask was a form of art singularly suited to Jonson's genius. In the next year he came to his own, and of ten masks at Court during 1605–12 not less than eight are his. This employment secured him a considerable vogue as a writer of entertainments and complimentary verses, and a standing with James himself, with the Earl of Salisbury, and with other persons of honour, which not only brought him pecuniary profit, but also enabled him to withstand the political attacks made upon *Sejanus*, for which he was haled before the Council, and upon *Eastward Ho!*, for which he was once more imprisoned. During this period he continued to write plays, with no undue frequency, both for the King's men and for the Queen's Revels and their successors, the Lady Elizabeth's. As a rule, he had published his plays, other than those bought by Henslowe, soon after they were produced, and in 1612 he seems to have formed the design of collecting them, with his masks and occasional verses, into a volume of Works. Probably the design was deferred, owing to his absence in France as tutor to the son of Sir Walter Raleigh, from the autumn of 1612 (*M. P.* xi. 279) to some date in 1613 earlier than 29 June, when he witnessed the burning of the Globe (*M. L. R.* iv. 83). For the same reason he took no part in the masks for the Princess Elizabeth's wedding at Shrovetide. But he returned in time for that of the Earl of Somerset at Christmas 1613, and wrote three more masks before his folio *Works* actually appeared in 1616. In the same year he received a royal pension of 100 marks.

Jonson's later life can only be briefly summarized. During a visit to Scotland he paid a visit to William Drummond of Hawthornden in January 1619, and of his conversation his host took notes which preserve many biographical details and many critical utterances upon the men, books, and manners of his time. In 1621 (cf. ch. iii) he obtained a reversion of the Mastership of the Revels, which he never lived to enjoy. His masks continued until 1631, when an unfortunate quarrel with Inigo Jones brought them to an end. His play-writing, dropped after 1616, was resumed about 1625, and to this period belong his share in *The Bloody Brother* of the Beaumont and Fletcher series, *The Staple of News*, *The New Inn*, *The Magnetic Lady*, and *The Tale of a Tub*. In 1637, probably on 6 August, he died. He had told

Drummond 'that the half of his comedies were not in print', as well as that 'of all his playes he never gained two hundreth pounds' (Laing, 27, 35), and in 1631 he began the publication, by instalments, of a second volume of his Works. This was completed after his death, with the aid of Sir Kenelm Digby, in 1640 and 1641. But it did not include *The Case is Altered*, the printing of which in 1609 probably lacked his authority, or the Henslowe plays, of which his manuscripts, if he had any, may have perished when his library was burnt in 1623.

Collections

F_1 (*1616*)

S. R. 1615, Jan. 20 (Tavernour). William Stansbye, 'Certayne Masques at the Court never yet printed written by Ben Johnson' (Arber, iii. 562).

1616. The Workes of Beniamin Jonson. *W. Stansby, sold by Rich. Meighen.* [Contains (*a*) commendatory verses, some reprinted from Qq, signed 'I. Selden I.C.', 'Ed. Heyward', 'Geor. Chapman', 'H. Holland', 'I. D.', 'E. Bolton', and for three sets 'Franc. Beaumont'; (*b*) nine plays, being all printed in Q, except *The Case is Altered*; (*c*) the five early entertainments; (*d*) the eleven early masks and two barriers, with separate title-page 'Masques at Court, London, 1616'; (*e*) non-dramatic matter. For bibliographical details on both Ff., see B. Nicholson, *B. J.'s Folios and the Bibliographers* (1870, *4 N. Q.* v. 573); Greg, *Plays*, 55, and *Masques*, xiii, 11; G. A. Aitken, *B. J.'s Works* (*10 N. Q.* xi. 421); the introductions to the Yale editions; and B. A. P. van Dam and C. Stoffel, *The Authority of the B. J. Folio of 1616* (1903, *Anglia*, xxvi. 377), whose conclusion that Jonson did not supervise F_1 is not generally accepted. It is to be noted that, contrary to the usual seventeenth-century practice, some, and possibly all, of the dates assigned to productions in F_1 follow the Circumcision and not the Annunciation style; cf. Thorndike, 17, whose demonstration leaves it conceivable that Jonson only adopted the change of style from a given date, say, 1 Jan. 1600, when it came into force in Scotland.]

F_2 (*1631–41*)

1640. The Workes of Beniamin Jonson. *Richard Bishop, sold by Andrew Crooke.* [Same contents as F_1.]

1640. The Workes of Benjamin Jonson. The second volume. Containing these Playes, Viz. 1 Bartholomew Fayre. 2 The Staple of Newes. 3 The Divell is an Asse. *For Richard Meighen.* [Contains (*a*) reissue of folio sheets of three plays named with separate title-pages of 1631; (*b*) *The Magnetic Lady, A Tale of a Tub, The Sad Shepherd, Mortimer his Fall*; (*c*) later masks; (*d*) non-dramatic matter. The editor is known to have been Sir Kenelm Digby.]

S. R. 1658, Sept. 17. 'A booke called Ben Johnsons Workes ye 3^d volume containing these peeces, viz^t. Ffifteene masques at court and elsewhere. Horace his art of Poetry Englished. English Gramar. Timber or Discoveries. Underwoods consisting of divers poems. The

Magnetick Lady. A Tale of a Tub. The sad shephard or a tale of Robin hood. The Devill is an asse. Salvo iure cuiuscunque. *Thomas Walkley* (Eyre, ii. 196).

1658, Nov. 20. Transfer of 'Ben Johnsons workes ye 3^d vol' from Walkley to Humphrey Moseley (Eyre, ii. 206). [Neither Walkley nor Moseley ever published the *Works*.]

F_3 (*1692*)

1692. The Works of Ben Jonson, Which were formerly Printed in Two Volumes, are now Reprinted in One. To which is added a Comedy, called the New Inn. With Additions never before Published. *Thomas Hodgkin, for H. Herringham* [&c.].

The more important of the later collections are:

1756. P. Whalley, *The Works of B. J.* 7 vols. [Adds *The Case is Altered*.]

1816, 1846. W. Gifford, *The Works of B. J.* 9 vols.

1828. J. Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First.* 4 vols. [Prints the masks.]

1871, &c. W. Gifford, edited by F. Cunningham, *The Works of B. J.* 3 vols.

1875. W. Gifford, edited by F. Cunningham, *The Works of B. J.* 9 vols.

1893–5. B. Nicholson, *The Best Plays of B. J.* 3 vols. (*Mermaid Series*). [The nine plays of F_1.]

1905–8 (*in progress*). W. Bang, *B. J.'s Dramen in Neudruck herausgegeben nach der Folio 1616.* (*Materialien*, vi.)

1906. H. C. Hart, *The Plays of B. J.* 2 vols. (*Methuen's Standard Library*). [*Case is Altered, E. M. I., E. M. O., Cynthia's Revels, Poetaster.*]

In the absence of a complete modern critical edition, such as is promised by C. H. Herford and P. Simpson from the Clarendon Press, reference must usually be made to the editions of single plays in the *Yale Studies* and *Belles Lettres Series*.

Select Dissertations: W. R. Chetwood, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of B. J.* (1756); O. Gilchrist, *An Examination of the Charges of B. J.'s Enmity to Shakespeare* (1808), *A Letter to W. Gifford* (1811); D. Laing, *Notes of B. J.'s Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden* (1842, *Sh. Soc.*); B. Nicholson, *The Orthography of B. J.'s Name* (1880, *Antiquary*, ii. 55); W. Wilke, *Metrische Untersuchungen zu B. J.* (1884, *Halle diss.*), *Anwendung der Rhyme-test und Double-endings test auf. B. J.'s Dramen* (1888, *Anglia*, x. 512); J. A. Symonds, *B. J.* (1888, *English Worthies*); A. C. Swinburne, *A Study of B. J.* (1889); P. Aronstein, *B. J.'s Theorie des Lustspiels* (1895, *Anglia*, xvii. 466), *Shakespeare and B. J.* (1904, *E. S.* xxxiv. 193); *B. J.* (1906, *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, xxxiv); E. Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen B. J.'s, John Marston's, und Beaumont und Fletcher's* (1895, *Münchener Beiträge*, xi), *B. J.'s Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* (1906, *Anglistische Forschungen*, xx); J. H. Penniman, *The War of the Theatres* (1897, *Pennsylvania Univ. Series*, iv. 3); E. Woodbridge, *Studies in J.'s Comedy* (1898, *Yale Studies*, v); R. A. Small, *The Stage-Quarrel between B. J. and the so-called Poetasters* (1899); B. Dobell, *Newly Discovered Documents* (1901, *Athenaeum*, i. 369, 403, 433, 465); J. Hofmiller, *Die ersten sechs Masken B. J.'s in ihrem Verhältnis zur antiken Literatur* (1901, *Freising progr.*); H. C. Hart, *B. J., Gabriel Harvey and Nash*, &c. (1903–4, *9 N. Q.* xi. 201, 281, 343, 501; xii. 161, 263, 342, 403, 482; *10 N. Q.* i. 381); G. Sarrazin, *Nym und B. J.* (1904, *Jahrbuch*, xl. 212); M. Castelain, *B. J., l'Homme et l'Œuvre* (1907); *Shakespeare and B. J.* (1907, *Revue Germanique*, iii. 21, 133); C. R. Baskervill, *English Elements in J.'s Early Comedy* (1911, *Texas Univ. Bulletin*, 178); W. D. Briggs, *Studies in B. J.* (1913–14, *Anglia*, xxxvii. 463; xxxviii. 101), *On Certain Incidents in B. J.'s Life* (1913, *M. P.* xi. 279), *The Birth-date of B. J.* (1918, *M. L. N.* xxxiii. 137); G. Gregory Smith, *Ben Jonson* (1919, *English Men of Letters*); J. Q. Adams, *The Bones of Ben Jonson* (1919, *S. P.* xvi. 289). For fuller lists, see Castelain, xxiii, and *C. H.* vi. 417.

PLAYS

The Case is Altered. 1597 (?)–1609

S. R. 1609, Jan. 26 (Segar, 'deputy to Sir George Bucke'). 'A booke called The case is altered.' *Henry Walley, Richard Bonion* (Arber, iii. 400).

1609, July 20. 'Entred for their copie by direction of master Waterson warden, a booke called the case is altered whiche was entred for H. Walley and Richard Bonyon the 26 of January last.' *Henry Walley, Richard Bonyon, Bartholomew Sutton* (Arber, iii. 416).

1609. [Three issues, with different t.ps.]

(*a*) Ben: Ionson, His Case is Alterd. As it hath beene sundry times Acted by the Children of the Blacke-friers. *For Bartholomew Sutton.* [B.M. 644, b. 54.]

(*b*) A Pleasant Comedy, called: The Case is Alterd. As it hath beene sundry times acted by the children of the Black-friers. Written by Ben. Ionson. *For Bartholomew Sutton and William Barrenger.* [B.M. T. 492 (9); Bodl.; W. A. White.]

(*c*) A Pleasant Comedy, called: The Case is Alterd. As it hath been sundry times acted by the children of the Black-friers. *For Bartholomew Sutton and William Barrenger.* [Devonshire.]

Edition by W. E. Selin (1917, *Yale Studies*, lvi).—*Dissertation*: C. Crawford, *B. J.'s C. A.: its Date* (1909, *10 N. Q.* xi. 41).

As Nashe, *Lenten Stuff* (*Works*, iii. 220), which was entered in S. R. on 11 Jan. 1599, refers to 'the merry coblers cutte in that witty play of *the Case is altered*', and as I. i chaffs Anthony Munday as 'in print already for the best plotter', alluding to the description of him in Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* (S. R. 7 Sept. 1598), the date would seem at first sight to be closely fixed to the last few months of 1598. But I. i has almost certainly undergone interpolation. Antonio Balladino, who appears in this scene alone, and whose dramatic function is confused with that later (II. vii) assigned to Valentine, is only introduced for the sake of a satirical portrait of Munday. He is

‘ pageant poet to the City of Milan ’, at any rate ‘ when a worse cannot be had ’. He boasts that ‘ I do use as much stale stuff, though I say it myself, as any man does in that kind ’, and again, ‘ An they’ll give me twenty pound a play, I’ll not raise my vein ’. Some ‘ will have every day new tricks, and write you nothing but humours ’; this pleases the gentlemen, but he is for ‘ the penny ’. Crawford points out that there are four quotations from the play in Bodenham’s *Belvedere* (1600), of which Munday was the compiler, and suggests that he would have left it alone had the ridicule of himself then been a part of it. I should put the scene later still. Antonio makes an offer of ‘ one of the books ’ of his last pageant, and as far as is known, although Munday may have been arranging city pageants long before, the first which he printed was that for 1605. Nor does the reference to plays of ‘ tricks ’ and ‘ humours ’ necessarily imply proximity to Jonson’s own early comedies, for Day’s *Law Tricks* and his *Humour out of Breath*, as well as probably the anonymous *Every Woman in her Humour*, belong to 1604–8. Moreover, the play was certainly on the stage about this time, since the actors are called ‘ Children of Blackfriars ’, although of course this would not be inconsistent with their having first produced it when they bore some other name. The text is in an odd state. Up to the end of Act III it has been arranged in scenes, on the principle usually adopted by Jonson; after ‘ Actus 3 [an error for 4] Scaene 1 ’ there is no further division, and in Act V verse and prose are confused. As Jonson was careful about the printing of his plays, as there is no epistle, and as *C. A.* was left out of the Ff., there is some reason to suppose that the publication in this state was not due to him. Is it possible that Day, whom Jonson described to Drummond as a ‘ rogue ’ and a ‘ base fellow ’, was concerned in this transaction ? It is obvious that, if I. i is a later addition, the original production may have been earlier than 1598. And the original company is unknown. The mere fact that the Children of the Blackfriars revived it shortly before 1609 does not in the least prove that it was originally written for the Children of the Chapel. If Chapman’s *All Fools* is a Blackfriars revival of an Admiral’s play, *C. A.* might even more easily be a Blackfriars revival of a play written, say, for the extinct Pembroke’s. With the assumption that *C. A.* was a Chapel play disappears the assumption that the Chapel themselves began their renewed dramatic activities at a date earlier than the end of 1600. Selin shows a fair amount of stylistic correspondence with Jonson’s other work, but it is quite possible that, as suggested by Herford (*R. E. C.* ii. 9), he had a collaborator. If so, Chapman seems plausible.

C. A. has nothing to do with the *Poetomachia*. Hart (9 *N. Q.* xi. 501, xii. 161, 263) finds in the vocabulary of Juniper a parody of the affected phraseology of Gabriel Harvey, and in the critical attitude of Valentine a foreshadowing of such autobiographical studies as that of Asper in *E. M. O.* His suggestion that the cudgel-play between Onion and Martino in II. vii represents the controversy between Nashe and Martin Marprelate is perhaps less plausible. Nashe would be very likely to think the chaff of Harvey ‘ witty ’.

Every Man In his Humour. 1598

S. R. [1600], Aug. 4. 'Euery man in his humour, a booke . . . to be staied' (Arber, iii. 37). [*As You Like It, Henry V,* and *Much Ado about Nothing* are included in the entry, which appears to be an exceptional memorandum. The year 1600 is conjectured from the fact that the entry follows another of May 1600.]

1600, Aug. 14 (Pasfield). 'A booke called Euery man in his humour.' *Burby and Walter Burre* (Arber, iii. 169).

1609, Oct. 16. Transfer of Mrs. Burby's share to Welby (Arber, iii. 421).

1601. Every Man In his Humor. As it hath beene sundry times publickly acted by the right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by Ben. Iohnson. *For Walter Burre.*

1616. Euery Man In His Humour. A Comœdie. Acted in the yeere 1598. By the then Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. The Author B. I. *By William Stansby.* [Part of F_1. Epistle to William Camden, signed 'Ben. Ionson', and Prologue. After text: 'This Comoedie was first Acted, in the yeere 1598. By the then L. Chamberlayne his Seruants. The principall Comœdians were, Will. Shakespeare, Ric. Burbadge, Aug. Philips, Ioh. Hemings, Hen. Condel, Tho. Pope, Will. Slye, Chr. Beeston, Will. Kempe, Ioh. Duke. With the allowance of the Master of Revells.']

Editions by W. Scott (1811, *M. B. D.* iii), H. B. Wheatley (1877), W. M. Dixon (1901, *T. D.*), H. Maas (1901, *Rostock diss.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*), C. H. Herford (1913, *R. E. C.* ii), P. Simpson (1919), H. H. Carter (1921, *Yale Studies*, lii), and facsimile reprints of Q_1 by C. Grabau (1902, *Jahrbuch*, xxxviii. 1), W. Bang and W. W. Greg (1905, *Materialien*, x).—*Dissertations*: A. Buff, *The Quarto Edition of B. J.'s E. M. I.* (1877, *E. S.* i. 181), B. Nicholson, *On the Dates of the Two Versions of E. M. I.* (1882, *Antiquary*, vi. 15, 106).

The date assigned by F_1 is confirmed by an allusion (IV. iv. 15) to the 'fencing Burgullian' or Burgundian, John Barrose, who challenged all fencers in that year, and was hanged for murder on 10 July (Stowe, *Annales*, 787). The production must have been shortly before 20 Sept. when Toby Mathew wrote to Dudley Carleton (*S. P. D. Eliz.* cclxviii. 61; Simpson, ix) of an Almain who lost 300 crowns at 'a new play called, Euery mans humour'. Two short passages were taken from the play in R. Allot's *England's Parnassus* (1600, ed. Crawford, xxxii. 110, 112, 436) which is earlier than Q_1. The Q_1 text (I. i. 184) contains a hit at Anthony Munday in 'that he liue in more penurie of wit and inuention, then eyther the Hall-Beadle, or Poet Nuntius'. This has disappeared from F_1, which in other respects represents a complete revision of the Q_1 text. Many passages have been improved from a literary point of view; the scene has been transferred from Italy to London and the names anglicized; the oaths have all been expunged or softened. Fleay, i. 358, finding references to a 'queen' in F_1 for the 'duke' of Q_1 and an apparent dating of St. Mark's Day on a Friday, assigned the revision to 1601, and conjectured that it was done by

Jonson for the Chapel, that the Chamberlain's published the Q in revenge, and that Jonson tried to stay it. Here he is followed by Castelain. But Q_1 is a good edition and there is no sign whatever that it had not Jonson's authority, and as the entry in S. R. covers other Chamberlain's plays, it is pretty clear that the company caused the 'staying'. St. Mark's Day did not, as Fleay thought, fall on a Friday in 1601, and if it had, the dating is unchanged from Q_1 and the references to a queen may, as Simpson suggests, be due to Jonson's conscientious desire to preserve consistency with the original date of 1598. Nor is the play likely to have passed to the Chapel, since the King's men played it before James on 2 Feb. 1605 (cf. App. B). This revival would be the natural time for a revision, and in fact seems to me on the whole the most likely date, in spite of two trifling bits of evidence which would fit in rather better a year later. These are references to the siege of Strigonium or Graan (1595) as ten years since (III. i. 103), and to a present by the Turkey company to the Grand Signior (I. ii. 78), which was perhaps the gift worth £5,000 sent about Christmas 1605 (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xv. 3; xvii. 35; xx. 27). No doubt also the revision of oaths in Jacobean plays is usually taken as due to the *Act against Abuses of Players* (1606), although it is conceivable that the personal taste of James may have required a similar revision of plays selected for Court performance at an earlier date. Or this particular bit of revision, which was done for other plays before F_1, may be of later date than the rest. Simpson is in favour, largely on literary grounds, for a revision in 1612, in preparation for F_1. The Prologue, which is not in Q, probably belongs to the revision, or at any rate to a revival later than 1598, since it criticizes not only 'Yorke, and Lancasters long jarres', but also plays in which 'Chorus wafts you ore the seas', as in *Henry V* (1599). These allusions would not come so well in 1612; on the other hand, Simpson's date would enable us to suppose that the play in which the public 'grac'd monsters' was the *Tempest* (cf. the similar jibe in *Bartholomew Fair*). The character Matheo or Mathew represents a young gull of literary tendencies, and is made to spout passages from, or imitations of, Daniel's verses. Perhaps this implies some indirect criticism of Daniel, but it can hardly be regarded as a personal attack upon him.

Every Man Out of his Humour. 1599

S. R. 1600, April 8 (Harsnett). 'A Comicall Satyre of euery man out of his humour.' *William Holme* (Arber, iii. 159).

1638, April 28. Transfer by Smethwicke to Bishop (Arber, iv. 417).

Q_1, 1600. The Comicall Satyre of Every Man Out Of His Humor. As it was first composed by the Author B. I. Containing more than hath been Publickely Spoken or Acted. With the seuerall Character of euery Person. *For William Holme.* [Names and description of Characters; Publisher's note, 'It was not neere his thoughts that hath publisht this, either to traduce the Authour; or to make vulgar and cheape, any the peculiar & sufficient deserts of the Actors ; but rather (whereas many Censures flutter'd about it) to giue all leaue, and leisure, to iudge with Distinction' ; Induction, by Asper, who becomes Macilente and speaks Epilogue, Carlo Buffone who speaks in lieu of Prologue, and Mitis and Cordatus, who remain on stage as Grex or typical spectators.]

Q_2, 1600. [*Peter Short*] *For William Holme.* [W. W. Greg (1920, *4 Library*, i. 153) distinguished Q_1, of which he found a copy in Brit. Mus. C. 34, i. 29, from Q_2 (Bodl. and Dyce).]

Q_3, 1600. *For Nicholas Linge.* [' A careless and ignorant reprint ' (Greg) of Q_1.]

F_1, 1616. Euery Man Out Of His Humour. A Comicall Satyre. Acted in the yeere 1599. By the then Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. The Author B. I. *William Stansby for Iohn Smithwicke.* [Epistle to the Inns of Court, signed ' Ben. Ionson '. After text : 'This Comicall Satyre was first acted in the yeere 1599. By the then Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. The principall Comœdians were, Ric. Burbadge, Ioh. Hemings, Aug. Philips, Hen. Condel, Wil. Sly, Tho. Pope. With the allowance of the Master of Revels.']

Facsimile reprints of Q_1 by W. W. Greg and F. P. Wilson (1920, *M.S.R.*) and of $Q_{2,3}$ by W. Bang and W. W. Greg (1907, *Materialien*, xvi, xvii).—*Dissertations* : C. A. Herpich, *Shakespeare and B. J. Did They Quarrel ?* (1902, 9 *N. Q.* ix. 282) ; Van Dam and C. Stoffel, *The Authority of the B. J. Folio of 1616* (1903, *Anglia*, xxvi. 377) ; W. Bang, *B. J. und Castiglione's Cortegiano* (1906, *E.S.* xxxvi. 330).

In the main the text of F_1 follows that of Q_1 with some slight revision of wording and oaths. The arrangement of the epilogues is somewhat different, but seems intended to represent the same original stage history. In Q_1 Macilente speaks an epilogue, ' with Aspers tongue (though not his shape) ', evidently used in the theatre as it begs ' The happier spirits in this faire-fild Globe ' to confirm applause

as their pleasures Pattent : which so sign'd,
Our leane and spent Endeuours shall renue
Their Beauties with the *Spring* to smile on you.

Then comes a ' Finis ' and on the next page, ' It had another *Catastrophe* or Conclusion at the first Playing : which (διὰ τὸ τὴν βασίλισσαν προσωποποιεῖσθαι) many seem'd not to relish it : and therefore 'twas since alter'd : yet that a right-ei'd and solide *Reader* may perceiue it was not so great a part of the Heauen awry, as they would make it ; we request him but to looke downe vpon these following Reasons.' There follows an apology, from which it is clear that originally Macilente was cured of his envious humour by the appearance on the stage of the Queen ; and this introduces a different epilogue of the nature of an address to her. At the end of all comes a short dialogue between Macilente, as Asper, and the *Grex*. There is no mention of the Globe, but as the whole point of the objection to this epilogue, which it is not suggested that Elizabeth herself shared, lay in the miming of the Queen, one would take it, did the Q_1 stand alone, to have been, like its substitute, a theatre and not a Court epilogue. In F_1, however, we get successively (*a*) a shortened version of the later epilogue, (*b*) the dialogue with the *Grex*, followed by 'The End', and (*c*) a version of the original epilogue, altered so as to make it less of a direct address and headed 'Which, in the presentation before Queen E. was thus varyed'. It seems to me a little difficult to believe that the play was given at Court before it had been 'practised' in public performances, and I conclude that, having suppressed the address to a mimic Elizabeth at the Globe, Jonson revived it in a slightly altered form when he took the play to Court at Christmas. As to the date of production, Fleay, i. 361, excels himself in the suggestion that 'the mention of "spring" and the allusion to the company's new "patent" for the Globe in the epilogue' fix it to *c.* April 1599. Even if this were the original epilogue, it alludes to a coming and not a present spring, and might have been written at any time in the winter, either before or after the New Year. Obviously, too, there can be no allusion to an Elizabethan patent for the Globe, which never existed. I do not agree with Small, 21, that the Globe was not opened until early in 1600, nor do I think that any inference can be drawn from the not very clear notes of dramatic time in I. iii and III. ii. At first sight it seems natural to suppose that the phrase 'would I had one of Kempes shooes to throw after you' (IV. v) was written later than at any rate the planning of the famous morris to Norwich, which lasted from 11 Feb. to 11 March 1600 and at the end of which Kempe hung his shoes in Norwich Guildhall. Certainly it cannot refer, as Fleay thinks, merely to Kempe's leaving the Chamberlain's men. Conceivably it might be an interpolation of later date than the original production. Creizenach, 303, however, points out that in 1599 Thomas Platter saw a comedy in which a servant took off his shoe and threw it at his master, and suggests that this was a bit of common-form stage clownery, in which case the Norwich dance would not be concerned. The performance described by Platter was in September or October, and apparently at the Curtain (cf. ch. xvi, introd.). Kempe may quite well have been playing then at the Curtain with a fresh company after the Chamberlain's moved to the Globe. Perhaps the episode had already found a place in Phillips's *Jig of the Slippers*, printed in 1595 and now lost (cf. ch. xviii). If 1600 is the date of *E. M. O.*, the Court performance may have been that of 3 February, or perhaps more probably may have fallen in the following winter, which would explain the divergence between Q_1 and F_1 as to the epilogues. But it must be remembered that the F_1 date is 1599, and that most, if not quite all, of the F_1 dates follow Circumcision style, although Jonson may not have adopted this style as early as 1600. On the whole, I think that the balance of probability is distinctly in favour of 1599. If so, the production must have been fairly late in that year, as there is a hit (III. i) at the *Histriomastix* of the same autumn. The play has been hunted through and through for personalities, most of which are effectively refuted by Small. Most of the characters are types rather than individuals, and social types rather than literary or stage types. I do not think there are portraits of Daniel, Lyly, Drayton, Donne, Chapman, Munday, Shakespeare, Burbadge, in the play or its induction at all. Nor do I think there are portraits in the strict sense of Marston and Dekker, although no doubt some parody of Marston's 'fustian' vocabulary is put into the mouth of Clove (iii. 1), and, on the other hand, the characters of Carlo Buffone and Fastidious Brisk have analogies with the Anaides and Hedon of *Cynthia's Revels*, and these again with the Demetrius and Crispinus of *Poetaster*, who are undoubtedly Dekker and Marston. But we know from Aubrey, ii. 184, that Carlo was Charles Chester, a loose-tongued man about town, to whom there are many contemporary references. To those collected by Small and Hart (*10 N. Q.* i. 381) I may add Chamberlain, 7, Harington, *Ulysses upon Ajax* (1596), 58, and *Hatfield Papers*, iv. 210, 221; x. 287. The practical joke of sealing up Carlo's mouth with wax (v. iii) was, according to Aubrey, played upon Chester by Raleigh, and there may be traits of Raleigh in Puntarvolo, perhaps combined with others of Sir John Harington, while Hart finds in the mouths both of Puntarvolo and of Fastidious Brisk the vocabulary of Gabriel Harvey. The play was revived at Court on 8 Jan. 1605.

Cynthia's Revels. 1600–1

S. R. 1601, May 23 (Pasfield). 'A booke called Narcissus the fountaine of self love.' *Walter Burre* (Arber, iii. 185).

1601. The Fountaine of Selfe-Loue. Or Cynthias Reuels. As it hath beene sundry times priuately acted in the Black-Friers by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell. Written by Ben: Iohnson. *For Walter Burre.* [Induction, Prologue, and Epilogue.]

1616. Cynthias Revels, Or The Fountayne of selfe-loue. A Comicall Satyre. Acted in the yeere 1600. By the then Children of Queene Elizabeth's Chappel. The Author B. I. *William Stansby.* [Part of F_1. Epistle to the Court, signed 'Ben Ionson', Induction, Prologue, and Epilogue. After text: 'This Comicall Satyre was first acted, in the yeere 1600. By the then Children of Queene Elizabeths Chappell. The principall Comœdians were, Nat. Field, Ioh. Underwood, Sal. Pavy, Rob. Baxter, Tho. Day, Ioh. Frost. With the allowance of the Master of Revells.']

Edition by A. C. Judson (1912, *Yale Studies*, xlv), and facsimile reprint of Q by W. Bang and L. Krebs (1908, *Materialien*, xxii).

The difference between the Q and F_1 texts amounts to more than mere revision of wording and of oaths. *Criticus* is renamed *Crites*, and the latter half of the play is given in a longer form, parts of IV. i and IV. iii, and the whole of v. i–iv appearing in F_1 alone. I think the explanation is to be found in a shortening of the original text for representation, rather than in subsequent additions. Jonson's date for the play is 1600. This Small, 23, would translate as Feb. or March 1601, neglecting the difficulty due to the possibility that

Jonson's date represents Circumcision style. He relies on v. xi, where Cynthia says:

> For so Actaeon, by presuming farre,
> Did (to our griefe) incurre a fatall doome;
> . . . But are we therefore judged too extreme?
> Seemes it no crime, to enter sacred bowers,
> And hallowed places, with impure aspect,
> Most lewdly to pollute?

Rightly rejecting the suggestion of Fleay, i. 363, that this alludes to Nashe and the *Isle of Dogs*, Small refers it to the disgrace of Essex, and therefore dates the play after his execution on 25 Feb. 1601. But surely the presumption which Jonson has in mind is not Essex's rebellion, but his invasion of Elizabeth's apartment on his return from Ireland in 1599, and the 'fatall doome' is merely his loss of offices in June 1600. I do not believe that a Court dramatist would have dared to refer to Essex at all after 25 Feb. 1601. I feel little doubt that the play was the subject of the Chapel presentation on 6 Jan. 1601, and the description of this by the Treasurer of the Chamber as including a 'show', which puzzled Small, is explained by the presence of a full-blown Court mask in v. vii–x. The original production will have been in the winter of 1600, soon after Evans set up the Chapel plays. As to personalities, Small rightly rejects the identifications of Hedon with Daniel, Anaides with Marston, and Asotus with Lodge. Amorphus repeats the type of Puntarvolo from *E. M. O.* and like Puntarvolo may show traces of the Harveian vocabulary. As *Satiromastix*, I. ii. 191, applies to Crispinus and Demetrius the descriptions (III. iii) of Hedon as 'a light voluptuous reveller' and Anaides as 'a strange arrogating puff', it seems clear that Marston and Dekker, rightly or wrongly, fitted on these caps. Similarly, there is a clear attempt in *Satiromastix*, I. ii. 376, 'You must be call'd Asper, and Criticus, and Horace', to charge Jonson with lauding himself as Criticus. But the description of the 'creature of a most perfect and diuine temper' in II. iii surely goes beyond even Jonson's capacity of self-praise. I wonder whether he can have meant Donne, whom he seems from a remark to Drummond (Laing, 6) to have introduced as Criticus in an introductory dialogue to the *Ars Poetica*.

Of the three children who appear in the induction, both Q and F_1 name one as Jack. He might be either Underwood or Frost. Q alone (l. 214) names another, who played Anaides, as Sall, i.e. Salathiel Pavy. An interesting light is thrown on the beginnings of the Chapel enterprise by the criticism (*Ind.* 188), 'They say, the *Vmbrae*, or Ghosts of some three or foure Playes, departed a dozen yeares since, haue been seene walking on your Stage here.'

The Poetaster. 1601

S. R. 1601, Dec. 21 (Pasfield). 'A booke called Poetaster or his arrainement.' *Matthew Lownes* (Arber, iii. 198).

1602. Poetaster or The Arraignment: As it hath beene sundry times priuately acted in the Blacke Friers, by the Children of her

Maiesties Chappell. Composed by Ben. Iohnson. *For M. L.* [Prologue; after text, Note to Reader: 'Here (Reader) in place of the Epilogue, was meant to thee an Apology from the Author, with his reasons for the publishing of this booke: but (since he is no lesse restrain'd, then thou depriv'd of it by Authoritie) hee praies thee to think charitably of what thou hast read, till thou maist heare him speake what hee hath written.']

1616. Poëtaster, Or His Arraignement. A Comicall Satyre, Acted, in the yeere 1601. By the then Children of Queene Elizabeths Chappel. The Author B. I. *W. Stansby for M. Lownes.* [Part of F_1. Epistle to Richard Martin, by 'Ben. Ionson'; Prologue. After text, Note to Reader, with 'an apologeticall Dialogue: which was only once spoken vpon the stage, and all the answere I euer gaue, to sundry impotent libells then cast out (and some yet remayning) against me, and this Play'. After the dialogue: 'This comicall Satyre was first acted, in the yeere 1601. By the then Children of Queene Elizabeths Chappell. The principall Comœdians were, Nat. Field, Ioh. Vnderwood, Sal. Pavy, Will. Ostler, Tho. Day, Tho. Marton. With the allowance of the Master of Revells.']

Editions by H. S. Mallory (1905, *Yale Studies*, xxvii), J. H. Penniman (1913, *B. L.*).

The play is admittedly an attack upon the poetaster represented as Crispinus, and his identity is clear from Jonson's own statement to Drummond (Laing, 20) that 'he had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him, wrote his Poetaster on him'. Marston's vocabulary is elaborately ridiculed in v. iii. Nor is there any reason to doubt that Demetrius Fannius, 'a dresser of plaies about the towne, here', who has been 'hir'd to abuse Horace, and bring him in, in a play' (III. iv. 367), is Dekker, who certainly associated himself with Marston as a victim of Jonson's arraignment, and wrote *Satiromastix* (q.v.) in reply. At the same time these characters continue the types of Hedon and Anaides from *Cynthia's Revels*, although these were not literary men. Horace is Jonson himself, as the rival portrait of Horace in *Satiromastix* shows, while Dekker tells us that Tucca is 'honest Capten Hannam', doubtless the Jack Hannam traceable as a Captain under Drake in 1585; cf. the reference to him in a letter of that year printed by F. P. Wilson in *M. L. R.* xv. 81. Fleay, i. 367, has a long list of identifications of minor personages, Ovid with Donne, Tibullus with Daniel, and so forth, all of which may safely be laid aside, and in particular I do not think that the fine eulogies of Virgil (v. i) are meant for Chapman, or for Shakespeare, applicable as some of them are to him, or for any one but Virgil. On the matter of identifications there is little to add to the admirable treatment of Small, 25. But in addition to the personal attacks, the play clearly contains a more generalized criticism of actors, the challenge of which seems to have been specially taken up by the Chamberlain's men (cf. ch. xi), while there is evidence that Tucca and, I suppose, Lupus were taken amiss by the soldiers and the lawyers respectively. The latter at least were powerful, and in the epistle to Martin Jonson speaks of the play as one ‘for whose innocence, as for the Authors, you were once a noble and timely undertaker, to the greatest Iustice of this Kingdome’, and on behalf of posterity acknowledges a debt for ‘the reading of that . . . which so much ignorance, and malice of the times, then conspir’d to haue supprest’. Evidently Jonson had not made matters better by his Apologetical Dialogue, the printing of which with the play was restrained. In this he denies that he

tax’d
The Law, and Lawyers; Captaines; and the Players
By their particular names;

but admits his intention to try and shame the

Fellowes of practis’d and most laxative tongues,

of whom he says, that during

three yeeres,
They did provoke me with their petulant stiles
On every stage.

Now he has done with it, will not answer the ‘libells’, or the ‘untrussers’ (i.e. *Satiromastix*), and is turning to tragedy.

Jonson gives the date of production as 1601. The play followed *Cynthia’s Revels*, criticisms on the epilogue of which inspired its ‘armed Prologue’, who sets a foot on Envy. Envy has been waiting fifteen weeks since the plot was an ‘embrion’, and this is chaffed in *Satiromastix*, I. ii. 447, ‘What, will he bee fifteene weekes about this cockatrice’s egge too?’ Later (v. ii. 218) Horace is told, ‘You and your itchy poetry breake out like Christmas, but once a yeare’. This stung Jonson, who replied in the Apologetical Dialogue,

Polyposus. They say you are slow,
And scarse bring forth a play a yeere.
Author. ’Tis true.
I would they could not say that I did that.

The year’s interval must not be pressed too closely. On the other hand, I do not know why Small, 25, assumes that the fifteen weeks spent on the *Poetaster* began directly after *Cynthia’s Revels* was produced, whatever that date may be. It must have come very near that of *Satiromastix*, for Horace knows that Demetrius has been hired to write a play on him. On the other hand, *Satiromastix* cannot possibly have been actually written until the contents of *Poetaster* were known to Dekker. The S. R. entry of *Satiromastix* is 11 Nov. 1601, and the two dates of production may reasonably be placed in the late spring or early autumn of the same year. The Note to the Reader in Q shows that the Dialogue had been restrained before *Poetaster* itself appeared in 1602. Probably it was spoken in December between the two S. R. entries. Hart (9 *N. Q.* xi. 202) assuming that the contemplated tragedy was *Sejanus* (q.v.) put it in 1603, but this is too late.

Sejanus. 1603

S. R. 1604, Nov. 2 (Pasfield). ‘A booke called the tragedie of Seianus written by Beniamin Johnson.’ *Edward Blunt* (Arber, iii. 273).

1605, Aug. 6. Transfer from Blount to Thomas Thorpe (Arber, iii. 297).
1610, Oct. 3. Transfer from Thorpe to Walter Burre (Arber, iii. 445).

1605. Seianus his fall. Written by Ben: Ionson. *G. Eld for Thomas Thorpe.* [Epistle to Readers, signed 'Ben. Jonson'; Commendatory Verses, signed 'Georgius Chapmannus', 'Hugh Holland', 'Cygnus', 'Th. R.', 'Johannes Marstonius', 'William Strachey', 'ΦΙΛΟΣ', 'Ev. B.'; Argument.]

1616. Seianus his Fall. A Tragœdie. Acted, in the yeere 1603. By the K. Maiesties Servants. The Author B. I. *William Stansby.* [Part of F_1. Epistle to Esmé, Lord Aubigny, signed 'Ben. Ionson'. After text: 'This Tragœdie was first acted, in the yeere 1603. By the Kings Maiesties Servants. The principall Tragœdians were, Ric. Burbadge, Will. Shake-Speare, Aug. Philips, Ioh. Hemings, Will. Sly, Hen. Condel, Ioh. Lowin, Alex. Cooke. With the allowance of the Master of Revells.']

Editions by W. D. Briggs (1911, *B. L.*) and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertations*: B. Nicholson, *Shakespeare not the Part-Author of B. J.'s S.* (1874, *Acad.* ii. 536); W. A. Henderson, *Shakespeare and S.* (1894, *8 N. Q.* v. 502).

As the theatres were probably closed from Elizabeth's death to March 1604, the production may have been at Court in the autumn or winter of 1603, although, if *Sejanus* is the something 'high, and aloofe' contemplated at the end of the Apologetical Dialogue to *Poetaster* (q.v.), it must have been in Jonson's mind since 1601. The epistle to Aubigny admits the 'violence' which the play received in public, and 'Ev. B.'s' verses indicate that this 'beastly rage' was at the Globe. Marston's verses were presumably written before his renewed quarrel with Jonson over *Eastward Ho!* (q.v.), and there appears to be an unkindly reference to *Sejanus* in the epistle to his *Sophonisba* (1606). But either *Eastward Ho!* or something else caused publication to be delayed for nearly a year after the S. R. entry, since Chapman's verses contain a compliment to the Earl of Suffolk,

> Who when our Hearde came not to drink, but trouble
> The Muses waters, did a Wall importune,
> (Midst of assaults) about their sacred River,

which seems to refer to his share in freeing Jonson and Chapman from prison about Sept. or Oct. 1605. Chapman also has compliments to the Earls of Northampton and Northumberland. It must therefore be to a later date that Jonson referred, when he told Drummond (Laing, 22) that 'Northampton was his mortall enimie for beating, on a St. George's day, one of his attenders; He was called before the Councell for his Sejanus, and accused both of poperie and treason by him'. Fleay, i. 372, suggests that the reference at the end of the Q version of the Argument to treason against princes, 'for guard of whose piety and vertue, the *Angels* are in continuall watch, and *God* himselfe miraculously working', implies publication after the discovery of the Plot. On the other hand, one would have expected Chapman's reference to Northumberland, if not already printed, to be suppressed, in view of the almost immediate suspicion of a connexion with the Plot that fell upon him. Castelain, 907, considers, and rightly rejects, another suggestion by Fleay that *Sejanus* and not *Eastward Ho!* was the cause of the imprisonment of Jonson and Chapman in 1605. Fleay supposed that Chapman was the collaborator of whom Jonson wrote in the Q epistle, 'I would informe you, that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage, wherein a second pen had good share; in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a *Genius* of his right, by my lothed usurpation'. Shakespeare also has been guessed at. If Jonson's language was seriously meant, there were not, of course, many contemporaries of whom he would have so spoken. Probably the problem is insoluble, as the subject-matter of it has disappeared. It is difficult to believe that the collaborator was Samuel Sheppard, who in his *The Times Displayed in Six Sestyads* (1646) claims to have 'dictated to' Ben Jonson 'when as Sejanus' fall he writ'. Perhaps he means 'been amanuensis to'.

Eastward Ho (*1605*)

With Chapman (q.v.) *and* Marston.

Volpone or *The Fox.* *1606*

[*MS.*] J. S. Farmer (*Introd.* to *Believe As You List* in *T. F. T.*) states that a holograph MS. is extant. He may have heard of a modern text by L. H. Holt, used by J. D. Rea. If so, App. N is in error.

S. R. 1610, Oct. 3. Transfer from Thomas Thorpe to Walter Burre of '2 bookes the one called, Seianus his fall, the other, Vulpone or the ffoxe' (Arber, iii. 445).

1607. Ben: Ionson his Volpone Or The Foxe. *For Thomas Thorpe.* [Dedicatory epistle by 'Ben. Ionson' to the two Universities, dated 'From my House in the Black-Friars, the 11th day of February, 1607'; Commendatory Verses, signed 'I. D[onne]', 'E. Bolton', 'F[rancis] B[eaumont]', 'T. R.', 'D. D.', 'I. C.', 'G. C.', 'E. S.', 'I. F.'; Argument; Prologue and Epilogue.]

1616. Volpone, or The Foxe. A Comœdie. Acted in the yeere 1605. By the K. Maiesties Servants. The Author B. I. *William Stansby.* [Part of F_1. After text: 'This Comoedie was first acted, in the yeere 1605. By the Kings Maiesties Servants. The principall Comœdians were, Ric. Burbadge, Ioh. Hemings, Hen. Condel, Ioh. Lowin, Will. Sly, Alex. Cooke. With the allowance of the Master of Revells.']

Editions by W. Scott (1811, *M. B. D.* iii) in *O. E. D.* (1830, i) and by H. B. Wilkins (1906), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*), J. D. Rea (1919, *Yale Studies*).—*Dissertations*: F. Holthausen, *Die Quelle von B. J.'s V.* (1889, *Anglia*, xii. 519); J. Q. Adams, *The Sources of B. J.'s V.* (1904, *M. P.* ii. 289); L. H. Holt, *Notes on J.'s V.* (1905, *M. L. N.* xx. 63).

Jonson dates the production 1605, and the uncertainty as to the style he used leaves it possible that this may cover the earlier part of 1606. Fleay, i. 373, attempts to get nearer with the help of the news from London brought to Venice by Peregrine in II. i. Some of this does not help us much. The baboons had probably been in London as early as 1603 at least (cf. s.v. *Sir Giles Goosecap*). The Tower lioness had a whelp on 5 Aug. 1604, another on 26 Feb. 1605, and two more on 27 July 1605 (Stowe, ed. 1615, 844, 857, 870). The 'another whelp' of *Volpone* would suggest Feb.–July 1605. On the other hand, the whale at Woolwich is recorded by Stowe, 880, a few days after the porpoise at West Ham (not 'above the bridge' as in *Volpone*) on 19 Jan. 1606. Holt argues from this that, as Peregrine left England seven weeks before, the play must have been produced in March 1606, but this identification of actual and dramatic time can hardly be taken for granted. There are also allusions to meteors at Berwick and a new star, both in 1604, and to the building of a raven in a royal ship and the death of Stone the fool, which have not been dated and might help. Gawdy, 146, writes on 18 June 1604 that 'Stone was knighted last weeke, I meane not Stone the foole, but Stone of Cheapsyde'. Stone the fool was whipped about March, 1605 (Winwood, ii. 52). The suggested allusion to *Volpone* in Day's *Isle of Gulls* (q.v.) of Feb. 1606 is rather dubious. The ambiguity of style must also leave us uncertain whether Q and its dedication belong to 1607 or 1608, and therefore whether 'their love and acceptance shewn to his poeme in the presentation' by the Universities was in 1606 or 1607. This epistle contains a justification of Jonson's comic method. He has had to undergo the 'imputation of sharpnesse', but has never provoked a 'nation, societie, or generall order, or state', or any 'publique person'. Nor has he been 'particular' or 'personall', except to 'a mimick, cheater, bawd, or buffon, creatures (for their insolencies) worthy to be tax'd'. But that he has not wholly forgotten the *Poetomachia* is clear from a reference to the 'petulant stiles' of other poets, while in the prologue he recalls the old criticism that he was a year about each play, and asserts that he wrote *Volpone* in five weeks. The commendatory verses suggest that the play was successful. Fleay's theory that it is referred to in the epilogue to the anonymous *Mucedorus* (q.v.), as having given offence, will not bear analysis. The passage in III. iv about English borrowings from Guarini and Montaigne is too general in its application to be construed as a specific attack on Daniel. But the gossip of Aubrey, ii. 246, on Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charterhouse, relates that ''Twas from him that B. Johnson took his hint of the fox, and by Seigneur Volpone is meant Sutton'.

Epicoene. 1609

S. R. 1610, Sept. 20 (Buck). 'A booke called, Epicoene or the silent woman by Ben Johnson.' *John Browne and John Busby* (Arber, iii. 444).

1612, Sept. 28. Transfer from Browne to Walter Burre (Arber, iii. 498).

1609, 1612. Prints of both dates are cited, but neither is now traceable. The former, in view of the S.R. date, can hardly have existed; the latter appears to have been seen by Gifford, and for it the commendatory verses by Beaumont, found at the beginning of F_1, were probably written.

1616. Epicoene, Or The silent Woman. A Comœdie. Acted in the yeere 1609. By the Children of her Maiesties Revells. The Author B. I. *W. Stansby*. [Part of F_1. Epistle to Sir Francis Stuart, signed 'Ben. Ionson'; Two Prologues, the second 'Occasion'd by some persons impertinent exception'; after text: 'This Comœdie was first acted, in the yeere 1609. By the Children of her Maiesties Revells. The principall Comœdians were, Nat. Field, Will. Barksted, Gil. Carie, Will. Pen, Hug. Attawel, Ric. Allin, Ioh. Smith, Ioh. Blaney. With the allowance of the Master of Revells.']

1620. *William Stansby, sold by John Browne.*

Editions in *O. E. D.* (1830, iii) and by A. Henry (1906, *Yale Studies*, xxxi) and C. M. Gayley (1913, *R. E. C.* ii).

The first prologue speaks of the play as fit for 'your men, and daughters of *white-Friars*', and at Whitefriars the play was probably produced by the Revels children, either at the end of 1609, or, if Jonson's chronology permits, early in 1610. Jonson told Drummond (Laing, 41) that, 'When his play of a Silent Woman was first acted, ther was found verses after on the stage against him, concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, ther was never one man to say *Plaudite* to it'. Fleay, i. 374, suggests an equation between Sir John Daw and Sir John Harington. In I. i. 86 Clerimont says of Lady Haughty, the President of the Collegiates, 'A poxe of her autumnall face, her peec'd beautie'. I hope that this was not, as suggested by H. J. C. Grierson, *Poems of Donne*, ii. 63, a hit at Lady Danvers, on whom Donne wrote (Elegy ix):

> No *Spring*, nor *Summer* Beauty hath such grace,
> As I have seen in one *Autumnall* face.

In any case, I do not suppose that these are the passages which led to the 'exception' necessitating the second prologue. This ends with the lines:

> If any, yet, will (with particular slight
>   Of application) wrest what he doth write;
> And that he meant or him, or her, will say:
>   They make a libell, which he made a play.

Jonson evidently refers to the same matter in the Epistle, where he says: 'There is not a line, or syllable in it changed from the simplicity of the first copy. And, when you shall consider, through the certaine hatred of some, how much a mans innocency may bee indanger'd by an vn-certaine accusation; you will, I doubt not, so beginne to hate the iniquitie of such natures, as I shall loue the contumely done me, whose end was so honorable, as to be wip'd off by your sentence.' I think the explanation is to be found in a dispatch of the Venetian ambassador on 8 Feb. 1610 (*V. P.* xi. 427), who reports that Lady Arabella Stuart 'complains that in a certain comedy the playwright introduced an allusion to her person and the part played by the Prince of Moldavia. The play was suppressed.' The reference may be to v. i. 17 of the play:

> *La Foole.* He [*Daw*] has his boxe of instruments . . . to draw maps of euery place, and person, where he comes.
> *Clerimont.* How, maps of persons!
> *La Foole.* Yes, sir, of Nomentack, when he was here, and of the Prince of *Moldauia*, and of his mistris, mistris *Epicoene.*
> *Clerimont.* Away! he has not found out her latitude, I hope.

The Prince of Moldavia visited London in 1607 and is said to have been a suitor for Arabella, but if Jonson's text is really not 'changed from the simplicity of the first copy', it is clear that Arabella misunderstood it, since Epicoene was Daw's mistress.

The Alchemist. 1610

S. R. 1610, Oct. 3 (Buck). 'A Comoedy called The Alchymist made by Ben: Johnson.' *Walter Burre* (Arber, iii. 445).

1612. The Alchemist. Written by Ben Ionson. *Thomas Snodham for Walter Burre, sold by John Stepneth.* [Epistles to Lady Wroth, signed 'Ben. Jonson' and to the Reader; Commendatory Verses, signed 'George Lucy'; Argument and Prologue.]

1616. The Alchemist. A Comœdie. Acted in the yeere 1610. By the Kings Maiesties Seruants. The author B. I. *W. Stansby.* [Part of F_1. After text: 'This Comoedie was first acted, in the yeere 1610. By the Kings Maiesties Servants. The principall Comœdians were, Ric. Burbadge, Ioh. Hemings, Ioh. Lowin, Will. Ostler, Hen. Condel, Ioh. Vnderwood, Alex. Cooke, Nic. Tooley, Rob. Armin, Will. Eglestone. With the allowance of the Master of Revells.']

Editions by W. Scott (1811, *M. B. D.* iii), C. M. Hathaway (1903, *Yale Studies*, xvii), H. C. Hart (1903, *King's Library*), F. E. Schelling (1903, *B. L.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*), G. A. Smithson (1913, *R. E. C.*).

Jonson's date is confirmed by the references in II. vi. 31 and IV. iv. 29 to the age of Dame Pliant, who is 19 and was born in 1591. In view of the S.R. entry, one would take the production to have fallen in the earlier half of the year, before the plague reached forty deaths, which it did from 12 July to 29 Nov. The action is set in plague-time, but obviously the experience of 1609 and early years might suggest this. Fleay, i. 375, and others following him argue that the action of the play is confined to one day, that this is fixed by v. v. 102 to 'the second day of the fourth week in the eighth month', and that this must be 24 October. They are not deterred by the discrepancy of this with III. ii. 129, which gives only a fifteen-days interval before 'the second day, of the third weeke, in the ninth month', i. e. on their principles 17 November. And they get over the S.R. entry by assuming that Jonson planned to stage the play on 24 October and then, finding early in October that the plague continued, decided to publish it at once. This seems to me extraordinarily thin, in the absence of clearer knowledge as to the system of chronology employed by Ananias of

Amsterdam. Aubrey, i. 213, says that John Dee 'used to distill egge-shells, and 'twas from hence that Ben Johnson had his hint of the alkimist, whom he meant'. The play was given by the King's men at Court during 1612–13.

Catiline his Conspiracy. 1611

1611. Catiline his Conspiracy. Written by Ben: Ionson. *For Walter Burre.* [Epistles to William Earl of Pembroke, and to the Reader, both signed 'Ben. Jonson'; Commendatory Verses, signed 'Franc: Beaumont', 'John Fletcher', 'Nat. Field'.]

1616. Catiline his Conspiracy. A Tragoedie. Acted in the yeere 1611. By the Kings Maiesties Seruants. The Author B. I. *William Stansby.* [Part of F_1. After text: 'This Tragœdie was first Acted, in the yeere 1611. By the Kings Maiesties Servants. The principall Tragœdians were, Ric. Burbadge, Ioh. Hemings, Alex. Cooke, Hen. Condel, Ioh. Lowin, Ioh. Underwood, Wil. Ostler, Nic. Tooly, Ric. Robinson, Wil. Eglestone.']

1635. . . . 'now Acted by his Maiesties Servants'. . . . *N. Okes for I. S.*

Edition by L. H. Harris (1916, *Yale Studies*, liii).—*Dissertation*: A. Vogt, *B. J.'s Tragödie C. und ihre Quellen* (1905, *Halle diss.*).

Bartholomew Fair. 1614

1631. Bartholomew Fayre: A Comedie, Acted in the Yeare, 1614. By the Lady Elizabeths Seruants. And then dedicated to King Iames of most Blessed Memorie; By the Author, Beniamin Iohnson. *I. B. for Robert Allot.* [Part of F_2. Prologue to the King; Induction; Epilogue. Jonson wrote (n.d.) to the Earl of Newcastle (*Harl. MS.* 4955, quoted in Gifford's memoir and by Brinsley Nicholson in *4 N. Q.* v. 574): 'It is the lewd printer's fault that I can send . . . no more of my book. I sent you one piece before, The Fair, . . . and now I send you this other morsel, The fine gentleman that walks the town, The Fiend; but before he will perfect the rest I fear he will come himself to be a part under the title of The Absolute Knave, which he hath played with me.']

Edition by C. S. Alden (1904, *Yale Studies*, xxv).—*Dissertation*: C. R. Baskervill, *Some Parallels to B. F.* (1908, *M. P.* vi. 109).

No dedication to James, other than the prologue and epilogue, appears to be preserved, but Aubrey, ii. 14, says that 'King James made him write against the Puritans, who began to be troublesome in his time'. The play was given at Court on 1 Nov. 1614 (App. B), and a mock indenture between the author and the spectators at the Hope, on 31 Oct. 1614, is recited in the Induction and presumably fixes the date of production. One must not therefore assume that a ballad of *Rome for Company in Bartholomew Faire*, registered on 22 Oct. 1614 (Arber, iii. 554), was aimed at Jonson. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 78, follows Malone and Fleay, i. 80, in inferring from a mention of a forthcoming 'Johnsons play' in a letter of 13 Nov. 1613 from Daborne to Henslowe that the production may have been intended for 1613, but I think that Daborne refers to the revival of *Eastwar*

Ho! The Induction describes the locality of the Hope as 'being as durty as *Smithfield*, and as stinking euery whit', and possibly glances at the *Winter's Tale* and *Tempest* in disclaiming the introduction of 'a *Seruant-monster*' and 'a nest of *Antiques*', since the author is 'loth to make Nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget *Tales, Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*'. There is no actor-list, but in v. iii 'Your best *Actor*. Your *Field*?' is referred to on a level with 'your *Burbage*'. Similarly the puppet Leander is said to shake his head 'like an hostler' and it is declared that 'one *Taylor*, would goe neere to beat all this company, with a hand bound behinde him'. Field and Taylor were both of the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1614, while the allusion to Ostler of the King's men is apparently satirical. The suggestion of Ordish, 225, that Taylor is the water poet, who had recently appeared on the Hope stage, is less probable. The 'word out of the play, *Palemon*' (IV. iii) is set against another, *Argalus* 'out of the *Arcadia*', and might therefore, as Fleay, i. 377, thinks, refer to Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* (1605), but the Palamon of *T. N. K.* was probably quite recent. I see no reason to accept Fleay's identification of Littlewit with Daniel; that of Lanthorn Leatherhead with Inigo Jones is more plausible. Gifford suggested that the burlesque puppet-play of Damon and Pythias in V. iv may have been retrieved by Jonson from earlier work, perhaps for the real puppet-stage, since 'Old Cole' is a character, and in *Satiromastix* Horace is called 'puppet-teacher' (1980) and in another passage (607) 'olde Coale', and told that Crispinus and Demetrius 'shal be thy Damons and thou their Pithyasse'.

The Devil Is An Ass 1616

1631. The Diuell is an Asse: A Comedie Acted in the yeare, 1616. By His Maiesties Seruants. The Author Ben: Ionson. *I. B. for Robert Allot.* [Part of F_2. Prologue and Epilogue. The play is referred to in Jonson's letter to the Earl of Newcastle, quoted under *Bartholomew Fair.*]

1641. *Imprinted at London.*

Edition by W. S. Johnson (1905, *Yale Studies*, xxix).—*Dissertation*: E. Holstein, *Verhältnis von B. J.'s D. A. und John Wilson's Belphegor zu Machiavelli's Novelle vom Belfagor* (1901).

In the play itself are introduced references to a performance of *The Devil* as a new play, to its playbill, to the Blackfriars as the house, and to Dick Robinson as a player of female parts (I. iv. 43; vi. 31; II. viii. 64; III. v. 38). Probably the production was towards the end rather than the beginning of 1616.

Lost Plays

I do not feel able to accept the view, expounded by Fleay, i. 370, 386, and adopted by some later writers, that *A Tale of a Tub*, licensed by Herbert on 7 May 1633, was only a revision of one of Jonson's Elizabethan plays. It appears to rest almost wholly upon references to a 'queen'. These are purely dramatic, and part of an attempt to give the action an old-fashioned setting. The queen intended is not

Elizabeth, but Mary. There are also references to 'last King Harry's time' (I. ii), 'King Edward, our late liege and sovereign lord' (I. v). A character says, 'He was King Harry's doctor and my god-phere' (IV. i). The priest is 'Canon' or 'Sir' Hugh, and has a 'Latin tongue' (III. vii). 'Old John Heywood' is alive (V. ii).

In 1619 Jonson told Drummond (Laing, 27) 'That the half of his Comedies were not in print'. The unprinted ones of course included *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Devil is an Ass*. He went on to describe 'a pastorall intitled The May Lord', in which he figured himself as Alkin. As it had a 'first storie', it may not have been dramatic. But Alkin appears in *The Sad Shepherd*, a fragment of a dramatic pastoral, printed in F_2 with a prologue in which Jonson describes himself as 'He that hath feasted you these forty yeares', and which therefore cannot have been written long before his death in 1637. This is edited by W. W. Greg (1905, *Materialien*, xi) with an elaborate discussion in which he arrives at the sound conclusions that the theory of its substantial identity with *The May Lord* must be rejected, and that there is no definite evidence to oppose to the apparent indication of its date in the prologue.

It is doubtful whether any of Jonson's early work for Pembroke's and the Admiral's, except perhaps *The Case is Altered*, ever found its way into print. The record of all the following plays, except the first, is in Henslowe's diary (cf. Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 288).

(*a*) *The Isle of Dogs*.

See s.v. Nashe.

(*b*) On 3 Dec. 1597 he received £1 'vpon a boocke w^{ch} he showed the plotte vnto the company w^{ch} he promysed to dd vnto the company at crysmas'. It is just possible that this was *Dido and Aeneas*, produced by the Admiral's on 8 Jan. 1598. But no further payment to Jonson is recorded, and it is more likely that *Dido and Aeneas* was taken over from Pembroke's repertory; and it may be that Jonson had not carried out his contract before the fray with Spencer in Sept. 1598, and that this is the 'Bengemens plotte' on which Chapman was writing a tragedy on the following 23 Oct. The theory that it is the *Fall of Mortimer*, still little more than a plot when Jonson died, may safely be rejected (Henslowe, ii. 188, 199, 224).

(*c*) *Hot Anger Soon Cold*.

Written with Chettle and Porter in Aug. 1598 (Henslowe, ii. 196).

(*d*) *Page of Plymouth*.

Written with Dekker in Aug. and Sept. 1599 (Henslowe, ii. 205).

(*e*) *Robert the Second, King of Scots*.

A tragedy, written with Chettle, Dekker, '& other Jentellman' (probably Marston) in Sept. 1599 (Henslowe, ii. 205).

(*f*) Additions to *Jeronimo*.

See s.v. Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*.

(*g*) *Richard Crookback*.

For this Jonson received a sum 'in earnest' on 22 June 1602, but it is not certain that it was ever finished (Henslowe, ii. 222).

Doubtful Plays

Jonson's hand has been sought in *The Captain* of the Beaumont (q.v.) and Fletcher series, and the anonymous *Puritan* (cf. ch. xxiv).

MASKS

Mask of Blackness. 6 Jan. 1605

[*MS.*] *Brit. Mus. Royal MS.* 17 B. xxxi. ['The Twelvth Nights Reuells.' Not holograph, but signed 'Hos ego versiculos feci. Ben. Jonson.' A shorter text than that of the printed descriptions, in present tense, as for a programme.]

S. R. 1608, April 21 (Buck). 'The Characters of Twoo Royall Maskes. Invented by Ben. Johnson.' *Thomas Thorpe* (Arber, iii. 375).

N.D. The Characters of Two royall Masques. The one of Blacknesse, The other of Beautie. personated By the most magnificent of Queenes Anne Queene of Great Britaine, &c. With her honorable Ladyes, 1605. and 1608. at White-hall: and Inuented by Ben: Ionson. *For Thomas Thorp.*

1616. The Queenes Masques. The first, Of Blacknesse: Personated at the Court, at White-Hall, on the Twelu'th night, 1605. [Part of F_1.]

Edition in J. P. Collier, *Five Court Masques* (1848, *Sh. Soc.* from MS.).

The maskers, in azure and silver, were twelve nymphs, 'negroes and the daughters of Niger'; the torchbearers, in sea-green, Oceaniae; the presenters Oceanus, Niger, and Aethiopia the Moon; the musicians Tritons, Sea-maids, and Echoes.

The locality was the old Elizabethan banqueting-house at Whitehall (Carleton; Office of Works). The curtain represented a 'landtschap' of woods with hunting scenes, 'which falling', according to the Quarto, 'an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth'. The MS. describes the landscape as 'drawne uppon a downe right cloth, strayned for the scene, ... which openinge in manner of a curtine', the sea shoots forth. On the sea were the maskers in a concave shell, and the torchbearers borne by sea-monsters.

The maskers, on landing, presented their fans. They gave 'their own single dance', and then made 'choice of their men' for 'several measures and corantoes'. A final dance took them back to their shell.

This was a Queen's mask, danced by the Queen, the Countesses of Bedford, Derby, and Suffolk, the Ladies Rich, Bevill, Howard of Effingham, Wroth, and Walsingham, Lady Elizabeth Howard, Anne Lady Herbert, and Susan Lady Herbert. The 'bodily part' was the 'design and act' of Inigo Jones.

Sir Thomas Edmondes told Lord Shrewsbury on 5 Dec. that the mask was to cost the Exchequer £3,000 (Lodge, iii. 114). The same sum was stated by Chamberlain to Winwood on 18 Dec. to have been 'delivered a month ago' (Winwood, ii. 41). Molin (*V. P.* x. 201) reported the amount on 19 Dec. as 25,000 crowns. On 12 Dec. John Packer wrote to Winwood of the preparations, and after naming some of the maskers added, 'The Lady of Northumberland is excused by sickness, Lady Hartford by the measles. Lady of Nottingham hath the polypus in her nostril, which some fear must be cut off. The Lady Hatton would feign have had a part, but some unknown reason kept her out' (Winwood, ii. 39). The performance was described by Carleton to Winwood, as following the creation of Prince Charles as Duke of York on 6 Jan. (Winwood, ii. 44): 'At night we had the Queen's maske in the Banquetting-House, or rather her pagent. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by Moors: The indecorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell in form of a skallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the Queen with my Lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the Ladies Suffolk, Darby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham, and Bevil. Their apparell was rich, but too light and curtizan-like for such great ones. Instead of vizzards, their faces, and arms up to the elbows, were painted black, which was disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; but it became them nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly sight, then a troop of lean-cheek'd Moors. The Spanish and Venetian ambassadors were both present, and sate by the King in state, at which Monsieur Beaumont quarrells so extreamly, that he saith the whole court is Spanish. But by his favour, he should fall out with none but himself, for they were all indifferently invited to come as private men, to a private sport; which he refusing, the Spanish ambassador willingly accepted, and being there, seeing no cause to the contrary, he put off Don Taxis, and took upon him El Señor Embaxadour, wherein he outstript our little Monsieur. He was . . . taken out to dance, and footed it like a lusty old gallant with his country woman. He took out the Queen, and forgot not to kiss her hand, though there was danger it would have left a mark on his lips. The night's work was concluded with a banquet in the great Chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went table and tressels before one bit was touched.' Carleton gives some additional information in another account, which he sent to Chamberlain on 7 Jan. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xii. 6, quoted by Sullivan, 28), as that the 'black faces and hands, which were painted and bare up to the elbowes, was a very lothsome sight', and he was 'sory that strangers should see owr court so strangely disguised'; that 'the confusion in getting in was so great, that some Ladies lie by it and complain of the fury of the white stafes'; that 'in the passages through the galleries they were shutt up in several heapes betwixt dores and there stayed till all was ended'; and that there were losses 'of chaynes, jewels, purces and such like loose ware'. References in letters to one Benson and by the Earl of Errol to Cecil (*S. P. D, Jac. I*, xii. 16; xix. 25) add nothing material. Carleton's account of the triumph of the Spanish ambassador is confirmed by reports of the Venetian (*V. P.* x. 212) and French (*B. M. King's MS.* cxxvii, ff. 117, 127^v, 177^v; cf. Sullivan, 196–8) ambassadors. Beaumont had pleaded illness in order to avoid attending a mask on 27 Dec. 1604 in private, and the Court chose to assume that he was still ill on 6 Jan. This gave De Taxis and Molin an opening to get their private invitations converted into public ones. Beaumont lost his temper and accused Sir Lewis Lewknor and other officials of intriguing against him, but he had to accept his defeat.

The Accounts of the Master of the Revels (Cunningham, 204) record 'The Queens Ma^{tis} Maske of Moures with Aleven Laydies of honnour' as given on 6 Jan. Reyher, 358, 520, notes references to the mask in accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber and of the Office of Works, and quotes from the latter items for 'framinge and settinge vpp of a great stage in the banquettinge house xl foote square and iiij^{or} foote in heighte with wheeles to goe on . . . framinge and settinge vpp an other stage'.

Many of the notices of the Queen's mask also refer to another mask which was performed 'among the noblemen and gentlemen' (Lodge, iii. 114) on 27 Dec. 1604, at the wedding of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. The bride was herself a dancer in the Queen's mask. The wedding mask, the subject of which was Juno and Hymenaeus, is unfortunately lost. The Revels Accounts (Cunningham, 204) tell us that it was 'presented by the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Willowbie and 6 Knightes more of the Court', and Stowe's *Chronicle*, 856, briefly records 'braue Masks of the most noble ladies'. Carleton gave Winwood details of the wedding, and said (Winwood, ii. 43): 'At night there was a mask in the Hall, which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion. The actors were the Earle of Pembrook, the Lord Willoby, Sir Samuel [James ?] Hays, Sir Thomas Germain, Sir Robert Cary, Sir John Lee, Sir Richard Preston, and Sir Thomas Bager. There was no smal loss that night of chaines and jewells, and many great ladies were made shorter by the skirts, and were well enough served that they could keep cut no better.' Carleton wrote to Chamberlain (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xii. 6, quoted by Sullivan, 25): 'Theyre conceit was a representacion of Junoes temple at the lower end of the great hall, which was vawted and within it the maskers seated with staves of lights about them, and it was no ill shew. They were brought in by the fower seasons of the yeare and Hymeneus: which for songs and speaches was as goode as a play. Theyre apparel was rather costly then cumly; but theyr dancing full of life and variety; onely S^{r} Tho: Germain had lead in his heales and sometimes forgott what he was doing.' There was a diplomatic contretemps on this occasion. At the wedding dinner the Venetian ambassador Molin was given precedence of the Queen's brother, the Duke of Holstein, to the annoyance of the latter. But after dinner Molin was led to a closet and forgotten there until supper was already begun. Meanwhile the Duke took his place. There was a personal apology from the King, and at the mask Molin was given a stool in the royal box to the right of the King, and the Duke one to the left of the Queen. He preferred to stand for three hours rather than make use of it (Winwood, ii. 43; Sullivan, 25; *V. P.* x. 206).

Carleton wrote to Winwood (ii. 44), 'They say the Duke of Holst will come upon us with an after reckoning, and that we shall see him on Candlemas night in a mask, as he hath shewed himself a lusty reveller all this Christmas'. But if this mask ever took place, nothing is known of it.

Hymenaei. *5 Jan. 1606*

1606. Hymenaei: or The Solemnities of Masque, and Barriers, Magnificently performed on the eleventh, and twelfth Nights, from Christmas; At Court: To the auspicious celebrating of the Marriage-vnion, betweene Robert, Earle of Essex, and the Lady Frances, second Daughter to the most noble Earle of Suffolke. By Ben: Ionson. *Valentine Sims for Thomas Thorp.*

1616. Hymenaei, or The solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage. [Part of F_1.]

This was a double mask of eight men and eight women. The men, in carnation cloth of silver, with variously coloured mantles and watchet cloth of silver bases, were Humours and Affections; the women, in white cloth of silver, with carnation and blue under-garments, the Powers of Juno; the presenters Hymen, with a bride, bridegroom, and bridal train, Reason, and Order; the musicians the Hours.

The locality was probably the Elizabethan banqueting-house, which seems to have been repaired in 1604 (Reyher, 340). 'The scene being drawn' discovered first an altar for Hymen and 'a microcosm or globe', which turned and disclosed the men maskers in a 'mine' or 'grot'. On either side of the globe stood great statues of Hercules and Atlas. They bore up the 'upper part of the scene', representing clouds, which opened to disclose the upper regions, whence the women descended on *nimbi*.

Each set of maskers had a dance at entry. They then danced together a measure with strains 'all notably different, some of them formed into letters very signifying to the name of the bridegroom'. This done, they 'dissolved' and took forth others for measures, galliards, and corantoes. After these 'intermixed dances' came 'their last dances', and they departed in a bridal procession with an epithalamion.

The mask was in honour of the wedding of the Earl of Essex and Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, and was probably given by their friends. The only Household expenses appear to have been for the making ready of the room (Reyher, 520), but Lady Rutland's share seems to have cost the Earl over £100 (*Hist. MSS. Rutland Accounts*, iv. 457). The dancers were the Countesses of Montgomery, Bedford, and Rutland, the Ladies Knollys, Berkeley, Dorothy Hastings, and Blanch Somerset, and Mrs. A. Sackville, with the Earls of Montgomery and Arundel, Lords Willoughby and Howard de Walden, Sir James Hay, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir Thomas Somerset, and Sir John Ashley. The 'design and act' and the device of the costumes were by Inigo Jones, the songs by Alphonso Ferrabosco, and the dances by Thomas Giles.

On the next day followed a Barriers, in which, after a dialogue by

Jonson between Truth and Opinion, sixteen knights fought on the side of either disputant (cf. vol. i, p. 146).

The following account was sent by John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton on 7 Jan. (*B.M. Cotton MS. Julius* C. iii. 301, printed in Goodman, ii. 124; Collier, i. 350; Birch, i. 42; Sullivan, 199):

> 'I haue seen both the mask on Sunday and the barriers on Mundy night. The Bridegroom carried himself as grauely and gracefully as if he were of his fathers age. He had greater guiftes giuen him then my lord Montgomery had, his plate being valued at 3000£ and his jewels, mony and other guiftes at 1600£ more. But to returne to the maske; both Inigo, Ben, and the actors men and women did their partes with great commendation. The conceite or soule of the mask was Hymen bringing in a bride and Juno pronuba's priest a bridegroom, proclaiming those two should be sacrificed to nuptial vnion, and here the poet made an apostrophe to the vnion of the kingdoms. But before the sacrifice could be performed, Ben Jonson turned the globe of the earth standing behind the altar, and within the concaue sate the 8 men-maskers representing the 4 humours and the fower affections which leapt forth to disturb the sacrifice to vnion; but amidst their fury Reason that sate aboue them all, crowned with burning tapers, came down and silenced them. These eight together with Reason their moderatresse mounted aboue their heades, sate somewhat like the ladies in the scallop shell the last year. Aboue the globe of erth houered a middle region of cloudes in the center wherof stood a grand consort of musicians, and vpon the cantons or hornes sate the ladies 4 at one corner, and 4 at another, who descended vpon the stage, not after the stale downright perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well; but came gently sloping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the 8 nuptial powers of Juno pronuba who came downe to confirme the vnion. The men were clad in crimzon and the weomen in white. They had euery one a white plume of the richest herons fethers, and were so rich in jewels vpon their heades as was most glorious. I think they hired and borrowed all the principal jewels and ropes of perle both in court and citty. The Spanish ambassador seemed but poore to the meanest of them. They danced all variety of dances, both seuerally and promiscue; and then the women took in men as namely the Prince (who danced with as great perfection and as setled a maiesty as could be deuised) the Spanish ambassador, the Archdukes Ambassador, the Duke, etc., and the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride, and the greatest of the ladies. The second night the barriers were as well performed by fifteen against fifteen; the Duke of Lennox being chieftain on the one side, and my Lord of Sussex on the other.'

Mask of Beauty. 10 Jan. 1608

S. R. 1608, 21 April. [See *Mask of Blackness.*]

N.D. [See *Mask of Blackness.*]

1616. The Second Masque. Which was of Beautie; Was presented in the same Court, at White-Hall, on the Sunday night after the Twelfth Night. 1608. [Part of F_1.] The maskers, in orange-tawny and silver and green and silver, were the twelve Daughters of Niger of the Mask of Blackness, now laved white, with four more; the torchbearers Cupids; the presenters January, Boreas, Vulturnus, Thamesis; the musicians Echoes and Shades of old Poets.

The locality was the new banqueting-house at Whitehall. January was throned in midst of the house. The curtain, representing Night, was drawn to discover the maskers on a Throne of Beauty, borne by a floating isle.

The maskers gave two dances, which were repeated at the King's request, and then danced 'with the lords'. They danced galliards and corantoes. They then gave a third dance, and a fourth, which took them into their throne again.

This was a Queen's mask, danced by the Queen, Arabella Stuart, the Countesses of Arundel, Derby, Bedford, and Montgomery, and the Ladies Elizabeth Guildford, Katherine Petre, Anne Winter, Windsor, Anne Clifford, Mary Neville, Elizabeth Hatton, Elizabeth Gerard, Chichester, and Walsingham. The torchbearers were 'chosen out of the best and ingenious youth of the Kingdom'. The scene was 'put in act' by the King's master carpenter. Thomas Giles made the dances and played Thamesis.

The mask was announced by 9 Dec. (*V. P.* xi. 74). On 10 Dec. La Boderie (ii. 490) reported that it would cost 6,000 or 7,000 crowns, and that nearly all the ladies invited by the Queen to take part in it were Catholics. Anne's preparations were in swing before 17 Dec. (*V. P.* xi. 76). On 22 Dec. La Boderie reported (iii. 6) that he had underestimated the cost, which would not be less than 30,000 crowns, and was causing much annoyance to the Privy Council. On 31 Dec. Donne (*Letters*, i. 182) intended to deliver a letter 'when the rage of the mask is past'. Lord Arundel notes his wife's practising early in Jan. (Lodge, App. 124). The original date was 6 Jan. 'The Mask goes forward for Twelfth-day', wrote Chamberlain to Carleton on 5 Jan. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xxxi. 2; Birch, i. 69), 'though I doubt the new room will be scant ready'. But on 8 Jan. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xxxi. 4; Birch, i. 71) he wrote again:

> 'We had great hopes of having you here this day, and then I would not have given my part of the mask for any of their places that shall be present, for I suppose you and your lady would find easily passage, being so befriended; for the show is put off till Sunday, by reason that all things are not ready. Whatsoever the device may be, and what success they may have in their dancing, yet you would have been sure to have seen great riches in jewels, when one lady, and that under a baroness, is said to be furnished far better then a hundred thousand pounds. And the Lady Arabella goes beyond her; and the queen must not come behind.'

The delay was really due to ambassadorial complications, which are reported by Giustinian (*V. P.* xi. 83, 86) and very fully by La Boderie (iii. 1–75; cf. Sullivan, 35, 201). The original intention was to invite the Spanish and Venetian, but not the French and Flemish ambassadors. This, according to Giustinian, offended La Boderie, because Venice was 'the nobler company'. But the real sting lay in the invitation to Spain. This was represented to La Boderie about 23 Dec. as the personal act of Anne, in the face of a remonstrance by James on the ground of the preference already shown to Spain in 1605. La Boderie replied that he had already been slighted at the King of Denmark's visit, that the mask was a public occasion, and that Henri would certainly hold James responsible. A few days later he was told that James was greatly annoyed at his wife's levity, and would ask him and the Venetian ambassador to dinner; but La Boderie refused to accept this as a compliment equivalent to seeing the Queen dance, and supping with the King before 10,000 persons. He urged that both ambassadors or neither should be invited, and hinted that, if Anne was so openly Spanish in her tendencies, Henri might feel obliged to leave the mission in charge of a secretary. An offer was made to invite La Boderie's wife, but this he naturally refused. The Council tried in vain to make Anne hear reason, but finally let the mask proceed, and countered Henri diplomatically by calling his attention to the money debts due from France to England. Meanwhile Giustinian had pressed for his own invitation in place of the Flemish ambassador, and obtained it. The Spanish and Venetian ambassadors were therefore present. La Boderie reported that much attention was paid to Giustinian, and little to the Spanish ambassador, and also that James was so angry with Anne that he left for a hunting trip the next day without seeing her. Giustinian admired the mask, which was, James told him (*V. P.* xi. 86), 'to consecrate the birth of the Great Hall, which his predecessors had left him built merely in wood, but which he had converted into stone'. Probably this is the mask described in a letter of Lady Pembroke to Lord Shrewsbury calendared without date among letters of 1607–8 in Lodge, iii, App. 121. On 28 Jan. the Spanish ambassador invited the fifteen ladies who had danced to dinner (Lodge, iii. 223; La Boderie, iii. 81). On 29 Jan. Lord Lisle wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury regretting that he could not send him the verses, because Ben Jonson was busy writing more for the Haddington wedding (Lodge, App. 102).

A warrant for expenses was signed 11 Dec. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xxviii). A payment was made to Bethell (Reyher, 520).

Lord Haddington's Mask [*The Hue and Cry after Cupid*]. *9 Feb. 1608*

N.D. The Description of the Masque. With the Nuptiall Songs. Celebrating the happy Marriage of Iohn, Lord Ramsey, Viscount Hadington, with the Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, Daughter to the right Honor: Robert, Earle of Sussex. At Court On the Shroue-Tuesday at night. 1608. Deuised by Ben: Ionson. [*No imprint.*]

1616. [Part of F_1.] The maskers were the twelve Signs of the Zodiac in carnation and silver; the antimaskers Cupid and twelve Joci and Risus, who danced 'with their antic faces'; the presenters Venus, the Graces and Cupid, Hymen, Vulcan and the Cyclopes; the musicians Priests of Hymen, while the Cyclopes beat time with their sledges.

Pilasters hung with amorous trophies supported gigantic figures of Triumph and Victory 'in place of the arch, and holding a gyrlond of myrtle for the key'. The scene was a steep red cliff (Radcliffe), over which clouds broke for the issue of the chariot of Venus. After the antimasque, the cliff parted, to discover the maskers in a turning sphere of silver. The maskers gave four dances, interspersed with verses of an epithalamion. The mask was given by the maskers, seven Scottish and five English lords and gentlemen, the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Montgomery, Lords D'Aubigny, De Walden, Hay, and Sanquhar, the Master of Mar, Sir Robert Rich, Sir John Kennedy, and Mr. Erskine. (Quarto and Lodge, iii. 223.) The 'device and act of the scene' were supplied by Inigo Jones, the tunes by Alphonso Ferrabosco, and two dances each by Hierome Herne and Thomas Giles, who also beat time as Cyclopes.

Rowland White told Lord Shrewsbury on 26 Jan. that the mask was 'now the only thing thought upon at court', and would cost the maskers about £300 a man (Lodge, iii. 223). Jonson was busy with the verses on 29 Jan. (Lodge, App. 102).

Sussex and Haddington intended to ask the French ambassador both to the wedding dinner and to the mask and banquet, but the Lord Chamberlain, having Spanish sympathies, would not consent. In the end he was asked by James himself to the mask and banquet, at which Prince Henry would preside. He accepted, and suggested that Henri should present Haddington with a ring, but this was not done. He thought the mask 'assez maigre', but Anne was very gracious, and James regretted that etiquette did not allow him to sit at the banquet in person. La Boderie's wife and daughter, who danced with the Duke of York, were also present. Unfortunately he did not receive in time an instruction from Paris to keep away if the Flemish ambassador was asked, and did not protest against this invitation on his own responsibility, partly out of annoyance with the Venetian for attending the Queen's mask without him, and partly for fear of losing his own invitation. The Fleming had had far less consideration than himself (La Boderie, iii. 75–144). So both the French and the Flemish ambassador were present, with two princes of Saxony (*V. P.* xi. 97).

English criticisms were more kindly than La Boderie's. Sir Henry Saville described it to Sir Richard Beaumont on the same night as a 'singular brave mask', at which he had been until three in the morning (*Beaumont Papers*, 17), and Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on 11 Feb. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xxxi. 26; Birch, i. 72): 'I can send you no perfect relation of the marriage nor mask on Tuesday, only they say all, but especially the motions, were well performed; as Venus, with her chariot drawn by swans, coming in a cloud to seek her son; who with his companions, Lusus, Risus, and Janus [? Jocus], and four or five more wags, were dancing a matachina, and acted it very antiquely, before the twelve signs, who were the master maskers, descended from the zodiac, and played their parts more gravely, being very gracefully attired.'

Mask of Queens. 2 Feb. 1609

[*MSS.*] (a) *B.M. Harl. MS.* 6947, f. 143 (printed Reyher, 506). [Apparently a short descriptive analysis or programme, without the words of the dialogue and songs.]

(b) *B.M. Royal MS.* 18 A. xlv. [Holograph. Epistle to Prince Henry.]

S. R. 1609, Feb. 22 (Segar). 'A booke called, The maske of Queenes Celebrated, done by Beniamin Johnson.' *Richard Bonion and Henry Walley* (Arber, iii. 402).

1609. The Masque of Queenes Celebrated From the House of Fame: By the most absolute in all State, And Titles. Anne, Queene of Great Britaine, &c. With her Honourable Ladies. At White Hall, Febr. 2. 1609. Written by Ben: Ionson. *N. Okes for R. Bonian and H. Wally.* [Epistle to Prince Henry.]

1616. [Part of F_1.]

Edition in J. P. Collier, *Five Court Masques* (1848, *Sh. Soc.* from *Royal MS.*).

Jonson prefaces that 'because Her Majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance, or shew, that might precede hers, and have the place of a foil, or false masque: I was careful to decline, not only from others, but mine own steps in that kind, since the last year, I had an antimasque of boys; and therefore now devised that twelve women, in the habit of hags or witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, &c., the opposites to good Fame, should fill that part, not as a masque, but as a spectacle of strangeness' [it is called a 'maske' in the programme] 'producing multiplicity of gesture, and not unaptly sorting with the current and whole fall of the device'.

The maskers, in various habits, eight designs for which are in *Sh. England*, ii. 311, were Bel-Anna and eleven other Queens, who were attended by torchbearers; the antimaskers eleven Hags and their dame Ate; the presenters Perseus or Heroic Virtue and Fame.

The locality was the new banqueting-house at Whitehall (*T. of C. Acct.*, quoted by Sullivan, 54). The scene at first represented a Hell, whence the antimask issued. In the middle of a 'magical dance' it vanished at a blast of music, 'and the whole face of the scene altered', becoming the House of Fame, a '*machina versatilis*', which showed first Perseus and the maskers and then Fame. Descending, the maskers made their entry in three chariots, to which the Hags were bound. They danced their first and second dances; then 'took out the men, and danced the measures' for nearly an hour. After an interval for a song, came their third dance, 'graphically disposed into letters, and honouring the name of the most sweet and ingenious Prince, Charles Duke of York'. Galliards and corantoes followed, and after their 'last dance' they returned in their chariots to the House of Fame.

This was a Queen's mask, danced by the Queen, the Countesses of Arundel, Derby, Huntingdon, Bedford, Essex, and Montgomery, the Viscountess Cranborne, and the Ladies Elizabeth Guildford, Anne Winter, Windsor, and Anne Clifford. Inigo Jones was responsible for the attire of the Hags, and 'the invention and architecture of the whole scene and machine'; Alphonso Ferrabosco for the airs of the songs; Thomas Giles for the third dance, and Hierome Herne for the dance of Hags. John Allen, 'her Majesty's servant', sang a ditty between the measures and the third dance.

As early as 14 Nov. Donne wrote to Sir Henry Goodyere (*Letters*, i. 199), 'The King . . . hath left with the Queen a commandment to meditate upon a masque for Christmas, so that they grow serious about that already'. The performance was originally intended for 6 Jan. (*V. P.* xi. 219), but on 10 Jan. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton (Birch, i. 87), 'The mask at court is put off till Candlemas, as it is thought the Spaniard may be gone, for the French ambassador hath been so long and so much neglected, that it is doubted more would not be well endured'. The intrigues which determined this delay are described in the diplomatic correspondence of the French and Venetian ambassadors (La Boderie, iv. 104, 123, 136, 145, 175, 228; *V. P.* xi. 212, 219, 222, 231, 234; cf. Sullivan, 47, 212). Hints of a *rapprochement* between France and Spain had made James anxious to conciliate Henri IV. Even Anne had learnt discretion, and desired that La Boderie should be present at the mask. He was advised by Salisbury to ask for an invitation, which he did, through his wife and Lady Bedford. He had instructions from Henri to retire from Court and leave a secretary in charge if his master's dignity was compromised. Unfortunately the Spanish ambassador leiger was reinforced by an ambassador extraordinary, Don Fernandez de Girone, and took advantage of this to press on his side for an invitation. Etiquette gave a precedence to ambassadors extraordinary, and all that could be done was to wait until Don Fernandez was gone. This was not until 1 Feb. La Boderie was at the mask, and treated with much courtesy. He excused himself from dancing, but the Duke of York took out his daughter, and he supped with the King and the princes. He found the mask 'fort riche, et s'il m'est loisible de le dire, plus superbe qu'ingenieux'. He also thought that of the 'intermédes' there were 'trop et d'assez tristes'. The Spanish influence, however, was sufficiently strong, when exercised on behalf of Flanders, to disappoint the Venetian ambassador of a promised invitation, and La Boderie was the only diplomatic representative present. Anne asked Correr to come privately, but this he would not do, and she said she should trouble herself no more about masks.

It was at first intended to limit the cost of the mask to £1,000, but on 27 Nov. Sir Thomas Lake wrote to Salisbury that the King would allow a 'reasonable encrease' upon this, and had agreed that certain lords should sign and allow bills for the charges (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xxxvii. 96, printed and misdated 1607 in Sullivan, 201). This duty was apparently assigned to Lord Suffolk as Lord Chamberlain and Lord Worcester as Master of the Horse, in whose names a warrant was issued on 1 Dec. (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, xxxviii. 1). The financial documents cited by Reyher, 520, suggest that the actual payments passed through the hands of Inigo Jones and Henry Reynolds. Reyher, 72, reckons the total cost at near £5,000. This seems very high. A contemporary writer, W. Ffarrington (*Chetham Soc.* xxxix. 151), gives the estimate of 'them that had a hand in the business as "at the leaste two thousand pounde"'.

Oberon, the Faery Prince. *1 Jan. 1611*

1616. Oberon the Faery Prince. A Masque of Prince Henries. *W. Stansby, sold by Richard Meighen.* [Part of F_1.]

The maskers were Oberon and his Knights, accompanied by the Faies, 'some bearing lights'; the antimaskers Satyrs; the presenters Sylvans; some of the musicians Satyrs and Faies.

This was 'a very stately maske . . . in the beautifull roome at Whitehall, which roome is generally called the Banquetting house; and the King new builded it about foure yeeres past' (Stowe, *Annales*, 910). 'The first face of the scene' was a cliff, from which the antimask issued. The scene opened to discover the front of a palace, and this again, after 'an antick dance' ended by the crowing of the cock, to disclose 'the nation of Faies', with the maskers on 'sieges' and Oberon in a chariot drawn by two white bears. 'The lesser Faies' danced; then came a first and second 'masque-dance', then 'measures, corantos, galliards, etc.', and finally a 'last dance into the work'.

This was a Prince's mask, and clearly Henry was Oberon, but the names of the other maskers are not preserved.

Henry's preparation for a mask is mentioned on 15 Nov. by Correr, who reports that he would have liked it to be on horseback, if James had consented (*V. P.* xii. 79), on 3 Dec. by Thomas Screven (*Rutland MSS.* iv. 211), 'The Prince is com to St. James and prepareth for a mask', and on 15 Dec. by John More (Winwood, iii. 239), 'Yet doth the Prince make but one mask'.

The diplomatic tendency at this time was to detach France from growing relations from Spain, and it was intended that both the masks of the winter 1610–11 should serve to entertain the Marshal de Laverdin, expected as ambassador extraordinary from Paris for the signature of a treaty. But the Regent Marie de Médicis was not anxious to emphasize the occasion, and the Marshal did not arrive in time for the Prince's mask, which took place on 1 Jan. 'It looked', says Correr, 'as though he did not understand the honour done him by the King and the Prince.' The Spanish and Venetian ambassadors were therefore invited, and were present. The Dutch ambassador was invited, but professed illness, to avoid complications with the Spaniard. Correr found the mask 'very beautiful throughout, very decorative, but most remarkable for the grace of the Prince's every movement' (*Rutland MSS.* i. 426; *V. P.* xii. 101, 106; cf. Sullivan, 61).

None of the above notices in fact identify Henry's mask of 1 Jan. 1611 with the undated *Oberon*, but proof is forthcoming from an Exchequer payment of May 1611 for 'the late Princes barriers and masks' (text in Reyher, 511) which specifies 'the Satires and faeries'. The amount was £247 9*s.*, and the items include payments to composers, musicians, and players. We learn that [Robert] Johnson and [Thomas] Giles provided the dances, and Alphonse [Ferrabosco] singers and lutenists, that the violins were Thomas Lupo the elder, Alexander Chisan, and Rowland Rubidge, and that 'xiij^{n} Holt boyes' were employed, presumably as fays. There is a sum of £15 for 'players imployed in the maske' and £15 more for 'players imployed in the barriers', about which barriers no more is known. This account, subscribed by Sir Thomas Chaloner, by no means exhausts the expense of the mask. Other financial documents (Devon, 131, 134, 136; cf. Reyher, 521) show payments of £40 each to Jonson and Inigo Jones, and £20 each to Ferrabosco, Jerome Herne, and Confess. These were from the Exchequer. An additional £16 to Inigo Jones 'devyser for the saide maske' fell upon Henry's privy purse, together with heavy bills to mercers and other tradesmen, amounting to £1,076 6*s.* 10*d.* (Cunningham, viii, from *Audit Office Declared Accts.*). Correr had reported on 22 Nov. that neither of the masks of this winter was to 'be so costly as last year's, which to say sooth was excessively costly' (*V. P.* xii. 86). The anticipation can hardly have been fulfilled. I suppose that 'last year's' means the *Tethys' Festival* of June 1610, as no mask during the winter of 1609–10 is traceable.

Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly. 3 Feb. 1611

1616. A Masque of her Maiesties. Love freed from Ignorance and Folly. *W. Stansby, sold by Richard Meighen.* [Part of F_1.]

The maskers were eleven Daughters of the Morn, led by the Queen of the Orient; the antimaskers twelve Follies or She-Fools; the presenters Cupid and Ignorance, a Sphinx; the musicians twelve Priests of the Muses, who also danced a measure, and three Graces, with others.

The locality was probably the banqueting-hall. The scene is not described. There were two 'masque-dances', with 'measures and revels' between them. This was a Queen's mask, but the names of the maskers are not preserved.

John More wrote on 15 Dec. (Winwood, iii. 239), 'Yet doth the Prince make but one mask, and the Queen but two, which doth cost her majesty but £600.' Perhaps the writer was mistaken. Anne had not given more than one mask in any winter, nor is there any trace of a second in that of 1610–11. Correr, on 22 Nov., anticipates one only, not to be so costly as last year's. It was to precede the Prince's. It was, however, put off to Twelfth Night, and then again to Candlemas, 'either because the stage machinery is not in order, or because their Majesties thought it well to let the Marshal depart first'. This was Marshal de Laverdin, whose departure from France as ambassador extraordinary was delayed (cf. *Mask of Oberon*). He was present at the mask when it actually took place on 3 Feb., the day after Candlemas. Apparently the Venetian ambassador was also invited. (*V. P.* xii. 86, 101, 106, 110, 115.)

Several financial documents bearing on the mask exist (*S. P. D. Jac. I,* lvii, Nov.; Devon, 135; Reyher, 509, 521), and show that the contemplated £600 was in fact exceeded. An account signed by the Earls of Suffolk and Worcester, to whom the oversight of the charges was doubtless assigned as Household officers, shows that in addition to £600 14*s.* 3*d.* spent in defraying the bills of Inigo Jones and others and in rewards, there was a further expenditure of

£118 7*s.* by the Wardrobe, and even then no items are included for the dresses of the main maskers, which were probably paid for by the wearers. The rewards include £2 each to five boys who played the Graces, Sphinx, and Cupid, and £1 each to the twelve Fools. This enables us to identify Jonson's undated mask with that of 1611. Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones had £40 each; Alphonso [Ferrabosco] £20 for the songs; [Robert] Johnson and Thomas Lupo £5 each for setting the songs to lutes and setting the dances to violins, and Confess and Bochan £50 and £20 for teaching the dances.

Love Restored. *6 Jan. 1612*

1616. Love Restored, In a Masque at Court, by Gentlemen the Kings Seruants. *W. Stansby, sold by Richard Meighen.* [Part of F_1.]

The maskers were the ten Ornaments of Court—Honour, Courtesy, Valour, Urbanity, Confidence, Alacrity, Promptness, Industry, Hability, Reality; the presenters Masquerado, Plutus, Robin Goodfellow, and Cupid, who entered in a chariot attended by the maskers. There were three dances. Jonson's description is exceptionally meagre.

The dialogue finds its humour in the details of mask-presentation themselves. Masquerado, in his vizard, apologizes for the absence of musicians and the hoarseness of 'the rogue play-boy, that acts Cupid'. Plutus criticizes the expense and the corruption of manners involved in masks. Robin Goodfellow narrates his difficulties in obtaining access. He has tried in vain to get through the Woodyard on to the Terrace, but the Guard pushed him off a ladder into the Verge. The Carpenters' way also failed him. He has offered, or thought of offering, himself as an 'enginer' belonging to the 'motions', but they were 'ceased'; as an old tire-woman; as a musician; as a feather-maker of Blackfriars; as a 'bombard man', carrying 'bouge' to country ladies who had fasted for the fine sight since seven in the morning; as a citizen's wife, exposed to the liberties of the 'black-guard'; as a wireman or a chandler; and finally in his own shape as 'part of the Device'.

There are several financial documents relating to a mask at Christmas 1611, for which funds were issued to one Meredith Morgan (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxvii, Dec.; lxviii, Jan.; Reyher, 521). The Revels Account (Cunningham, 211) records a 'princes Mask performed by Gentelmen of his High [ ]' on 6 Jan. 1612. According to Chamberlain, the Queen was at Greenwich 'practising for a new mask' on 20 Nov., but this was put off in December as 'unseasonable' so soon after the death of the Queen of Spain (Birch, i. 148, 152). Jonson does not date *Love Restored*, but Dr. Brotanek has successfully assigned it to 1611–12 on the ground of its reference to 'the Christmas cut-purse', of whom Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on 31 Dec. 1611 that 'a cut-purse, taken in the Chapel Royal, will be executed' (Brotanek, 347; cf. *S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxvii. 117, and *Bartholomew Fair* (*1614*), III. v. 132). This was one John Selman, executed on 7 Jan. 1612 for picking the pocket of Leonard Barry, servant to Lord Harington, on Christmas Day (Rye, 269). I may add that Robin Goodfellow, when pretending to be concerned with the motions, was asked if he were 'the fighting bear of last year', and that the chariot of Oberon on 1 Jan. 1611 was drawn by white bears. There is, of course, nothing inconsistent in a Prince's mask being performed by King's servants, and the 'High[ness]' of the Revels Account may mean James, just as well as Henry. Simpson (*E. M.* 1. xxxiv) puts *Love Restored* in 1613-14, as connected with the tilt (cf. p. 393), but there is no room for it (cf. p. 246).

The Irish Mask. 29 Dec. 1613

1616. The Irish Masque at Court, by Gentlemen the Kings Servants. *W. Stansby, sold by Richard Meighen.* [Part of F_1.]

The maskers were twelve Irish Gentlemen, first in mantles, then without; the antimaskers their twelve Footmen; the presenters a Citizen and a Gentleman; one of the musicians an Irish bard. The Footmen dance 'to the bag-pipe and other rude music', after which the Gentlemen 'dance forth' twice.

The antimaskers say that their lords have come to the bridal of 'ty man Robyne' to the daughter of 'Toumaish o' Shuffolke', who has knocked them on the pate with his 'phoyt stick', as they came by. There are also compliments to 'King Yamish', 'my Mistresh tere', 'my little Maishter', and 'te vfrow, ty daughter, tat is in Tuchland'. It is therefore easy to supply the date which Jonson omits, as the mask clearly belongs to the series presented in honour of the wedding of Robert Earl of Somerset with the Earl of Suffolk's daughter during the Christmas of 1613-14. The list in Stowe, *Annales*, 928 (cf. s.v. Campion), includes one on 29 Dec. by 'the Prince's Gentlemen, which pleased the King so well that hee caused them to performe it againe uppon the Monday following'. This was 3 Jan.; the 10 Jan. in Nichols, ii. 718, is a misreading of the evidence in Chamberlain's letters, which identify the mask as Jonson's by a notice of the Irish element. On 30 Dec. Chamberlain wrote to Alice Carleton (Birch, i. 285), 'yesternight there was a medley mask of five English and five Scots, which are called the high dancers, amongst whom Sergeant Boyd, one Abercrombie, and Auchternouty, that was at Padua and Venice, are esteemed the most principal and lofty, but how it succeeded I know not'. Later in the letter he added, probably in reference to this and not Campion's mask, 'Sir William Bowyer hath lost his eldest son, Sir Henry. He was a fine dancer, and should have been of the masque, but overheating himself with practising, he fell into the smallpox and died.' On 5 Jan. he wrote to Dudley Carleton (Birch, i. 287), 'The —— maskers were so well liked at court the last week that they were appointed to perform again on Monday: yet their device, which was a mimical imitation of the Irish, was not pleasing to many, who think it no time, as the case stands, to exasperate that nation, by making it ridiculous'. On the finance cf. s.v. Campion.

Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists. 6 Jan. 1615

1616. Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court by Gentlemen the Kings Seruants. *W. Stansby, sold by Richard Meighen.* [Part of F$_1$.]

The maskers were twelve Sons of Nature; the first antimaskers Alchemists, the second Imperfect Creatures, in helms of limbecs; the presenters Vulcan, Cyclops, Mercury, Nature, and Prometheus, with a chorus of musicians.

The locality was doubtless Whitehall. The scene first discovered was a laboratory. After the antimasks it changed to a bower, whence the maskers descended for 'the first dance', 'the main dance', and, after dancing with the ladies, 'their last dance'. Donne (*Letters*, ii. 65) wrote to Sir Henry Goodyere on 13 Dec. [1614], 'They are preparing for a masque of gentlemen, in which Mr. Villiers is and Mr. Karre whom I told you before my Lord Chamberlain had brought into the bedchamber'. On 18 Dec. [1614] (ii. 66) he adds, 'Mr. Villiers . . . is here, practising for the masque'. The year-dates can be supplied by comparison with Chamberlain's letters to Carleton. On 1 Dec. 1614 (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxviii. 65) Chamberlain wrote, 'And yet for all this penurious world we speake of a maske this Christmas toward which the King gives 1500£ the principall motiue wherof is thought to be the gracing of younge Villers and to bring him on the stage'. It should be borne in mind that there was at this time an intrigue amongst the Court party opposed to Somerset and the Howards, including Donne's patroness Lady Bedford, to put forward George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, as a rival to the Earl of Somerset in the good graces of James I. On 5 Jan. Chamberlain wrote again (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxx. 1; Birch, i. 290, but there misdated), 'Tomorrow night there is a mask at court, but the common voice and preparations promise so little, that it breeds no great expectation'; and on 12 Jan. (*S. P. D.* lxxx. 4; Birch, i. 356), 'The only matter I can advertise . . . is the success of the mask on Twelfth-night, which was so well liked and applauded, that the King had it represented again the Sunday night after [8 Jan.] in the very same manner, though neither in device nor show was there anything extraordinary, but only excellent dancing; the choice being made of the best, both English and Scots'. He then describes an ambassadorial incident, which is also detailed in a report by Foscarini (*V.P.* xiii. 317) and by Finett, 19 (cf. Sullivan, 95). The Spanish ambassador refused to appear in public with the Dutch ambassador, although it was shown that his predecessor had already done so, and in the end both withdrew. The Venetian ambassador and Tuscan agent were alone present. An invitation to the French ambassador does not appear to have been in question.

Financial documents (Reyher, 523; *S.P.D.* lxxx, Mar.) show that one Walter James received Exchequer funds for the mask.

I am not quite sure that Brotanek, 351, is right in identifying *Mercury Vindicated* with the mask of January 1615 and *The Golden Age Restored* with that of January 1616, but the evidence is so inconclusive that it is not worth while to disturb his chronology. *Mercury Vindicated* is not dated in the Folio, but it is printed next before *The Golden Age Restored,* which is dated '1615'. Now it is true that the order of the Folio, as Brotanek points out, appears to be chronological; but it is also true that, at any rate for the masks, the year-dates, by a practice characteristic of Jonson, follow Circumcision and not Annunciation style. One or other principle seems to have been disregarded at the end of the Folio, and who shall say which? Brotanek attempts to support his arrangement by tracing topical allusions (*a*) in *Mercury Vindicated* to Court 'brabbles' of 1614–15, (*b*) in *The Golden Age Restored* to the Somerset *esclandre.* But there are always 'brabbles' in courts, and I can find no references to Somerset at all. Nor is it in the least likely that there would be any. *Per contra,* I may note that Chamberlain's description of the 'device' in 1615 as not 'extraordinary' applies better to *The Golden Age Restored* than to *Mercury Vindicated.*

The Golden Age Restored. 1 Jan. 1616

1616. The Golden Age Restor'd. In a Maske at Court, 1615. by the Lords, and Gentlemen, the Kings Seruants. *W. Stansby, sold by Richard Meighen.* [Part of F_1.]

The maskers were Sons of Phoebus, Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Spenser, and presumably others; the antimaskers twelve Evils; the presenters Pallas, Astraea, the Iron Age, and the Golden Age, with a chorus of musicians.

The locality was doubtless Whitehall. Pallas descended, and the Evils came from a cave, danced to 'two drums, trumpets, and a confusion of martial music', and were turned to statues. The scene changed, and later the scene of light was discovered. After 'the first dance' and 'the main dance', the maskers danced with the ladies, and then danced 'the galliards and corantos'.

Finett, 31 (cf. Sullivan, 237), tells us that 'The King being desirous that the French, Venetian, and Savoyard ambassadors should all be invited to a maske at court prepared for New-years night, an exception comming from the French, was a cause of deferring their invitation till Twelfe night, when the Maske was to be re-acted, . . . [They] were received at eight of the clock, the houre assigned (no supper being prepared for them, as at other times, to avoid the trouble incident) and were conducted to the privy gallery by the Lord Chamberlaine and the Lord Danvers appointed (an honour more than had been formerly done to Ambassadors Ordinary) to accompany them, the Master of the Ceremonies being also present. They were all there placed at the maske on the Kings right hand (not right out, but byas forward) first and next to the King the French, next him the Venetian, and next him the Savoyard. At his Majesties left hand sate the Queen, and next her the Prince. The maske being ended, they followed his Majesty to a banquet in the presence, and returned by the way they entered: the followers of the French were placed in a seate reserved for them above over the Kings right hand; the others in one on the left. The Spanish ambassadors son, and the agent of the Arch-Duke (who invited himselfe) were bestowed on the forme where the Lords sit, next beneath the Barons, English, Scotish, and Irish as the sonns of the Ambassador of Venice, and of Savoy had been placed the maske night before, but were this night placed with their countreymen in the gallery mentioned.'

Financial documents (Reyher, 523; *S.P.D.* lxxxix. 104) show Exchequer payments for the mask to Edmund Sadler and perhaps Meredith Morgan.

On the identification of the mask of 1 and 6 Jan. 1616 with *The Golden Age Restored*, v.s. *Mercury Vindicated.*

ENTERTAINMENTS

Althorp Entertainment [*The Satyr*]. *1603*

S.R. 1604, March 19. [See *Coronation Entertainment.*]

1604. A particular Entertainment of the Queene and Prince their Highnesse to Althrope, at the Right Honourable the Lord Spencers, on Saterday being the 25. of Iune 1603. as they come first into the Kingdome; being written by the same Author [B. Jon:], and not before published. *V.S. for Edward Blount.* [Appended to the *Coronation Entertainment.*]

Editions in *Works* and by Nichols, *James* (1828), i. 176.

The host, Sir Robert Spencer, of Althorp, Northants, was created Lord Spencer of Wormleighton on 21 July 1603. On arrival (25 June) the Queen and Prince were met in the park by a Satyr, Queen Mab, and a bevy of Fairies, who after a dialogue and song, introduced Spencer's son John, as a huntsman, to Henry; and a hunt followed. On Monday afternoon (27 June) came Nobody with a speech to introduce 'a morris of the clowns thereabout', but this and a parting speech by a youth could not be heard for the throng.

Coronation Entertainment. 1604

S.R. 1604, March 19 (Pasfield). 'A Parte of the Kinges Maiesties . . . Entertainement . . . done by Beniamin Johnson.' *Edward Blunt* (Arber, iii. 254).

1604. B. Jon: his part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainement through his Honorable Cittie of London, Thurseday the 15. of March, 1603. So much as was presented in the first and last of their Triumphall Arch's. With his speach made to the last Presentation, in the Strand, erected by the inhabitants of the Dutchy, and Westminster. Also, a briefe Panegyre of his Maiesties first and well auspicated entrance to his high Court of Parliament, on Monday, the 19. of the same Moneth. With other Additions. *V.S. for Edward Blount.* [This also includes the *Althorp Entertainment.*]

Editions in *Works* of Jonson, and by Nichols, *James* (1828), i. 377.

For other descriptions of the triumph and Jonson's speeches cf. ch. xxiv, C.

Highgate Entertainment [*The Penates*]. *1604*

1616. [Head-title] A Priuate Entertainment of the King and Queene, on May-day in the Morning, At Sir William Cornwalleis his house, at High-gate. 1604. [Part of F_1.]

Editions in *Works* and by Nichols, *James* (1828), i. 431.

The host was Sir William Cornwallis, son of Sir Thomas, of Brome Hall, Suffolk. On arrival, in the morning (1 May), the King and Queen were received by the Penates, and led through the house into the garden, for speeches by Mercury and Maia, and a song by Aurora, Zephyrus, and Flora. In the afternoon was a dialogue in the garden by Mercury and Pan, who served wine from a fountain.

Entertainment of King of Denmark. 1606

1616. [Head-title] The entertainment of the two Kings of Great Brittaine and Denmarke at Theobalds, Iuly 24, 1606. [Part of F_1.]

Editions in *Works* and by Nichols, *James*, ii. 70.

This consists only of short speeches by the three Hours to James (in English) and Christian (in Latin) on their entry into the Inner Court at Lord Salisbury's house of Theobalds, Herts. (24 July), and some Latin inscriptions and epigrams hung on the walls. But the visit lasted until 28 July, and further details are given, not only in the well-known letter of Sir John Harington (cf. ch. vi) but also in *The King of Denmarkes Welcome* (1606; cf. ch. xxiv), whose author, while omitting to describe 'manie verie learned, delicate and significant showes and deuises', because 'there is no doubt but the author thereof who hath his place equall with the best in those Artes, will himselfe at his leasurable howers publish it in the best perfection', gives a Song of Welcome, sung under an artificial oak of silk at the gates. Probably this was not Jonson's, as he did not print it. Bond, i. 505, is hardly justified in reprinting it as Lyly's.

Theobalds Entertainment. 1607

1616. An Entertainment of King Iames and Queene Anne, at Theobalds, When the House was deliuered vp, with the posession, to the Queene, by the Earle of Salisburie, 22. of May, 1607. The Prince Ianvile, brother to the Duke of Guise, being then present. [Part of F_1.]

Editions in *Works* and by Nichols, *James* (1828), ii. 128.

The Genius of the house mourns the departure of his master, but is consoled by Mercury, Good Event, and the three Parcae, and yields the keys to Anne. The performance took place in a gallery, known later as the green gallery, 109 feet long by 12 wide. Boderie, ii. 253, notes the 'espéce de comedie', and the presence of Prince de Joinville.

Prince Henry's Barriers. 6 Jan. 1610

1616. The Speeches at Prince Henries Barriers. [Part of F_1.]

Editions in *Works* and by Nichols, *James* (1828), ii. 271.

The barriers had a spectacular setting. The Lady of the Lake is 'discovered' and points to her lake and Merlin's tomb. Arthur is 'discovered as a star above'. Merlin rises from his tomb. Their speeches lament the decay of chivalry, and foretell its restoration, now that James 'claims Arthur's seat', through a knight, for whom Arthur gives the Lady a shield. The Knight, 'Meliadus, lord of the isles', is then 'discovered' with his six assistants in a place inscribed 'St. George's Portico'. Merlin tells the tale of English history. Chivalry comes forth from a cave, and the barriers take place, after which Merlin pays final compliments to the King and Queen, Henry, Charles, and Elizabeth.

Jonson does not date the piece, but it stands in F_1 between the *Masque of Queens* (2 Feb. 1609) and *Oberon* (1 Jan. 1611), and this, with the use of the name Meliadus, enables us to attach it to the barriers of 6 Jan. 1610, of which there is ample record (Stowe, *Annales*, 574; Cornwallis, *Life of Henry*, 12; Birch, i. 102; Winwood, iii. 117; *V. P.* xi. 400, 403, 406, 410, 414). It was Henry's first public appearance in arms, and he had some difficulty in obtaining the King's consent, but His Majesty did not wish to cross him. The challenge, speeches for which are summarized by Cornwallis, was on 31 Dec. in the presence-chamber, and until 6 Jan. Henry kept open table at St. James's at a cost of £100 a day. With him as challengers were the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, Lord Hay, Sir Thomas Somerset, and Sir Richard Preston. There were fifty-eight defendants, of whom prizes were adjudged to the Earl of Montgomery, Thomas Darcy, and Sir Robert Gordon. Each bout consisted of two pushes with the pike and twelve sword-strokes, and the young prince gave or received that night thirty-two pushes and about 360 strokes. Drummond of Hawthornden, who called his elegy on Henry *Tears on the Death of Moeliades*, explains the name as an anagram, *Miles a Deo*.

A Challenge at Tilt. 1 Jan. 1614

1616. A Challenge at Tilt, at a Marriage. [Part of F_1, where it follows upon the mask *Love Restored* (q.v.), and the type is perhaps arranged so as to suggest a connexion, which can hardly have existed.]

Editions in *Works* and by Nichols, *James* (1828), ii. 716.

On the day after the marriage, two Cupids, as pages of the bride and bridegroom, quarrelled and announced the tilt. On 1 Jan. each came in a chariot, with a company of ten knights, of whom the Bride's were challengers, and introduced and followed the tilting with speeches. Finally, Hymen resolved the dispute.

This tilt was on 1 Jan. 1614, after the wedding of the Earl of Somerset on 26 Dec. 1613, as is clearly shown by a letter of Chamberlain (Birch, i. 287). The bride's colours were murrey and white, the bridegroom's green and yellow. The tilters included the Duke of Lennox, the

Earls of Rutland, Pembroke, Montgomery, and Dorset, Lords Chandos, Scrope, Compton, North, Hay, Norris, and Dingwall, Lord Walden and his brothers, and Sir Henry Cary.

Lost Entertainment

When James dined with the Merchant Taylors on 16 July 1607 (cf. ch. iv), Jonson wrote a speech of eighteen verses, for recitation by an Angel of Gladness. This 'pleased his Majesty marvelously well', but does not seem to have been preserved (Nichols, *James*, ii. 136; Clode, i. 276).

FRANCIS KINWELMERSHE (>1577–?1580).

A Gray's Inn lawyer, probably of Charlton, Shropshire, verses by whom are in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576).

Jocasta. 1566

Translated with George Gascoigne (q.v.).

THOMAS KYD (1558–94).

Kyd was baptized on 6 Nov. 1558. His father, Francis Kyd, was a London citizen and a scrivener. John Kyd, a stationer, may have been a relative. Thomas entered the Merchant Taylors School in 1565, but there is no evidence that he proceeded to a university. It is possible that he followed his father's profession before he drifted into literature. He seems to be criticized as translator and playwright in Nashe's Epistle to Greene's *Menaphon* in 1589 (cf. App. C), and a reference there has been rather rashly interpreted as implying that he was the author of an early play on Hamlet. About the same time his reputation was made by *The Spanish Tragedy*, which came, with *Titus Andronicus*, to be regarded as the typical drama of its age. Ben Jonson couples 'sporting Kyd' with 'Marlowe's mighty line' in recording the early dramatists outshone by Shakespeare. Towards the end of his life Kyd's relations with Marlowe brought him into trouble. During the years 1590–3 he was in the service of a certain noble lord for whose players Marlowe was in the habit of writing. The two sat in the same room and certain 'atheistic' papers of Marlowe's got mixed up with Kyd's. On 12 May 1593 Kyd was arrested on a suspicion of being concerned in certain 'lewd and mutinous libels' set up on the wall of the Dutch churchyard; the papers were discovered and led to Marlowe (q.v.) being arrested also. Kyd, after his release, wrote to the Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering, to repudiate the charge of atheism and to explain away his apparent intimacy with Marlowe. It is not certain who the 'lord' with whom the two writers were connected may have been; possibly Lord Pembroke or Lord Strange, for whose players Marlowe certainly wrote; possibly also Henry Radcliffe, fourth Earl of Sussex, to whose daughter-in-law Kyd dedicated his translation of *Cornelia*, after his disgrace, in 1594. Before the end of 1594 Kyd had died intestate in the parish of St. Mary Colchurch, and his parents renounced the administration of his goods.

Collection

1901. F. S. Boas, *The Works of T. K.* [Includes *1 Jeronimo* and *Soliman and Perseda.*]

Dissertations: K. Markscheffel, *T. K.'s Tragödien* (1886–7, *Jahresbericht des Realgymnasiums zu Weimar*); A. Doleschal, *Eigenthümlichkeiten der Sprache in T. K.'s Dramen* (1888), *Der Versbau in T. K.'s Dramen* (1891); E. Ritzenfeldt, *Der Gebrauch des Pronomens, Artikels und Verbs bei T. K.*; G. Sarrazin, *T. K. und sein Kreis* (1892, incorporating papers in *Anglia* and *E. S.*); J. Schick, *T. K.'s Todesjahr* (1899, *Jahrbuch*, xxxv. 277); O. Michael, *Der Stil in T. K.'s Originaldramen* (1905, *Berlin diss.*); C. Crawford, *Concordance to the Works of T. K.* (1906–10, *Materialien*, xv); F. C. Danchin, *Études critiques sur C. Marlowe* (1913, *Revue Germanique*, ix. 566); *T. L. S.* (June, 1921).

The Spanish Tragedy. c. 1589

S. R. 1592, Oct. 6 (Hartwell). 'A booke whiche is called the Spanishe tragedie of Don Horatio and Bellmipeia.' *Abel Jeffes* (Arber, ii. 621). [Against the fee is a note 'Debitum hoc'. Herbert-Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, ii. 1160, quotes from a record in Dec. 1592 of the Stationers' Company, not given by Arber: 'Whereas Edw. White and Abell Jeffes have each of them offended, viz. E. W. in having printed the Spanish tragedie belonging to A. J. And A. J. in having printed the Tragedie of Arden of Kent, belonginge to E. W. It is agreed that all the bookes of each impression shalbe confiscated and forfayted according to thordonances to thuse of the poore of the company . . . either of them shall pay for a fine 10*s*. a pece.']

N.D. The Spanish Tragedie, Containing the lamentable end of Don Horatio, and Bel-Imperia: with the pittiful death of olde Hieronimo. Newly corrected, and amended of such grosse faults as passed in the first impression. *Edward Allde for Edward White.* [Induction. Greg, *Plays*, 61, and Boas, xxvii, agree in regarding this as the earliest extant edition. Boas suggests that either it may be White's illicit print, or, if that print was the 'first impression', a later one printed for him by arrangement with Jeffes.]

1594. *Abell Jeffes, sold by Edward White.*

S. R. 1599, Aug. 13. Transfer 'salvo iure cuiuscunque' from Jeffes to W. White (Arber, iii. 146).

1599. *William White.*

S. R. 1600, Aug. 14. Transfer to Thomas Pavier (Arber, iii. 169).

1602. . . . Newly corrected, amended, and enlarged with new additions of the Painters part, and others, as it hath of late been diuers times acted. *W. White for Thomas Pavier.*

1602 (colophon 1603); 1610 (colophon 1611); 1615 (two issues); 1618; 1623 (two issues); 1633.

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-4}$ (1744–1874, v), and by T. Hawkins (1773, *O. E. D.* ii), W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* i), J. M. Manly (1897, *Specimens*, ii), J. Schick (1898, *T. D.*; 1901, *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, xix). *Dissertations*: J. A. Worp, *Die Fabel der Sp. T.* (1894, *Jahrbuch*, xxix, 183); G. O. Fleischer, *Bemerkungen über Thomas Kyd's Spanish Tragedy* (1896).

Kyd's authorship of the play is recorded by Heywood, *Apology*, 45 (cf. App. C, No. lvii). The only direct evidence as to the date is Ben Jonson's statement in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), 'He that will swear *Ieronimo* or *Andronicus* are the best plays yet, shall pass unexcepted at here as a man whose judgment shows it is constant, and hath stood still these five and twenty or thirty years'. This yields 1584–9. Boas, xxx, argues for 1585–7; W. Bang in *Englische Studien*, xxviii. 229, for 1589. The grounds for a decision are slight, but the latter date seems to me the more plausible in the absence of any clear allusion to the play in Nashe's (q.v.) *Menaphon* epistle of that year.

Strange's men revived *Jeronymo* on 14 March 1592 and played it sixteen times between that date and 22 Jan. 1593. I agree with Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 150, 153) that by *Jeronymo* Henslowe meant *The Spanish Tragedy*, and that the performances of it are distinguishable from those which the company was concurrently giving of a related piece called *Don Horatio* or 'the comedy of Jeronimo', which is probably not to be identified with the extant anonymous *1 Jeronimo* (q.v.). On 7 Jan. 1597 the play was revived by the Admiral's and given twelve times between that date and 19 July. Another performance, jointly with Pembroke's, took place on 11 Oct. Finally, on 25 Sept. 1601 and 22 June 1602, Henslowe made payments to Jonson, on behalf of the Admiral's, for 'adicyons' to the play. At first sight, it would seem natural to suppose that these 'adicyons' are the passages (II. v. 46–133; III. ii. 65–129; III. xii^{a}. 1–157; IV. iv. 168–217) which appear for the first time in the print of 1602. But many critics have found it difficult to see Jonson's hand in these, notably Castelain, 886, who would assign them to Webster. And as Henslowe marked the play as 'n.e.' in 1597, it is probable that there was some substantial revision at that date. There is a confirmation of this view in Jonson's own mention of 'the old Hieronimo (as it was first acted)' in the induction to *Cynthia's Revels* (1600). Perhaps the 1597 revival motived Jonson's quotation of the play by the mouth of Matheo in *E.M.I.* I. iv, and in *Satiromastix*, 1522, Dekker suggests that Jonson himself 'took'st mad Ieronimoes part, to get service among the Mimickes'. Lines from the play are also recited by the page in *Poetaster*, III. iv. 231. In the Induction, 84, to Marston's *Malcontent* (1604) Condell explains the appropriation of that play by the King's from the Chapel with this retort, 'Why not Malevole in folio with us, as well as Jeronimo in decimo sexto with them'. Perhaps *1 Jeronimo* is meant; in view of the stage-history of *The Spanish Tragedy*, as disclosed by Henslowe's diary, the King's could hardly have laid claim to it.

The play was carried by English actors to Germany (Boas, xcix; Creizenach, xxxiii; Herz, 66, 76), and a German adaptation by Jacob Ayrer is printed by Boas, 348, and with others in German and Dutch, in R. Schönwerth, *Die niederländischen und deutschen Bear-*

beitungen von T. K.'s Sp. T. (1903, *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, xxvi).

Cornelia. 1593

S. R. 1594, Jan. 26 (Dickins). 'A booke called Cornelia, Thomas Kydd beinge the Authour.' *Nicholas Ling and John Busbye* (Arber, ii. 644).

1594. Cornelia. *James Roberts for N. L. and John Busby.* ['Tho. Kyd' at end of play.]

1595. Pompey the Great, his fair Corneliaes Tragedie. Effected by her Father and Husbandes downe-cast, death, and fortune. Written in French, by that excellent Poet Ro: Garnier; and translated into English by Thomas Kid. *For Nicholas Ling.* [A reissue of the 1594 sheets with a new title-page.]

Editions in Dodsley^4, iv. 5 (1874) and by H. Gassner (1894).

A translation of the *Cornélie* (1574) of Robert Garnier, reissued in his *Huit Tragédies* (1580). In a dedication to the Countess of Sussex Kyd expressed his intention of also translating the *Porcie* (1568) of the same writer, but this he did not live to do. He speaks of 'bitter times and privy broken passions' endured during the writing of *Cornelia* which suggests a date after his arrest on 12 May 1593.

Lost and Doubtful Plays

The 'Ur-Hamlet'

Dissertations: J. Corbin, *The German H. and Earlier English Versions* (1896, *Harvard Studies*, v); J. Schick, *Die Entstehung des H.* (1902, *Jahrbuch*, xxxviii. xiii); M. B. Evans, *Der bestrafte Brudermord, sein Verhältniss zu Shakespeare's H.* (1902); K. Meier (1904, *Dresdner Anzeiger*); W. Creizenach, *Der bestrafte Brudermord and its Relation to Shakespeare's H.* (1904, *M. P.* ii. 249), *Die vorshakespearesche Hamlettragödie* (1906, *Jahrbuch*, xlii. 76); A. E. Jack, *Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet* (1905, *M. L. A.* xx. 729); J. W. Cunliffe, *Nash and the Earlier Hamlet* (1906, *M. L. A.* xxi. 193); J. Allen, *The Lost H. of K.* (1908, *Westminster Review*); J. Fitzgerald, *The Sources of the H. Tragedy* (1909); M. J. Wolff, *Zum Ur-Hamlet* (1912, *E. S.* xlv. 9); J. M. Robertson, *The Problem of Hamlet* (1919).

The existence of a play on Hamlet a decade or more before the end of the sixteenth century is established by Henslowe's note of its revival by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's on 11 June 1594 (cf. Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 164), and some corroborative allusions, but its relationship to Shakespeare's play is wholly conjectural. The possible coupling of 'Kidde' and 'Hamlet' in Nashe's epistle to *Menaphon* has led to many speculations as to Kyd's authorship and as to the lines on which the speculators think he would have treated the theme. Any discussion of these is matter for an account of *Hamlet*.

Kyd's hand has also been sought in *Arden of Feversham, Contention of York and Lancaster, Edward III, 1 Jeronimo, Leire, Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune, Soliman and Perseda, Taming of A Shrew*, and *True Tragedy of Richard III* (cf. ch. xxiv), and in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*.

MAURICE KYFFIN (?–1599).

A Welshman by birth, he left the service of John Dee, with whom he afterwards kept up friendly relations, on 25 Oct. 1580 (*Diary*, 10, 15, 48). His epistles suggest that in 1587 he was tutor to Lord Buckhurst's sons. In 1592 he was vice-treasurer in Normandy. His writings, other than the translation, are unimportant.

Andria of Terence > 1587

1588. Andria The first Comoedie of Terence, in English. A furtherance for the attainment vnto the right knowledge, & true proprietie, of the Latin Tong. And also a commodious meane of help, to such as haue forgotten Latin, for their speedy recouering of habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake the same. Carefully translated out of Latin, by Maurice Kyffin. *T. E. for Thomas Woodcocke.* [Epistle by Kyffin to Henry and Thomas Sackville; commendatory verses by 'W. Morgan', 'Th. Lloid', 'G. Camdenus', 'Petrus Bizarus', 'R. Cooke'; Epistle to William Sackville, dated 'London, Decemb. 3, 1587', signed 'Maurice Kyffin'; Preface to the Reader; Preface by Kyffin to all young Students of the Latin Tongue, signed 'M. K.'; Argument.]

S. R. 1596, Feb. 9. Transfer of Woodcock's copies to Paul Linley (Arber, iii. 58).

S. R. 1597, Apr. 21 (Murgetrode). 'The second Comedy of Terence called Eunuchus.' *Paul Lynley* (Arber, iii. 83).

S. R. 1600, June 26. Transfer of 'The first and second commedie of Terence in Inglishe' from Paul Linley to John Flasket (Arber, iii. 165).

Presumably the *Andria* is the 'first' comedy of the 1600 transfer, and if so the lost *Eunuchus* may also have been by Kyffin. The *Andria* is in prose; Kyffin says he had begun seven years before, nearly finished, and abandoned a version in verse.

JOHN LANCASTER (*c.* 1588).

A Gray's Inn lawyer, one of the devisers of dumb-shows and director for the *Misfortunes of Arthur* of Thomas Hughes (q.v.) in 1588.

SIR HENRY LEE (1531–1611).

[The accounts of Lee in *D. N. B.* and by Viscount Dillon in *Bucks., Berks. and Oxon. Arch. Journ.*, xii (1906) 65, may be supplemented from Aubrey, ii. 30, J. H. Lea, *Genealogical Notes on the Family of Lee of Quarrendon* (*Genealogist*, n.s. viii–xiv), and F. G. Lee in *Bucks. Records*, iii. 203, 241; iv. 189, *The Lees of Quarrendon* (*Herald and Genealogist*, iii. 113, 289, 481), and *Genealogy of the Family of Lee* (1884).]

Lee belonged to a family claiming a Cheshire origin, which had long been settled in Bucks. From 1441 they were constables and farmers of Quarrendon in the same county, and the manor was granted by Henry VIII to Sir Robert Lee, who was Gentleman Usher of the

Chamber and afterwards Knight of the Body. His son Sir Anthony married Margaret, sister of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet. Their son Henry was born in 1531, and Aubrey reports the scandal that he was 'supposed brother to Elizabeth'. He was page of honour to the King, and by 1550 Clerk of the Armoury. He was knighted in 1553. By Sept. 1575 he was Master of the Game at Woodstock (Dasent, ix. 23), and by 1577 Lieutenant of the manor and park (Marshall, *Woodstock*, 160), holding 'le highe lodge' and other royal houses in the locality. Probably he was concerned with the foundation of Queen's Day (cf. ch. i) in 1570, which certainly originated near Oxford, and when the annual tilting on this day at Whitehall was instituted, Lee acted as Knight of the Crown until his retirement in 1590. He used as his favourite device a crowned pillar. He took some part in the military enterprises of the reign, and in 1578 became Master of the Armoury. In 1597 he was thought of as Vice-Chamberlain, and on 23 April was installed as K.G. He was a great sheep-farmer and encloser of land, and a great builder or enlarger of houses, including Ditchley Hall, four or five miles from Woodstock, in the parish of Spelsbury, where he died on 12 Feb. 1611. By his wife, Anne, daughter of William Lord Paget, who died in 1590, he had two sons and a daughter, who all predeceased him. His will of 6 Oct. 1609 provides for the erection of a tomb in Quarrendon Chapel near his own for 'M^{rs}. Ann Vavasor alias Finch'. There are no tombs now, but the inscriptions on Lee's tomb and on a tablet in the chancel, also not preserved, are recorded. The former says:

> 'In courtly justs his Soveraignes knight he was',

and the latter adds:

> 'He shone in all those fayer partes that became his profession and vowes, honoring his highly gracious Mistris with reysing those later Olympiads of her Courte, justs and tournaments . . . wherein still himself lead and triumphed.'

The writer is William Scott, who also, with Richard Lee, witnessed the will. Anne Vavasour does not in fact appear to have been buried at Quarrendon. Aubrey describes her as 'his dearest deare', and says that her effigy was placed at the foot of his on the tomb, and that the bishop threatened to have it removed. Anne's tomb was in fact defaced as early as 1611. Anne was daughter of Sir Henry and sister of Sir Thomas Vavasour of Copmanthorpe, Yorks. She was a new maid of honour who 'flourished like the lily and the rose' in 1590 (Lodge, ii. 423). Another Anne Vavasour came to Court as 'newly of the beddchamber' after being Lady Bedford's 'woman', about July 1601 (Gawdy, 112, conjecturally dated; cf. vol. iv, p. 67). Anne Clifford tells us that 'my cousin Anne Vavisour' was going with her mother Lady Cumberland and Lady Warwick and herself to meet Queen Anne in 1603, and married Sir Richard Warburton the same year (Wiffen, ii. 69, 72). The Queen is said to have visited Sir Henry and his mistress at a lodge near Woodstock called 'Little Rest', now 'Lee's Rest', in 1608. After Lee's death his successor brought an action against Anne and her brother for illegal detention of his effects (5 *N. Q.*

iii. 294), and the feud was still alive and Anne had added other sins to her score in 1618, when Chamberlain wrote (Birch, ii. 86):

> 'Mrs. Vavasour, old Sir Henry Lee's woman, is like to be called in question for having two husbands now alive. Young Sir Henry Lee, the wild oats of Ireland, hath obtained the confiscation of her, if he can prove it without touching her life.'

Aubrey's story that Lee's nephew was disinherited in favour of 'a keeper's sonne of Whitchwood-forest of his owne name, a one-eied young man, no kinne to him', is exaggerated gossip. Lee entailed his estate on a second cousin.

I have brought together under Lee's name two entertainments and fragments of at least one other, which ought strictly to be classed as anonymous, but with which he was certainly concerned, and to which he may have contributed some of the 'conceiptes, Himmes, Songes & Emblemes', of which one of the fragments speaks.

The Woodstock Entertainment. Sept. 1575

[*MS.*] *Royal MS.* 18 A. xlviii (27). 'The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte.' [The tale is given in four languages, English, Latin, Italian, and French. It is accompanied by pen-and-ink drawings, and preceded by verses and an epistle to Elizabeth. The latter is dated 'first of January, 1576' and signed 'G. Gascoigne'. The English text is, with minor variations, that of the tale as printed in 1585. Its authorship is not claimed by Gascoigne, who says that he has 'turned the eloquent tale of *Hemetes the Heremyte* (wherwth I saw yor lerned judgment greatly pleased at Woodstock) into latyne, Italyan and frenche', and contrasts his own ignorance with 'thauctors skyll'.]

S. R. 1579, Sept. 22. 'A paradox provinge by Reason and Example that Baldnes is muche better than bushie heare.' *H. Denham* (Arber, ii. 360).

1579. A Paradoxe, Proving by reason and example, that Baldnesse is much better than bushie haire. . . . Englished by Abraham Fleming. Hereunto is annexed the pleasant tale of Hemetes the Heremite, pronounced before the Queenes Majestie. Newly recognized both in Latine and Englishe, by the said A. F. *H. Denham.* [Contains the English text of the Tale and Gascoigne's Latin version.]

1585. *Colophon*: 'Imprinted at London for Thomas Cadman, 1585.' [Originally contained a complete description of an entertainment, of which the tale of Hemetes only formed part; but sig. A, with the title-page, is missing. The unique copy, formerly in the Rowfant library, is now in the B.M. The t.p. is a modern type-facsimile, based on the head-line and colophon (McKerrow, *Bibl. Evidence*, 306).]

Editions (*a*) from 1579, by J. Nichols, *Eliz.* i. 553 (1823), and W. C. Hazlitt, *Gascoigne*, ii. 135 (1870); (*b*) from *MS.* by J. W. Cunliffe, *Gascoigne*, ii. 473 (1910); (*c*) from 1585, by A. W. Pollard (1910, partly printed 1903) and J. W. Cunliffe (1911, *M. L. A.* xxvi. 92).

Gascoigne's manuscript is chiefly of value as fixing the locality of the entertainment, which is not mentioned in the mutilated print of 1585. The date can hardly be doubtful. Elizabeth spent considerable periods at Woodstock in 1572, 1574, and 1575, but it so happens that only in 1575 was she there on the 20th of a month (*vide infra* and App. B). Moreover, Laurence Humphrey's *Oratio* delivered at Woodstock on 11 Sept. 1575 (Nichols, i. 590) refers to the entertainment in the phrase 'an . . . Gandina spectacula . . . dabit'. The description takes the form of a letter from an eyewitness, evidently not the deviser, and professing ignorance of Italian; not, therefore, Gascoigne, as pointed out by Mr. Pollard. At the beginning of sig. B, Hemetes, a hermit, has evidently just interrupted a fight between Loricus and Contarenus. He brings them, with the Lady Caudina, to a bower, where Elizabeth is placed, and tells his Tale, of which the writer says, 'hee shewed a great proofe of his audacity, in which tale if you marke the woords with this present world, or were acquainted with the state of the deuises, you should finde no lesse hidden then vttered, and no lesse vttered then shoulde deserue a double reading ouer, euen of those (with whom I finde you a companion) that haue disposed their houres to the study of great matters'. The Tale explains how the personages have come together. Contarenus loved Caudina, daughter of Occanon Duke of Cambia. At Occanon's request, an enchantress bore him away, and put him in charge of the blind hermit, until after seven years he should fight the hardiest knight and see the worthiest lady in the world. Caudina, setting out with two damsels to seek him, met at the grate of Sibilla with Loricus, a knight seeking renown as a means to his mistress's favour. Sibilla bade them wander, till they found a land in all things best, and with a Princess most worthy. Hemetes himself has been blinded by Venus for loving books as well as a lady, and promised by Apollo the recovery of his sight, where most valiant knights fight, most constant lovers meet, and the worthiest lady looks on. Obviously it is all a compliment to the worthiest lady. Thus the Tale ends. The Queen is now led to the hermit's abode, an elaborate sylvan banqueting-house, built on a mound forty feet high, roofed by an oak, and hung with pictures and posies of 'the noble or men of great credite', some of which the French ambassador made great suit to have. Here Elizabeth was visited by 'the Queen of the Fayry drawen with 6 children in a waggon of state', who presented her with an embroidered gown. Couplets or 'posies' set in garlands were also given to the Queen, to the Ladies Derby, Warwick, Hunsdon, Howard, Susan and Mary Vere, and to Mistresses Skidmore, Parry, Abbington, Sidney, Hopton, Katherine Howard, Garret, Bridges, Burrough, Knowles, and Frances Howard. After a speech from Caudina, Elizabeth departed, as it was now dark, well pleased with her afternoon, and listening to a song from an oak tree as she went by. A somewhat cryptic passage follows. Elizabeth is said to have left 'earnest command that the whole in order as it fell, should be brought her in writing, which being done, as I heare, she vsed, besides her owne skill, the helpe of the deuisors, & how thinges were made I know not, but sure I am her Maiesty hath often in speech some part hereof with mirth at the remembrance.' Then follows a comedy acted on 'the 20 day of the same moneth', which 'was as well thought of, as anye thing ever done before her Maiestie, not onely of her, but of the rest:

in such sort that her Graces passions and other the Ladies could not [? but] shew it selfe in open place more than euer hath beene seene'. The comedy, in 991 lines of verse, is in fact a sequel to the Tale. In it Occanon comes to seek Caudina, who is persuaded by his arguments and the mediation of Eambia, the Fairy Queen, to give up her lover for her country's sake.

Pollard suggests Gascoigne as the author of the comedy, but of this there is no external evidence. He also regards the intention of the whole entertainment as being the advancement of Leicester's suit. Leicester was no doubt at Woodstock, even before the Queen, for he wrote her a letter from there on 4 Sept. (*S. P. D. Eliz.* cv. 36); but the undated letter which Pollard cites (cv. 38), and in which Leicester describes himself as 'in his survey to prepare for her coming', probably precedes the Kenilworth visit. Pollard dates it 6 Sept., but Elizabeth herself seems to have reached Woodstock by that date. Professor Cunliffe, on the other hand, thinks that the intention was unfavourable to Leicester's suit, and thus explains the stress laid on Caudina's renunciation of her lover for political reasons. I doubt if there is any reference to the matter at all; it would have been dangerous matter for a courtly pen. Doubtless the writer of the description talks of 'audacity', in the Tale, not the comedy. But has he anything more in mind than Sir Henry Lee, whom we are bound to find, here as elsewhere, in Loricus, and his purely conventional worship of Elizabeth?

The Tilt Yard Entertainment. 17 Nov. 1590

There are two contemporary descriptions, viz.:

1590. Polyhymnia Describing, the Honourable Triumph at Tylt, before her Maiestie, on the 17 of Nouember last past, being the first day of the three and thirtith yeare of her Highnesse raigne. With Sir Henrie Lea, his resignation of honour at Tylt, to her Maiestie, and receiued by the right honorable, the Earle of Cumberland. *R. Jones.* [Dedication by George Peele to Lord Compton on verso of t.p.]

1602. W. Segar, Honor, Military and Ciuill, Book iii, ch. 54, 'The Originall occasions of the yeerely Triumphs in England'.

Segar's account is reproduced by Nichols, *Eliz.* iii. 41, and both in the editions of Peele (q.v.) by Dyce and Bullen. A manuscript copy with variants from the Q. is at St. John's College, Oxford (F. S. Boas in *M.L.R.* xi. 300). *Polyhymnia* mainly consists of a blank verse description and eulogy of the twenty-six tilters, in couples according to the order of the first running of six courses each, viz. Sir Henry Lee and the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Strange and Thomas Gerrard, Lord Compton and Henry Nowell, Lord Burke and Sir Edward Denny, the Earl of Essex and Fulk Greville, Sir Charles Blount and Thomas Vavasor, Robert Carey and William Gresham, Sir William Knowles and Anthony Cooke, Sir Thomas Knowles and Sir Philip Butler, Robert Knowles and Ralph Bowes, Thomas Sidney and Robert Alexander, John Nedham and Richard Acton, Charles Danvers and Everard Digby. The colours and in some cases the 'device' or 'show' are indicated. Lee is described as

Knight of the crown, in rich embroidery,
And costly fair caparison charged with crowns,
O'ershadowed with a withered running vine,
As who would say, 'My spring of youth is past',
In corselet gilt of curious workmanship.

Strange entered 'in costly ship', with the eagle for his device; Essex

In stately chariot full of deep device,
Where gloomy Time sat whipping on the team,
Just back to back with this great champion.

Blount's badge was the sun, Carey's a burning heart, Cooke's a hand and heart,

And Life and Death he portray'd in his show.

The three Knowles brothers bore golden boughs. A final section of the poem describes how, after the running, Sir Henry Lee, 'knight of the Crown', unarmed himself in a pavilion of Vesta, and petitioned the Queen to allow him to yield his 'honourable place' to Cumberland, to whom he gave his armour and lance, vowing to betake himself to orisons.

Segar gives a fuller account of Lee's fantasy. He had vowed, 'in the beginning of her happy reigne', to present himself yearly in arms on the day of Elizabeth's accession. The courtiers, incited by his example, had yearly assembled, 'not vnlike to the antient Knighthood della Banda in Spaine', but in 1590, 'being now by age ouertaken', Lee resigned his office to Cumberland. The ceremony took place 'at the foot of the staires vnder her gallery-window in the Tilt-yard at Westminster', where Elizabeth sat with the French ambassador, Viscount Turenne. A pavilion, representing the Temple of the Vestal Virgins, arose out of the earth. Within was an altar, with gifts for the queen; before the door a crowned pillar, embraced by an eglantine, and bearing a complimentary inscription. As the knights approached, 'M. Hales her maiesties seruant' sang verses beginning:

My golden locks time hath to siluer turned.

The vestals then gave the Queen a veil and a cloak and safeguard, the buttons of which bore the 'emprezes' or 'badges' of many nobles, friends of Lee, each fixed to an embroidered pillar, the last being 'like the character of *&c.*' Finally Lee doffed his armour, presented Cumberland, armed and horsed him, and himself donned a side-coat of black velvet and a buttoned cap of the country fashion. 'After all these ceremonies, for diuers dayes hee ware vpon his cloake a crowne embrodered, with a certaine motto or deuice, but what his intention therein was, himselfe best knoweth.'

The Queen appointed Lee to appear yearly at the exercises, 'to see, suruey, and as one most carefull and skilfull to direct them'. Segar dwells on Lee's virtues and valour, and concludes by stating that the annual actions had been performed by 1 Duke, 19 Earls, 27 Barons, 4 Knights of the Garter, and above 150 other Knights and Esquires.

On 20 Nov. 1590 Richard Brakinbury wrote to Lord Talbot (Lodge,

ii. 419): 'These sports were great, and done in costly sort, to her Majesty's liking, and their great cost. To express every part, with sundry devices, is more fit for them that delight in them, than for me, who esteemeth little such vanities, I thank God.'

P. A. Daniel (*Athenaeum* for 8 Feb. 1890) notes that a suit of armour in Lord Hothfield's collection, which once belonged to Cumberland and is represented in certain portraits of him, is probably the identical suit given him by Lee, as it bears a monogram of Lee's name.

There has been some controversy about the authorship of the verses sung by 'M. Hales', who was Robert Hales, a lutenist. They appear, headed 'A Sonnet', and unsigned, on a page at the end of *Polyhymnia*, and have therefore been ascribed to Peele. The evidence, though inconclusive, is better than the wanton conjecture which led Mr. Bond to transfer them to Lyly (*Works*, i. 410). But a different version in *Rawl. Poet. MS.* 148, f. 19, is subscribed 'q^{d} S^{r} Henry Leigh', and some resemblances of expression are to be found in other verses assigned to Lee in R. Dowland, *Musicall Banquet* (1610), No. 8 (Bond, i. 517; Fellowes, 459). It is not impossible that Lee himself may have been the author. One of the pieces in the *Ferrers MS.* (*vide* p. 406 *infra*) refers to his 'himmes & songes'. If the verses, which also appear anonymously in J. Dowland, *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597, Fellowes, 418), are really Lee's, Wyatt's nephew was no contemptible poet. Finally, there are echoes of the same theme in yet another set of anonymous verses in J. Dowland, *Second Book of Airs* (1600, Fellowes, 422), which are evidently addressed to Lee.

The Second Woodstock Entertainment, 20 Sept. 1592, and Other Fragments

[*MSS.*] (*a*) *Ferrers MS.*, a collection made by Henry Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire (1549–1633).

(*b*) *Inner Temple Petyt MS.* 538, 43, ff. 284–363.

[A collection of verses by Lady Pembroke, Sir John Harington, Francis Bacon (q.v.) and others, bound as part of a composite MS.]

(*c*) Viscount Dillon kindly informs me that a part of the entertainment, dated '20 Sept.', is in his possession.

Editions (*Ferrers MS.* only) by W. Hamper, *Masques: Performed before Queen Elizabeth* (1820), and in *Kenilworth Illustrated* (1821), Nichols, *Eliz.*^{2} iii. 193 (1828), and R. W. Bond, *Lyly*, i. 412, 453 (1902).

The Ferrers MS. seems to contain ten distinct pieces, separated from each other only by headings, to which I have prefixed the numbers.

(i) 'A Cartell for a Challeng.'

Three 'strange forsaken knightes' offer to maintain 'that Loue is worse than hate, his Subiectes worse than slaues, and his Rewarde worse than naught: And that there is a Ladie that scornes Loue and his power, of more vertue and greater bewtie than all the Amorouse Dames that be at this day in the worlde'. This cannot be dated.

Sir Robert Carey (*Memoirs*, 33) tilted as a 'forsaken knight' on 17 Nov. 1593 (not 1592, as stated by Brotanek, 60), but he was not a challenger, and was alone. The tone resembles that of Sir Henry Lee, and if he took part, the date must be earlier than 1590.

(ii) 'Sir Henry Lee's challenge before the Shampanie.'

A 'strange knight that warres against hope and fortune' will maintain the cause of Despair in a green suit.

Hamper explained 'Shampanie' as 'the lists or field of contention, from the French *campagne*'; but Segar, *Honor, Military and Ciuill*, 197, records, from an intercepted letter of 'Monsieur de Champany . . . being ambassador in England for causes of the Low Countreys', on occasion on which Sir Henry Lee, 'the most accomplished cavaliero I had euer seene', broke lances with other gentlemen in his honour at Greenwich. M. de Champagny was an agent of the native Flemish Catholics, and visited England in 1575 and 1585 (Froude, x. 360; xii. 39). As his letter named 'Sir' C. Hatton, who was knighted in 1578, the visit of 1585 must be in question. The Court was at Greenwich from March to July of that year.

(iii) 'The Supplication of the Owld Knight.'

A speech to the 'serveres of this English Holiday, or rather Englandes Happie Daye', in which a knight disabled by age, 'yet once (thowe unwoorthie) your fellowe in armes, and first celebrator, in this kinde, of this sacred memorie of that blessed reigne', begs them to 'accepte to your fellowshippe this oneley sonne of mine'.

This is evidently a speech by Lee, on some 17 Nov. later than 1590. Lee's own sons died in childhood; probably the 'son' introduced was a relative, but possibly only a 'son' in chivalry.

(iv) 'The Message of the Damsell of the Queene of Fayries.'

An 'inchanted knight' sends the Queen an image of Cupid. She is reminded how 'at the celebrating the joyfull remembraunce of the most happie daye of your Highnes entrance into Gouerment of this most noble Islande, howe manie knightes determined, not far hence, with boulde hartes and broken launces, to paye there vowes and shewe theire prowes'. The 'inchanted knight' could not 'chardge staffe, nor strike blowe', but entered the jousts, and bore the blows of others.

If this has reference to the first celebration of 17 Nov., it may be of near date to the Woodstock Entertainment of 1575 in which the fairy queen appeared. The knight, 'full hardie and full haples', is enchanted, but is not said to be old.

(v) 'The Olde Knightes Tale.'

'Not far from hence, nor verie long agoe,' clearly in 1575, 'the fayrie Queene the fayrest Queene saluted', and the pleasures included 'justes and feates of armed knightes', and 'enchaunted pictures' in a bower. The knight was bidden by the fairy queen to guard the pictures and keep his eyes on the crowned pillar. He became 'a stranger ladies thrall', neglected this duty, and was cast into a deadly sleep. Now he is freed, apparently through the intervention of Elizabeth, to whom the verses are addressed.

(vi) 'The Songe after Dinner at the two Ladies entrance.'

Celebrates the setting free by a prince's grace, of captive knights and ladies, and bids farewell to inconstancy.

(vii) 'The Ladies Thankesgeuing for theire Deliuerie from Unconstancie.'

A speech to the Queen, in the same vein as (vi), followed by a dialogue between Li[berty], or Inconstancy, and Constancy. This is datable in 1592 from another copy printed in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), with the title 'An Excellent Dialogue betweene Constancie and Inconstancie: as it was by speech presented to her maiestie, in the last Progresse at Sir Henrie Leighes house'. Yet another copy, in *Inner Temple Petyt MS*. 538, 43, f. 299. 'A Dialogue betweene Constancie and Inconstancie spoken before the Queenes Majestie at Woodstock' is ascribed to 'Doctor Edes'.

(viii) 'The last Songe.'

A rejoicing on the coming of Eliza, with references to constancy and inconstancy, the aged knight, and the pillar and crown.

(ix) 'The second daies woorke where the Chaplayne maketh this Relation.'

An Oration to the Queen by the chaplain of Loricus, 'an owlde Knight, now a newe religiouse Hermite'. The story of Loricus was once told [in 1575] 'by a good father of his owne coate, not farr from this coppies'. Once he 'rann the restles race of desire. . . . Sometymes he consorted with couragious gentelmen, manifesting inward joyes by open justes, the yearly tribute of his dearest Loue. Somtimes he summoned the witnesse of depest conceiptes, Himmes & Songes & Emblemes, dedicating them to the honor of his heauenlye mistres'. Retiring, through envy and age, to the country, he found the speaker at a homely cell, made him his chaplain, and built for their lodging and that of a page 'the Crowne Oratory', with a 'Piller of perpetual remembraunce' as his device on the entrance. Here he lies, at point of death, and has addressed his last testament to the Queen. This is in verse, signed 'Loricus, columnae coronatae custos fidelissimus', and witnessed by 'Stellatus, rectoriae coronatae capellanus', and 'Renatus, equitis coronatae servus obseruantissimus'.

(x) 'The Page bringeth tydings of his Maister's Recouerie & presenteth his Legacie.'

A further address to the Queen, with a legacy in verse of the whole Mannor of Loue, signed by Loricus and witnessed by Stellatus and Renatus.

This exhausts the *Ferrers MS.*, but I can add from the *Petyt MS.* f. 300^v—

(xi) 'The melancholie Knights complaint in the wood.'

This, like (vii), is ascribed in the MS. to 'Doctor Edes'. It consists of 35 lines in 6 stanzas of 6 lines each (with one line missing) and begins:

> What troupes are theis, which ill aduised, presse
> Into this more than most vnhappie place.

Allusions to the freeing of enchanted knights and ladies and to constancy and inconstancy connect it closely with (vi)–(viii).

Obviously most of these documents, and therefore probably all, belong to devices presented by Sir Henry Lee. But they are of different dates, and not demonstrably in chronological order. A single occasion accounts for (vi)–(viii) and (xi), and a single occasion, which the mention of 'the second daie' suggests may have been the same, for (ix) and (x); and probably Mr. Bond is justified in regarding all these as forming part with (vii) of the entertainment at Lee's house in the progress of 1592. But I do not see his justification for attaching (iv) and (v) to them, and I think that these are probably fragments of the Woodstock Entertainment of 1575, or not far removed from that in time. Nor has he any evidence for locating the entertainment of 1592 at Quarrendon, which was only one of several houses belonging to Sir Henry Lee, and could not be meant by the 'coppies' near Woodstock of (ix). It was doubtless, as the Petyt MS. version of (vii) tells us, at Woodstock, either at one of Lee's lodges, or at Ditchley, during the royal visit to Woodstock of 18–23 Sept. 1592. I learn from Viscount Dillon that a MS. of part of this entertainment, dated 20 Sept., is still at Ditchley. Finally, Bond's attribution of all the pieces (i)–(x) to Lyly is merely guess-work. Hamper assigned them to George Ferrers, probably because the owner of his MS. was a Ferrers. George Ferrers did in fact help in the Kenilworth Entertainment of 1575, and might therefore have helped in that at Woodstock; but he died in 1579, too early for (vi)–(xi). No doubt (vii) and (xi) are by Richard Edes (q.v.). He may have written the whole of this Woodstock Entertainment. On the other hand, a phrase in (ix) suggests that Lee may have penned some of his own conceits. Brotanek, 62, suggests that the two ladies of (vi) are Lee's wife and his mistress Anne Vavasour, and that Elizabeth came to Lee's irregular household to set it in order. This hardly needs refuting, but in fact Lee's wife died in 1590 and his connexion with Anne Vavasour was probably of later date.

ROBERT LEE.

For his career as an actor, see ch. xv.

He may have been, but was not necessarily, the author of *The Miller* which the Admiral's bought from him for £1 on 22 Feb. 1598 (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 191).

THOMAS LEGGE (1535–1607).

Of Norwich origin, Legge entered Corpus Christi, Cambridge, in 1552, and took his B.A. in 1557, his M.A. in 1560, and his LL.D. in 1575. After migration to Trinity and Jesus, he had become Master of Caius in 1573. In 1593 he was Vice-Chancellor, and in that capacity took part in the negotiations of the University with the Privy Council for a restraint of common plays in Cambridge (*M. S. C.* i. 200). His own reputation as a dramatist is acknowledged by Meres, who in 1598 placed him among 'our best for Tragedie', and added that, 'as M. Anneus Lucanus writ two excellent Tragedies, one called *Medea*, the other *de Incendio Troiae cum Priami calamitate*: so Doctor *Leg* hath penned two famous tragedies, y^e one of *Richard the 3*, the other of *The destruction of Ierusalem*'.

Richardus Tertius. March 1580

[*MSS.*] *Cambridge Univ. Libr. MS.* M^m iv. 40, 'Thome Legge legum doctoris Collegij Caiogonevilensis in Academia Cantabrigiensi magistri ac Rectoris Richardus tertius Tragedia trivespera habita Collegij divi Johannis Evangeliste Comitiis Bacchelaureorum Anno Domini 1579 Tragedia in tres acciones diuisa.' [*Argumentum* to each *Actio*; Epilogue.]

Emmanuel, Cambridge, MS. I. 3. 19, with date '1579' and actor-list.
Clare, Cambridge, MS. Kk, 3, 12, with date '1579'.
Caius, Cambridge, MS. 62, 'tragoedia trium vesperum habita in collegio Divi Johannis Evangelistae, Comitiis Bacchalaureorum Anno 1573.'

Bodl. Tanner MS. 306, including first *Actio* only, with actor-list and note, 'Acted in St. John's Hall before the Earle of Essex', to which has been apparently added later, '17 March, 1582'.
Bodl. MS. 29448, dated $\alpha, \phi, \pi, \gamma$ (=1583).
Harl. MS. 6926, a transcript by Henry Lacy, dated 1586.
Harl. MS. 2412, a transcript dated 1588.
Hatton MS. (cf. *Hist. MSS.* i. 32).

Editions by B. Field (1844, *Sh. Soc.*) and W. C. Hazlitt (1875, *Sh. L.* ii. 1).—*Dissertation*: G. B. Churchill, *Richard III bis Shakespeare* (1897, 1900).

The names in the actor-lists, which agree, confirm those MSS. which date a production in March 1580 (Boas, 394), and as Essex left Cambridge in 1581, the date in the *Tanner MS.*, in so far as it relates to a performance before him, is probably an error. It does not seem so clear to me that the *Caius MS.* may not point to an earlier production in 1573. And it is quite possible that there may have been revivals in some or all of the later years named in the MSS. The reputation of the play is indicated, not only by the notice of it by Meres (*vide supra*), but also by allusions in Harington's *Apologie of Poetrie* (1591); cf. App. C, No. xlv) and Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (1596, *Works*, iii. 13). It may even, directly or indirectly, have influenced *Richard III*. The argument to the first *Actio* is headed 'Chapman, Argumentum primae actionis', but it seems difficult to connect George Chapman with the play.

Lost Play

The Destruction of Jerusalem

Meres calls this tragedy 'famous'. Fuller, *Worthies* (1662), ii. 156, says that 'Having at last refined it to the purity of the publique standard, some Plageary filched it from him, just as it was to be acted'. Apparently it was in English and was printed, as it appears in the lists of Archer and Kirkman (Greg, *Masques*, lxii). It can hardly have been the *Jerusalem* revived by Strange's in 1592 (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 155). Can any light be thrown on Fuller's story by the fact that in 1584 a 'new Play of the Destruction of Jerusalem' was adopted by the city of Coventry as a craft play in place of the old Corpus Christi cycle, and a sum of £13 6*s*. 8*d*. paid to John Smythe of St. John's, Oxford, 'for hys paynes for writing of the tragedye' (*Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 361; H. Craig, *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* (*E. E. T. S.*), 90, 92, 93, 102, 103, 109)?

THOMAS LODGE (*c.* 1557–1625).

Lodge, who uses the description 'gentleman', was son of Sir Thomas Lodge, a Lord Mayor of London. His elder brother, William, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Blagrave, Clerk of the Revels (cf. ch. iii). He entered Merchant Taylors in 1571, Trinity College, Oxford, in 1573, whence he took his B.A. in 1577, and Lincoln's Inn in 1578. In 1579 (cf. App. C, No. xxiii) he plunged into controversy with a defence of the stage in reply to Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*. Gosson speaks slightingly of his opponent as 'hunted by the heavy hand of God, and become little better than a vagrant, looser than liberty, lighter than vanity itself', and although Lodge took occasion to defend his moral character from aspersion, it is upon record that he was called before the Privy Council 'to aunswere certen maters to be by them objected against him', and was ordered on 27 June 1581 to give continued attendance (Dasent, xiii. 110). By 1583 he had married. His literary work largely took the form of romances in the manner of Lyly and Greene. *Rosalynde: Euphues' Golden Legacy*, published (S. R. 6 Oct. 1590) on his return from a voyage to Terceras and the Canaries with Captain Clarke, is typical and was Shakespeare's source for *As You Like It*. His acknowledged connexion with the stage is slight; and the attempt of Fleay, ii. 43, to assign to him a considerable share in the anonymous play-writing of his time must be received with caution, although he was still controverting Gosson in 1583 (cf. App. C, No. xxxv), and too much importance need not be attached to his intention expressed in *Scylla's Metamorphosis* (S. R. 22 Sept. 1589):

> To write no more of that whence shame doth grow,
> Or tie my pen to penny knaves' delight,
> But live with fame, and so for fame to write.

He is less likely than Nashe to be the 'young Juvenal, that biting satirist, that lastly with me together writ a Comedy' of Greene's *Groats-worth of Wit* epistle in 1592 (cf. App. C, No. xlviii). I should not cavil at the loose description of *A Looking Glass for London and England* as a comedy; but 'biting satirist' hardly suits Lodge; and at the time of Greene's last illness he was out of England on an expedition led by Thomas Cavendish to South America and the Pacific, which started on 26 Aug. 1591 and returned on 11 June 1593. After his return Lodge essayed lyric in *Phillis* (1593) and satire in *A Fig for Momus* (1595); but he cannot be shown to have resumed writing for the stage, although the Dulwich records make it clear that he had relations with Henslowe, who had in Jan. 1598 to satisfy the claims which Richard Topping, a tailor, had made against him before three successive Lord Chamberlains, as Lodge's security for a long-standing debt (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 44, 172). Lodge himself was then once more beyond the seas. One of the documents was printed by Collier, *Memoirs of Alleyn*, 45, with forged interpolations intended to represent Lodge as an actor, for which there is no other evidence. Subsequently Lodge took a medical degree at Avignon, was incorporated at Oxford in 1602, and obtained some reputation as a physician. He also became a Catholic, and had again to leave the country for recusancy, but was allowed to return in Jan. 1610 (cf. F. P. Wilson in *M. L. R.* ix. 99). About 1619 he was engaged in legal proceedings with Alleyn, and for a time practised in the Low Countries, returning to London before his death in 1625. Small, 50, refutes the attempts of Fleay, i. 363, and Penniman, *War*, 55, 85, to identify him with Fungoso in *E. M. O.* and Asotus in *Cynthia's Revels*. Fleay, ii. 158, 352, adds Churms and Philomusus in the anonymous *Wily Beguiled* and *Return from Parnassus*.

Collection

1878–82. E. Gosse, *The Works of Thomas Lodge* (*Hunterian Club*). [Introduction reprinted in E. Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies* (1883).]

Dissertations: D. Laing, *L.'s Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage Plays* (1853, *Sh. Soc.*); C. M. Ingleby, *Was T. L. an Actor?* (1868) and *T. L. and the Stage* (1885, 6 *N. Q.* xi, 107, 415); R. Carl, *Ueber T. L.'s Leben und Werke* (1887, *Anglia*, x. 235); E. C. Richard, *Ueber T. L.'s Leben und Werke* (1887, *Leipzig diss.*).

The Wounds of Civil War. c. 1588

S. R. 1594, May 24. 'A booke intituled the woundes of Civill warre lively sett forthe in the true Tragedies of Marius and Scilla.' *John Danter* (Arber, ii. 650).

1594. The Wounds of Ciuill War. Liuely set forth in the true Tragedies of Marius and Scilla. As it hath beene publiquely plaide in London, by the Right Honourable the Lord high Admirall his Seruants. Written by Thomas Lodge Gent. *John Danter.*

Editions in Dodsley$^{3, 4}$ (1825–75) and by J. D. Wilson (1910, *M. S. R.*).

The play contains a clear imitation of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* in the chariot drawn by four Moors of Act III, and both Fleay, ii. 49, and Ward, i. 416, think that it was written shortly after its model, although not on very convincing grounds. No performance of it is recorded in Henslowe's diary, which suggests a date well before 1592.

A Looking Glass for London and England. c. 1590

With Robert Greene (q.v.).

Doubtful Plays

Lodge's hand has been sought in *An Alarum for London*, *Contention of York and Lancaster*, *George a Greene*, *Leire*, *Mucedorus*, *Selimus*, *Sir Thomas More*, *Troublesome Reign of King John*, and *Warning for Fair Women* (cf. ch. xxiv), and in Greene's *James IV* and Shakespeare's *Henry VI*.

JANE, LADY LUMLEY (*c.* 1537–77).

Jane, daughter of Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, married John, Lord Lumley, *c.* 1549.

Iphigenia (?)

[*MS.*] *Brit. Mus. MS. Reg.* 15 A. ix, 'The doinge of my Lady Lumley dowghter to my L. Therle of Arundell . . . [f. 63] The Tragedie of Euripides called Iphigeneia translated out of Greake into Englisshe.'

Editions by H. H. Child (1909, *M. S. R.*) and G. Becker (1910, *Jahrbuch*, xlvi. 28).

The translation is from the *Iphigenia in Aulis*. It is likely to be pre-Elizabethan, but I include it here, as it is not noticed in *The Mediaeval Stage*.

THOMAS LUPTON (?-?).

Several miscellaneous works by Lupton appeared during 1572–84. He may be the 'Mr. Lupton' whom the Corporation of Worcester paid during the progress of 1575 (Nichols, i. 549) 'for his paynes for and in devising [and] instructing the children in their speeches on the too Stages'.

All For Money. 1558 < > 77

S. R. 1577, Nov. 25. 'An Enterlude intituled all for money.' *Roger Ward* (Arber, ii. 321).

1578. A Moral and Pitieful Comedie, Intituled, All for Money. Plainly representing the manners of men, and fashion of the world noweadayes. Compiled by T. Lupton. *Roger Ward and Richard Mundee.*

Editions by J. O. Halliwell (1851, *Literature of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*), E. Vogel (1904, *Jahrbuch*, xl. 129), J. S. Farmer (1910, *T. F. T.*).

A final prayer for the Queen who 'hath begon godly' suggests an earlier date than that of Lupton's other recorded work. Fleay, ii. 56, would identify the play with *The Devil and Dives* named in the anonymous *Histriomastix*, but Dives only appears once, and not with Satan.

JOHN LYLY (1554 ?–1606).

Lyly was of a gentle Hampshire family, the grandson of William, high master of St. Paul's grammar school, and son of Peter, a diocesan official at Canterbury, where he was probably born some seventeen years before 8 Oct. 1571, when he matriculated from Magdalen College, Oxford. He took his B.A. in 1573 and his M.A. in 1575, after a vain attempt in 1574 to secure a fellowship through the influence of Burghley. He went to London and dwelt in the Savoy. By 1578, when he published *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit*, he was apparently in the service of Lord Delawarr, and by 1580 in that of Burghley's son-in-law, Edward, Earl of Oxford. It is a pleasing conjecture that he may have been the author of 'the two prose books played at the Belsavage, where you shall find never a word without wit, never a line without pith, never a letter placed in vain', thus praised in *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579) of his fellow euphuist, Stephen Gosson. He incurred the enmity of Gabriel Harvey by suggesting to Oxford that he was aimed at in the *Speculum Tuscanismi* of Harvey's *Three Letters* (1580). In 1582 he had himself incurred Oxford's displeasure, but the trouble was surmounted, and about 1584 he held leases in the Blackfriars (cf. ch. xvii), one at least of which he obtained through Oxford, for the purposes of a theatrical speculation, in the course of which he took to Court a company which bore Oxford's name, but was probably made up of boys from the Chapel and St. Paul's choirs. Presumably the speculation failed, for in June 1584 Lyly, who on 22 Nov. 1583 had married Beatrice Browne of Mexborough, Yorks., was in prison for debt, whence he was probably relieved by a gift from Oxford, in reward for his service, of a rent-charge which he sold for £250. His connexion with the stage was not, however, over, for he continued to write for the Paul's boys until they stopped playing about 1591. Harvey calls Lyly the 'Vicemaster of Paules and the Foolemaster of the Theatre'. From this it has been inferred that he held an ushership at the Paul's choir school. But 'vice' is a common synonym for 'fool' and 'vicemaster', like 'foolemaster', probably only means 'playwright'. Nothing written by Lyly for the Theater in particular or for any adult stage is known to exist, but he seems to have taken part with Nashe in the retorts of orthodoxy during 1589 and 1590 to the Martin Marprelate pamphleteers, probably writing the tract called *Pappe with a Hatchett* (1589), and he may have been responsible for some of the plays which certainly formed an element in that retort. Lyly's ambitions were in the direction of courtly rather than of academic preferment. He seems to have had some promise of favour from Elizabeth about 1585 and to have been more definitely 'entertained her servant' as Esquire of the Body, probably 'extraordinary', in or about 1588, with a hint to 'aim his courses at the Revels', doubtless at the reversion of the Mastership, then held by Edmund Tilney. Mr. R. W. Bond bases many conjectures about Lyly's career on a theory that he actually held the post of Clerk Comptroller in the Revels Office, but the known history of the post (cf. ch. iii) makes this impossible. From 1596 he is found living in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less. He seems to have ceased writing plays for some while in 1590, and may be the 'pleasant Willy' spoken of as 'dead of late' and sitting 'in idle Cell' in Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* (1591), although it is possible that Tarlton (q.v.) is intended. But *The Woman in the Moon* at least is of later date, and it is possible that both the Chapel and the Paul's boys were again acting his old plays by the end of the century. In 1595 he was lamenting the overthrow of his fortunes, and by about 1597 the reversion of the Mastership of the Revels had been definitely promised to George Buck. There exist several letters written by Lyly to the Queen and to Sir Robert Cecil between 1597 and 1601, in which he complains bitterly of the wrong done him. Later letters of 1603 and 1605 suggest that at last he had obtained his reward, possibly something out of the Essex forfeitures for which he was asking in 1601. In any case, he did not live to enjoy it long, as the register of St. Bartholomew's the Less records his burial on 30 Nov. 1606.

Collections

S. R. 1628, Jan. 9 (by order of a full court). 'Sixe playes of Peter Lillyes to be printed in one volume . . . viz^t. Campaste, Sapho, and Phao. Galathea: Endimion Midas and Mother Bomby.' *Blount* (Arber, iv. 192). [' Peter ' is due to a confusion with Lyly's brother, a chaplain of the Savoy, who had acted as licenser for the press.]

1632. Sixe Court Comedies. Often Presented and Acted before Queene Elizabeth, by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell, and the Children of Paules. Written by the onely Rare Poet of that Time. The Witie, Comicall, Facetiously-Quicke and vnparalelld: Iohn Lilly, Master of Arts. *William Stansby for Edward Blount.* [Epistles to Viscount Lumley and to the Reader, both signed ' Ed. Blount '. This edition adds many songs not in the Qq, and W. W. Greg (*M. L. R.* i. 43) argues that they are not by Lyly, but mid-seventeenth-century work and possibly by Dekker.]

1858. F. W. Fairholt, *The Dramatic Works of J.L.* 2 vols. (*Library of Old Authors*).

1902. R. W. Bond, *The Complete Works of J. L.* 3 vols.

Dissertations: H. Morley, *Euphuism* (1861, *Quarterly Review*, cix); W. L. Rushton, *Shakespeare's Euphuism* (1871); R. F. Weymouth, *On Euphuism* (1870–2, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*); C. C. Hense, *J. L. und Shakespeare* (1872–3, *Jahrbuch*, vii. 238; viii. 224); F. Landmann, *Der Euphuismus, sein Wesen, seine Quelle, seine Geschichte* (1881), *Shakespeare and Euphuism* (1880–5, *N. S. S. Trans.* 241); J. Goodlet, *Shakespeare's Debt to J. L.* (1882, *E. S.* v. 356); K. Steinhäuser, *J. L. als Dramatiker* (1884); J. M. Hart, *Euphuism* (1889, *Ohio College Trans.*); C. G. Child, *J. L. and Euphuism* (1894); J. D. Wilson, *J.L.* (1905); W. W. Greg, *The Authorship of the Songs in L.'s Plays* (1905, *M. L. R.* i. 43); A. Feuillerat, *J. L.* (1910); F. Brie, *L. und Greene* (1910, *E. S.* xlii. 217).

Campaspe. 1584

(*a*) 1584. A moste excellent Comedie of Alexander, Campaspe, and Diogenes. Played before the Queenes Maiestie on twelfe day at night by her Maiesties Children and the Children of Poules. *For Thomas Cadman.* [Huth Collection. Prologue and Epilogue at the Blackfriars; Prologue and Epilogue at Court. Running title, ' A tragical Comedie of Alexander and Campaspe '.]

(*b*) 1584. Campaspe, Played . . . on newyeares day at night, by her Maiesties Children. . . . *For Thomas Cadman.* [Dyce Collection.]

(*c*) 1584. Campaspe, Played . . . on newyeares day at night, by her Maiesties Childrẽ. . . . *For Thomas Cadman.* [B.M.; Bodleian.]

1591. Campaspe, Played . . . on twelfe day. . . . *Thomas Orwin for William Broome.*

S. R. 1597, Apr. 12 (in full court). 'Sapho and Phao and Campaspe . . . the which copies were Thomas Cadmans.' *Joan Broome* (Arber, iii. 82).

1601, Aug. 23 (in full court). 'Copies . . . which belonged to Mystres Brome . . . viz. Sapho and Phao, Campaspe, Endimion, Mydas, Galathea.' *George Potter* (Arber, iii. 191).

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-3}$ (1825, ii), and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* i), J. M. Manly (1897, *Specimens*, ii. 273), G. P. Baker (1903, *R. E. C.*)—*Dissertations*: R. Sprenger, *Zu J. L.'s C.* (1892, *E. S.* xvi. 156); E. Koeppel, *Zu J. L.'s A. und C.* (1903, *Archiv*, cx).

The order of the 1584 prints is not quite clear; (*c*) follows (*b*), but the absence of any collation of (*a*) leaves its place conjectural. I conjecture that it came first, partly because a correction in the date of Court performance is more likely to have been made after one inaccurate issue than after two, partly because its abandoned t.p. title serves as running title in all three issues. I do not think the reversion to 'twelfe day' in 1591, when the facts may have been forgotten, carries much weight. If so, the Court production was on a 1 Jan., and although the wording of the t.p. suggests, rather than proves, that it was 1 Jan. in the year of publication, this date fits in with the known facts of Lyly's connexion with the Blackfriars (cf. ch. xvii). The *Chamber Accounts* (App. B) give the performers on this day as Lord Oxford's servants, but I take this company to have been a combination of Chapel and Paul's children (cf. chh. xii, xiii). Fleay, ii. 39, and Bond, ii. 310, with imperfect lists of Court performances before them, suggest 31 Dec. 1581, taking 'newyeares day at night', rather lamely, for New Year's Eve. So does Feuillerat, 574, but I am not sure that his view will have survived his Blackfriars investigations. In any case, the play must have been written later than Jan. 1580, as Lyly uses Sir T. North's English translation of Plutarch, of which the preface is dated in that month. In a prefatory note by N. W. to S. Daniel, *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Jovius* (1585), that work is commended above 'Tarlton's toys or the silly enterlude of Diogenes' (Grosart, *Daniel*, iv. 8).

Sapho and Phao. 3 Mar. 1584

S. R. 1584, Apr. 6. 'Yt is graunted vnto him yat yf he gett ye comedie of Sappho laufully alowed vnto him, then none of this cumpanie shall interrupt him to enjoye yt' (*in margin* 'Lyllye'). *Thomas Cadman* (Arber, ii. 430).

1584. Sapho and Phao, Played beefore the Queenes Maiestie on Shrouetewsday, by her Maiesties Children, and the Boyes of Paules. *Thomas Dawson for Thomas Cadman.* [Prologues 'at the Black fryers' and 'at the Court', and Epilogue.]

1591. *Thomas Orwin for William Broome.*

S. R. 1597, Apr. 12 }
1601, Aug. 23 } *vide supra* s.v. *Campaspe.*

I date the Court production on the Shrove-Tuesday before the S. R. entry, on which day Oxford's boys, whom I regard as made up of Chapel and Paul's boys, played under Lyly (cf. App. B). Fleay, ii. 40, Bond, ii. 367, and Feuillerat, 573, prefer Shrove-Tuesday (27 Feb.) 1582.

Galathea. 1584 < > 88

S. R. 1585, Apr. 1. 'A Commoedie of Titirus and Galathea' (no fee recorded). *Gabriel Cawood* (Arber, ii. 440).

1591, Oct. 4 (Bp. of London). 'Three Comedies plaied before her maiestie by the Children of Paules thone called Endimion, thother Galathea and thother Midas.' *Widow Broome* (Arber, ii. 596).

1592. Gallathea. As it was playde before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenewiche, on Newyeeres day at Night. By the Chyldren of Paules. *John Charlwood for Joan Broome.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

The only performance by Paul's, on a 1 Jan. at Greenwich, which can be referred to in the t.p. is that of 1588 (cf. App. B), and in III. iii. 41 is an allusion to the approaching year *octogesimus octavus*, which would of course begin on 25 March 1588. Fleay, ii. 40, and Feuillerat, 575, accept this date. Bond, ii. 425, prefers 1586 or 1587, regardless of the fact that the New Year plays in these years were by the Queen's men. A phrase in v. iii. 86 proves it later than *Sapho and Phao.* But if, as seems probable, the 1585 entry in the Stationers' Register was of this play, the original production must have been at least as early as 1584-5, and that of 1588 a revival.

Endymion. 1588

S. R. 1591, Oct. 4. *Vide supra* s.v. *Galathea.*

1591. Endimion, The Man in the Moone. Playd before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenewich on Candlemas Day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules. *John Charlwood for Joan Broome.* [Epistle by the Printer to the Reader; Prologue and Epilogue.]

Editions by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* ii), G. P. Baker (1894) and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertations*: N. J. Halpin, *Oberon's Vision in M. N. D. Illustrated by a Comparison with L.'s E.* (1843, *Sh. Soc.*); J. E. Spingarn, *The Date of L.'s E.* (1894, *Athenaeum*, ii. 172, 204); P. W. Long, *The Purport of L.'s E.* (1909, *M. L. A.* xxiv. 1), *L.'s E., an Addendum* (1911, *M. P.* viii. 599).

The prologue and epilogue were evidently for the Court. The epistle describes this as the first of certain comedies which had come into the printer's hands 'since the plays in Pauls were dissolved'. Baker, lxxxiii, suggested a date of composition in the autumn of 1579, while Spingarn, Bond, iii. 11, and Feuillerat, 577, take the Candlemas of the t.p. to be that of 1586, but the only available Candlemas performance by the Paul's boys is that of 1588 (cf. App. B). With Long I find no conviction in the attempts of Halpin, Baker, Bond, and Feuillerat to trace Elizabeth's politics and amours in the play. If Lyly had meant half of what they suggest, he would have ruined his career in her service at the outset.

Midas. *1589–90*

S. R. 1591, Oct. 4. *Vide supra*, s.v. *Galathea.*

1592. Midas. Plaied before the Queenes Maiestie upon Twelfe day at night. By the Children of Paules. *Thomas Scarlet for J. B.* [Prologue 'in Paules'.]

Edition by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* i).

Internal allusions suggest a date as late as 1589, and the Twelfth Night of the t.p. must therefore be 6 Jan. 1590. Fleay, ii. 42, and Bond, iii. 111, accept this date. Feuillerat, 578, prefers 6 Jan. 1589, because Gabriel Harvey alludes to the play in his *Advertisement to Pap-Hatchet*, dated 5 Nov. 1589. But there was no Court performance on that day, and Harvey may have seen the play 'in Paules'.

Mother Bombie. *1587 < > 90*

S. R. 1594, June 18. 'A booke intituled mother Bumbye beinge an enterlude.' *Cuthbert Burby* (Arber, ii. 654).

1594. Mother Bombie. As it was sundrie times plaied by the Children of Powles. *Thomas Scarlet for Cuthbert Burby.*

1598. *Thomas Creede for Cuthbert Burby.*

Edition by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* i).

The play doubtless belongs to the Paul's series of 1587–90. It seems hardly possible to date it more closely. Feuillerat, 578, thinks it later in style than *Midas.*

Love's Metamorphosis. *1589–90* (?)

S. R. 1600, Nov. 25 (Pasfield). 'A booke Called Loves metamorphesis wrytten by master John Lylly and playd by the Children of Paules.' *William Wood* (Arber, iii. 176).

1601. Loves Metamorphosis. A Wittie and Courtly Pastorall. Written by Mr Iohn Lyllie. First playd by the Children of Paules, and now by the Children of the Chapell. *For William Wood.*

F. Brie (*E. S.* xlii. 222) suggests that the play borrowed from Greene's *Greenes Metamorphosis* (S. R. 9 Dec. 1588). Probably the Paul's boys produced it *c.* 1589–90, and the Chapel revived it in 1600–1.

The Woman in the Moon. *1590 < > 5* (?)

S. R. 1595, Sept. 22. 'A booke intituled a woman in the moone.' *Robert Fynche* (Arber, iii. 48).

1597. The Woman in the Moone. As it was presented before her Highnesse. By Iohn Lyllie Maister of Arts. *William Jones.* [Prologue.]

The prologue says:

> Remember all is but a poet's dream,
> The first he had in Phoebus holy bower,
> But not the last, unless the first displease.

This has been taken as indicating that the play was Lyly's first; but it need only mean that it was his first in verse. All the others are in prose. The blank verse is that of the nineties, rather than that of the early eighties. There is nothing to show who were the actors, but it is not unlikely that, after the plays in Paul's were dissolved, Lyly tried his hand in a new manner for a new company. Feuillerat, 232, 580, suggests that Elizabeth may have taken the satire of women amiss and that the 'overthwartes' of Lyly's fortunes of which he complained in Jan. 1595 may have been the result. He puts the date, therefore, in 1593–4.

Doubtful Work

Lyly has been suggested as the author of *Maid's Metamorphosis* and *A Warning for Fair Women* (cf. ch. xxiv) and of several anonymous entertainments and fragments of entertainments (ibid., and *supra*, s.vv. Cecil, Clifford, Lee).

LEWIS MACHIN (*fl. c.* 1608).

Nothing is known of Machin's personality. He is probably the L. M. who contributed 'eglogs' to the *Mirrha* (1607) of the King's Revels actor William Barksted (q.v.). A Richard Machin was an actor in Germany, 1600–6. There is no traceable connexion between either Richard or Lewis and Henry Machyn the diarist.

Machin collaborated with Gervase Markham in *The Dumb Knight* (q.v.).

The anonymous *Every Woman in Her Humour* and *Fair Maid of the Exchange* have also been ascribed to him (cf. ch. xxiv).

GERVASE MARKHAM (*c.* 1568–1637).

There were two Gervase Markhams, as to both of whom full details are given in C.R. Markham, *Markham Memorials* (1913). The dramatist was probably the third son of Robert Markham of Cotham, Notts., a soldier and noted horseman, whose later life was devoted to an industrious output of books, verses, romance, translations, and treatises on horsemanship, farming, and sport. He was, said Jonson to Drummond in 1619, 'not of the number of the faithfull, i.e. Poets, and but a base fellow' (Laing, 11). Fleay, ii. 58, suggested, on the basis of certain phrases in his *Tragedy of Sir Richard Grenville* (1595), which has a dedication, amongst others, to the Earl of Southampton, that he might be the 'rival poet' of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. The other Gervase Markham was of Sedgebrook and later of Dunham, Notts., and is not known to have been a writer. C. W. Wallace thinks he has found a third in an 'adventurer' whose wagers with actors and others on the success of an intended walk to Berwick in 1618 led to a suit in the Court of Requests (*Jahrbuch*, xlvi. 345). But as he, like Markham of Cotham, had served in Ireland, the two may conceivably be identical, although the adventurer had a large family, and it is not known that Markham of Cotham had any. Markham of Dunham, who had also served in Ireland, had but two bastards. Conceivably Markham wrote for the Admiral's in 1596–7 (cf. vol. ii, p. 145). Beyond the period dealt with, he collaborated with William Sampson in *Herod and Antipater* (1622) acted by the Revels company at the Red Bull.

The Dumb Knight. 1607–8

S. R. 1608, Oct. 6 (Buck). ‘A playe of the Dumbe Knight.’ *John Bache* (Arber, iii. 392).

1610. Nov. 19. Transfer from Bache to Robert Wilson (Arber, iii. 449).

1608. The dumbe Knight. A pleasant Comedy, acted sundry times by the children of his Maiesties Reuels. Written by Iaruis Markham. *N. Okes for J. Bache.* [Epistle to Reader, signed ‘Lewes Machin’. There were two reissues of 1608 with altered t.ps. Both omit the ascription to Markham. One has ‘A historicall comedy’; the other omits the description.]

1633. *A. M. for William Sheares.*

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-4}$ (1744–1875) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii).—*Dissertation*: J. Q. Adams, *Every Woman in Her Humour and The Dumb Knight* (1913, *M. P.* x. 413).

The Epistle says that ‘Rumour ... hath made strange constructions on this Dumb Knight’, and that ‘having a partner in the wrong whose worth hath been often approved . . . I now in his absence make this apology, both for him and me’. Presumably these ‘constructions’ led to the withdrawal of Markham's name from the title-page. Fleay, ii. 58, assigned him the satirical comedy of the underplot, but Adams points out that Markham's books reveal no humour, and that the badly linked underplot was probably inserted by Machin. It borrows passages from the anonymous unprinted *Every Woman in Her Humour* (q.v.). The production of a King's Revels play is not likely to be before 1607, but Herz, 102, thinks that an earlier version underlies the *Vom König in Cypern* of Jacob Ayrer, who died 1605. A later German version also exists, and was perhaps the *Philole und Mariana* played at Nuremberg in 1613.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE (1564–93).

Marlowe, whose name was also spelt Marley and Marlin, was the son of John and Catherine Marlowe of Canterbury. He was born 6 Feb. 1564. John Marlowe was a shoemaker and subsequently became parish clerk of St. Mary's. He entered the King's School, Canterbury, in 1579 and in March 1581 matriculated with a pension on Abp. Parker's foundation at Corpus Christi or Benet's College, Cambridge. He took his B.A. in 1584 and his M.A. in 1587. In this year he probably began his literary career in London, with *Tamburlaine*. A ballad, printed by Collier, which represents him as a player and breaking his leg in a lewd scene on the stage of the Curtain, is now discredited. There are satirical allusions to him in the preface to the *Perimedes* (S. R. 29 March 1588) and in the *Menaphon* (23 Aug. 1589) of Robert Greene, but it is very doubtful whether, as usually assumed, Nashe had him especially in mind when he criticized certain tragic poets of the day in his epistle to the latter pamphlet (cf. App. C, No. xlii). On 1 Oct. 1588 ‘Christofer Marley, of London, gentleman,’ had to give bail to appear at the next Middlesex Sessions. The exact nature of the charge is unknown;

but it cannot be doubted that his personal reputation, even in the free-living Elizabethan London, did not stand high. He is clearly the 'famous gracer of tragedians' reproved for atheism in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592) and it is probably to him that Chettle alludes in his apology when he says, 'With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted and with one of them I care not if I never be' (cf. App. C, Nos. xlviii, xlix). The charge of atheism doubtless arose from Marlowe's association with the group of freethinkers which centred round Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1593 these speculative tendencies brought him into trouble. About 1591, while writing for the players of a certain lord, as yet unidentified, he had shared a room with Thomas Kyd (q.v.), who was then in the service of the same lord. Certain theological notes of his got amongst Kyd's papers and were found there when Kyd was arrested on a charge of libel on 12 May 1593. On 18 May the Privy Council sent a messenger to the house of Thomas Walsingham, at Scadbury in Kent, to arrest Marlowe, and on 20 May he was ordered to remain in attendance on the Council. There exists a 'Note' drawn up at this time by one Richard Baines or Bame, containing a report of some loose conversation of Marlowe's which their Lordships could hardly be expected to regard as anything but blasphemous. But, so far as Marlowe was concerned, the proceedings were put a stop to by his sudden death. The register of St. Nicholas, Deptford, records that he was 'slain by Francis Archer' and buried there on 1 June 1593. Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* (1598) tells us that he was 'stabbed to death by a bawdy servingman, a rival of his in his lewde love'. Somewhat different versions of the story are given by Thomas Beard, *The Theater of God's Judgments* (1597), and William Vaughan, *The Golden Grove* (1600), both of whom use Marlowe's fate to point the moral against atheism. There are some rather incoherent allusions to the event in verses affixed by Gabriel Harvey to his *A New Letter of Notable Contents*, which is dated 16 Sept. 1593:

Sonet

Gorgon, or the Wonderfull yeare

. . . The fatall yeare of yeares is Ninety Three:
. . . Weepe Powles, thy Tamberlaine voutsafes to dye.

L'envoy

The hugest miracle remaines behinde,
The second Shakerley Rash-swash to binde.

. . . .

The Writer's Postscript; or a friendly Caveat to the Second Shakerley of Powles.

Slumbring I lay in melancholy bed
Before the dawning of the sanguin light:
When Eccho shrill, or some Familiar Spright,
Buzzed an Epitaph into my hed.

Magnifique Mindes, bred of Gargantuas race,
In grisly weedes His Obsequies waiment
Whose Corps on Powles, whose mind triumph'd on Kent,
Scorning to bate Sir Rodomont an ace.

I mus'd awhile: and having mus'd awhile,
Iesu, (quoth I) is that Gargantua minde
Conquerd, and left no Scanderbeg behinde?
Vowed he not to Powles A Second bile?
What bile or kibe (quoth that same early Spright)
Have you forgot the Scanderbegging wight?

Glosse

Is it a Dreame? or is it the Highest Minde
That ever haunted Powles, or hunted winde,
Bereaft of that same sky-surmounting breath,
That breath, that taught the Tempany to swell?
He, and the Plague contested for the game:

. . . .

The grand Dissease disdain'd his toade Conceit,
And smiling at his tamberlaine contempt,
Sternely struck-home the peremptory stroke. . . .

Harvey seems to have thought in error that Marlowe died of the plague. I do not infer from the allusions to 'Powles' that Marlowe wrote for the Paul's boys; but rather that *Tamburlaine*, like Nashe's pamphlets, was sold by the booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard. The 'second Shakerley' is certainly Nashe. Surely 'Scanderbeg', who is 'left behinde', must also be Nashe, and I do not see how Fleay, ii. 65, draws the inference that Marlowe was the author of the lost play entered on the Stationers' Register by Edward Allde on 3 July 1601 as 'the true historye of George Scanderbarge, as yt was lately playd by the right honorable the Earle of Oxenford his servantes' (Arber, iii. 187). There is much satire both of Marlowe and of Nashe in the body of *A New Letter* (Grosart, *Harvey*, i. 255).

Collections

1826. [G. Robinson] *The Works of C. M.* 3 vols.

1850. A. Dyce, *The Works of C.M.* 3 vols. [Revised 1858, and in 1 vol. 1865, &c.]

1870. F. Cunningham, *The Works of C. M.*

1885. A. H. Bullen, *The Works of C. M.* 3 vols.

1885–9. H. Breymann and A. Wagner, *C. M. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe.* 3 parts. [*Tamburlaine, Dr. Faustus, Jew of Malta* only issued.]

1887. H. Ellis, *The Best Plays of C. M.* (*Mermaid Series*). [*Tamburlaine, Dr. Faustus, Jew of Malta, Edward II.*]

1910. C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Works of C. M.* [Larger edition in progress.]

1912. W. L. Phelps. *Marlowe* [*M. E. D.*]. [*Tamburlaine, Dr. Faustus, Jew of Malta, Edward II.*]

Dissertations: H. Ulrici, *C. M. und Shakespeare's Verhältniss zu ihm* (1865, *Jahrbuch*, i. 57); J. Schipper, *De versu Marlowii* (1867); T. Mommsen, *M. und Shakespeare* (1886); A. W. Verity, *M.'s Influence on Shakespeare* (1886); E. Faligan, *De Marlovianis Fabulis* (1887); O. Fischer, *Zur Charakteristik der Dramen M.'s* (1889); J. G. Lewis, *C. M.: Outlines of his Life and Works* (1891); F. S. Boas, *New Light on M.* (1899, *Fortnightly Review*, lxxi, 212); J. H. Ingram, *C. M. and his Associates* (1904); H. Jung, *Das Verhältniss M.'s zu Shakespeare* (1904); W. L. Courtney, *C. M.* (*Fortnightly Review*, 1905, ii. 467, 678); A. Marquardsen, *C. M.'s Kosmologie* (1905, *Jahrbuch*, xli. 54); J. Le G. Brereton, *The Case of Francis Ingram* (*Sydney Univ. Publ.* v); G. C. Moore Smith, *Marlowe at Cambridge* (1909, *M. L. R.* iv. 167); F. C. Danchin, *Études critiques sur C. M.* (1912–13, *Revue Germanique*, viii. 23; ix. 566); C. Crawford, *The Marlowe Concordance* (1911, *Materialien*, xxxiv, pt. i only); F. K. Brown, *M. and Kyd* (*T.L.S.*, 2 June, 1921).

Tamburlaine. c. 1587

S. R. 1590, Aug. 14 (Hartwell). 'The twooe commicall discourses of Tomberlein the Cithian shepparde.' *Richard Jones* (Arber, ii. 558).

1590. Tamburlaine the Great. Who, from a Scythian Shephearde by his rare and wonderfull Conquests became a most puissant and mightye Monarque. And (for his tyranny, and terrour in Warre) was tearmed, The Scourge of God. Deuided into two Tragicall Discourses, as they were sundrie times shewed vpon Stages in the Citie of London, By the right honorable the Lord Admyrall, his seruantes. Now first, and newlie published. *Richard Jones* [8vo]. [Epistle to the Readers, signed 'R. I. Printer'; Prologues to both Parts. See Greg, *Plays*, 66; *Masques*, cxxv. Ingram, 281, speaks of two 4tos and one 8vo of 1590, probably through some confusion.]

1592. *R. Jones.* [Greg, *Masques*, cxxv, thinks that the date may have been altered in the B.M. copy from 1593. Langbaine mentions an edition of 1593.]

1597. [An edition apparently known to Collier; cf. Greg, *Masques*, cxxv.]

1605. *For Edward White.* [Part i.]

1606. *E. A. for E. White.* [Part ii.]

Editions by A. Wagner (1885) and K. Vollmöller (1885) and of Part i by W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertations*: C. H. Herford, *The Sources of M.'s T.* (*Academy*, 20 Oct. 1883); L. Frankel, *Zum Stoffe von M.'s T.* (1892, *E. S.* xvi. 459); E. Köppel in *Englische Studien*, xvi. 357; E. Hübner, *Der Einfluss von M.'s Tamburlaine auf die zeitgenössischen und folgenden Dramatiker* (*Halle diss.* 1901); F. G. Hubbard, *Possible Evidence for the Date of T.* (1918, *M. L. A.* xxxiii. 436).

There is no real doubt as to Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine*, but the direct evidence is very slight, consisting chiefly of Greene's (q.v.) *Perimedes* coupling of 'that atheist Tamburlan' with 'spirits as bred of Merlin's race', and Harvey's allusion to its author as dying in 1593. Thomas Heywood, in his prologue to *The Jew of Malta*, speaks of Alleyn's performance in the play. The entry printed by Collier in Henslowe's *Diary* of a payment to Dekker in 1597 'for a prolog to Marloes tambelan' is a forgery (Warner, 159; Greg, *Henslowe*, i. xxxix). The Admiral's produced 'Tamberlan' on 30 Aug. 1594. Henslowe marks the entry 'j', which has been taken as equivalent to 'n. e.', Henslowe's symbol for a new play, and as pointing to a revision of the play. I feel sure, however (cf. *M. L. R.* iv. 408), that 'j' only means 'First Part'. 'Tamberlen' was given fifteen times from 30 Aug. 1594 to 12 Nov. 1595, and the '2 pt. of tamberlen' seven times from 19 Dec. 1594 to 13 Nov. 1595 (Henslowe, ii. 167). Tamburlaine's cage, bridle, coat, and breeches are included in the inventories of the Admiral's men in 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 116).

Greene's *Perimedes* reference suggests 1587 or early 1588 as the probable date of *Tamburlaine*. In his preface to the 1590 edition Richard Jones says that he has omitted 'some fond and frivolous gestures', but does not say whether these were by the author of the tragic stuff. The numerous references to the play in contemporary literature often indicate its boisterous character; e.g. T. M. *The Black Book* (Bullen, *Middleton*, viii. 25), 'The spindle-shank spiders . . . went stalking over his head as if they had been conning of Tamburlaine'; T. M. *Father Hubburd's Tales* (ibid. viii. 93), 'The ordnance playing like so many Tamburlaines'.

Dr. Faustus. c. 1588

S. R. 1592, Dec. 18. Herbert-Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, ii. 1160, records the following decision of the Stationers' Company not printed by Arber, 'If the book of D^{r}. Faustus shall not be found in the Hall Book entered to R^{d}. Oliff before Abell Jeffes claymed the same, which was about May last, That then the said copie shall remayne to the said Abell his proper copie from the tyme of his first clayme'. [This can hardly refer to the prose *History of Faustus*, of which the earliest extant, but probably not the first, edition was printed by T. Orwin for Edward White in 1592.]

1601, Jan. 7 (Barlowe). 'A booke called the plaie of Doctor Faustus.' *Thomas Bushell* (Arber, iii. 178).

1610, Sept. 13. Transfer from Bushell to John Wright of 'The tragicall history of the horrible life and Death of Doctor Faustus, written by C. M.' (Arber, iii. 442).

1604. The tragicall History of D. Faustus. As it hath bene Acted by the Right Honorable the Earle of Nottingham his seruants. Written by Ch. Marl. *V. S. for Thomas Bushell.*

1609. *G. E. for John Wright.*

1616. *For John Wright.* [An enlarged and altered text.]

1619. . . . With new Additions. *For John Wright.*

1620; 1624; 1631.

1663. . . . Printed with New Additions as it is now Acted. With several New Scenes, together with the Actors names. *For W. Gilbertson.* [A corrupt text.]

Breymann mentions an edition of 1611 not now known, and Heinemann quotes from foreign writers mentions of editions of 1622, 1626, 1636, 1651, 1690 (1884, *Bibliographer*).

Editions by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* i), A. Reidl (N.D. [1874]), W. Wagner (1877), A. W. Ward (1878, 1887, 1891, 1901), Anon. (1881, Zurich), H. Morley (1883), H. Breymann 1889), I. Gollancz

(1897, *T.D.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*), J. S. Farmer (1914, *S. F. T.*).—*Dissertations*: G. Herzfeld, *Zu M.'s Dr. F.* (1905, *Jahrbuch*, xli. 206); H. R. O. De Vries, *Die Überlieferung und Entstehungsgeschichte von M.'s Dr. F.* (1909); K. R. Schröder, *Textverhältnisse und Entstehungsgeschichte von M.'s F.* (1909); R. Rohde, *Zu M.'s D. F.* (1913, *Morsbach-Festschrift*); P. Simpson, *The 1604 Text of M.'s D. F.* (1921, *Essays and Studies*, vii); with much earlier literature summarized in Ward's edition, to which also (1887, ed. 2) Fleay's excursus on *The Date and Authorship of Dr. F.* was contributed.

The Admiral's men played 'Docter ffostose' for Henslowe twenty-four times from 2 Oct. 1594 to Oct. 1597 (Henslowe, ii. 168). Their 1598 inventories include 'j dragon in fostes' (*Henslowe Papers*, 118). Alleyn (q.v.) played the title-rôle. The entry printed by Collier from Henslowe's *Diary* of a payment to Dekker on 20 Dec. 1597 'for adycyons to ffostus' is a forgery (Warner, 159; Greg, *Henslowe*, i. xxxix), but Henslowe did pay £4 to William Bird and Samuel Rowley 'for ther adicyones in doctor fostes' on 22 Nov. 1602 (Henslowe, i. 172). Probably, therefore, the Admiral's revived the play about 1602–3. These additions are doubtless the comic passages which appear for the first time in the 1616 text, although that may also contain fragments of the original text omitted from the 1,485 lines of 1604. The source of the play seems to be the German *Faustbuch* (1587) through the English *History of Dr. Johann Faustus*, of which an edition earlier than the extant 1592 one is conjectured. A probable date is 1588–9. On 28 Feb. 1589 'a ballad of the life and deathe of Doctor Faustus the great Cungerer' was entered on S. R. (Arber, ii. 516). There are apparent imitations of the play in *Taming of A Shrew* (q.v.).

The reference in *The Black Book* (*vide infra*) can hardly be taken as evidence that the original production was at the Theatre.

Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 168) gives some support to the view of Fleay (Ward, clxvii) that Marlowe is only responsible for part even of the 1604 text, and that the rest, including the comic matter, may have been contributed by Dekker. But he doubts whether Dekker worked upon the play before the date of a revision in 1594, for which there is some evidence, such as an allusion in xi. 46 to Dr. Lopez. Fleay thought Dekker to have been also an original collaborator, which his age hardly permits.

The play seems to have formed part of the English repertories in Germany in 1608 and 1626 (Herz, 66, 74).

It became the centre of a curious *mythos*, which was used to point a moral against the stage (cf. ch. viii). Of this there are several versions:

(*a*) 1604. T. M. *The Black Book* (Bullen, *Middleton*, viii. 13), 'Hee had a head of hayre like one of my Diuells in Dr. Faustus when the old Theater crackt and frighted the audience.'

(*b*) 1633. Prynne, *Histriomastix*, f. 556, 'The visible apparition of the Devill on the stage at the Belsavage Play-house, in Queen Elizabeths dayes (to the great amazement both of the actors and spectators) while they were there prophanely playing the History of Faustus (the truth of which I have heard from many now alive, who well remember it) there being some distracted with that feareful sight.'

(*c*) N.D. 'J. G. R.' from manuscript note on 'the last page of a book in my possession, printed by Vautrollier' (1850, *2 Gent. Mag.* xxxiv. 234), 'Certaine Players at Exeter, acting upon the stage the tragical storie of Dr. Faustus the Conjurer; as a certain nomber of Devels kept everie one his circle there, and as Faustus was busie in his magicall invocations, on a sudden they were all dasht, every one harkning other in the eare, for they were all perswaded, there was one devell too many amongst them; and so after a little pause desired the people to pardon them, they could go no further with this matter; the people also understanding the thing as it was, every man hastened to be first out of dores. The players (as I heard it) contrarye to their custome spending the night in reading and in prayer got them out of the town the next morning.'

(*d*) *c.* 1673. John Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* (1718–19), i. 190, 'The tradition concerning the occasion of the foundation [of Dulwich College] runs thus: that Mr. Alleyne, being a Tragedian and one of the original actors in many of the celebrated Shakespear's plays, in one of which he played a Demon, with six others, and was in the midst of the play surpriz'd by an apparition of the Devil, which so work'd on his Fancy, that he made a Vow, which he perform'd at this Place'.

The Jew of Malta. c. 1589

S. R. 1594, May 17. 'The famouse tragedie of the Riche Jewe of Malta.' *Nicholas Ling and Thomas Millington* (Arber, ii. 650). [On 16 May 'a ballad intituled the murtherous life and terrible death of the riche Jew of Malta' had been entered to John Danter.]

1632, Nov. 20 (Herbert). 'A Tragedy called the Jew of Malta.' *Nicholas Vavasour* (Arber, iv. 288).

1633. The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Iew of Malta. As it was played before the King and Queene, in his Majesties Theatre at White-Hall, by her Majesties Servants at the Cock-pit. Written by Christopher Marlo. *I. B. for Nicholas Vavasour*. [Epistle to Thomas Hammon of Gray's Inn, signed 'Tho. Heywood'; Prologues and Epilogues at Court and at Cockpit by Heywood; Prologue by Machiavel as presenter.]

Editions in Dodsley$^{2, 3}$, viii (1780–1827), and by W. Scott (1810, *A.B.D.* i), Reynell and Son (publ. 1810), S. Penley (1813), A. Wagner (1889), and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertations*: J. Kellner, *Die Quelle von M.'s J. of M.* (1887, *E. S.* x. 80); M. Thimme, *M.'s J. of M.* (1921).

An allusion in Marlowe's prologue to the death of the Duc de Guise gives a date of performance later than 23 Dec. 1588. Strange's men gave the play for Henslowe seventeen times from 26 Feb. 1592 to 1 Feb. 1593. Probably it belonged to Henslowe, as it was also played for him by Sussex's men on 4 Feb. 1594, by Sussex and the Queen's together on 3 and 8 April 1594, by the Admiral's on 14 May 1594, by either the Admiral's or the Chamberlain's on 6 and 15 June 1594, and thirteen times by the Admiral's from 25 June 1594 to 23 June 1596 (Henslowe, ii. 151). The 1598 inventories of the latter company include 'j cauderm for the Jewe' (*Henslowe Papers*, 118). On 19 May 1601 Henslowe advanced them money to buy 'things' for a revival of the play (Henslowe, i. 137). Heywood's epistle and Cockpit prologue name Marlowe and Alleyn as writer and actor of the play. Fleay, i. 298, suggests that Heywood wrote the Bellamira scenes (III. i; IV. iv, v; V. i), the motive of which he used for the plot of his *Captives*, and Greg agrees that the play shows traces of two hands, one of which may be Heywood's. The Dresden repertory of 1626 included a 'Tragödie von Barabas, Juden von Malta', but this was not necessarily the play 'von dem Juden' given by English actors at Passau in 1607 and Graz in 1608 (Herz, 66, 75).

Edward the Second. c. 1592

S. R. 1593, July 6 (Judson). 'A booke, Intituled The troublesom Reign and Lamentable Death of Edward the Second, king of England, with the tragicall fall of proud Mortymer.' *William Jones* (Arber, ii. 634).

1593? [C. F. Tucker Brooke (1909, *M. L. N.* xxiv. 71) suggests that a manuscript t.p. dated 1593 and sig. A inserted in Dyce's copy of 1598 may be from a lost edition, as they contain textual variants.]

1594. The troublesome raigne and lamentable death of Edward the second, King of England: with the tragicall fall of proud Mortimer. As it was sundrie times publiquely acted in the honourable citie of London, by the right honourable the Earl of Pembroke his servants. Written by Chri. Marlow. Gent. *For William Jones.*

1598. *Richard Bradocke for William Jones.* [With an additional scene.]

1612. *For Roger Barnes.*

1622. . . . As it was publikely Acted by the late Queenes Maiesties Servants at the Red Bull in S. Iohns streete. . . . *For Henry Bell.*

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-3}$, ii (1744–1825), and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* i), W. Wagner (1871), F. G. Fleay (1873, 1877), O. W. Tancock (1877, etc.), E. T. McLaughlin (1894), A. W. Verity (1896, *T. D.*), and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).—*Dissertations*: C. Tzschaschel, *M.'s Edward II und seine Quellen* (1902, *Halle diss.*); M. Dahmetz, *M.'s Ed. II und Shakespeares Rich. II* (1904).

Pembroke's men seem only to have had a footing at Court in the winter of 1592–3, and this is probably the date of the play. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 224) suggests that it may have had some 'distant connexion' with Chettle and Porter's *The Spencers* and an anonymous *Mortimer* of the Admiral's men in 1599 and 1602 respectively. But I think *Mortimer* is a slip of Henslowe's for *Vortigern*.

The Massacre at Paris. 1593

[*MS.*] Collier, ii. 511, prints a fragment of a fuller text than that of the edition, but it is suspect (cf. Tucker Brooke, 483).

N.D. The Massacre at Paris: With the Death of the Duke of Guise. As it was plaide by the right honourable the Lord high Admirall his Seruants. Written by Christopher Marlow. *E. A. for Edward White.*

Strange's men produced 'the tragedey of the gvyes' as 'n. e.' on 26 Jan. 1593. The Admiral's men also played it for Henslowe as 'the Gwies' or 'the masacer' ten times from 21 June to 27 Sept. 1594. Possibly in Nov. 1598 and certainly in Nov. 1601 Henslowe advanced sums for costumes for a revival of the play by the Admiral's. The insertion by Collier of Webster's name in one of these entries is a forgery and whether the lost *Guise* of this writer (q.v.) bore any relation to Marlowe's play is wholly unknown. On 18 Jan. 1602 Henslowe paid Alleyn £2 for the 'boocke' of 'the massaker of france' on behalf of the company (Henslowe, i. xlii; ii. 157). For the offence given in France by this play, cf. ch. x.

Dido Queen of Carthage > 1593

With Thomas Nashe.

1594. The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage: Played by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell. Written by Christopher Marlowe, and Thomas Nash. Gent. *Widow Orwin for Thomas Woodcock.*

S. R. 1600, June 26. Transfer from Paul Lynley to John Flasket, 'Cupydes Journey to hell with the tragedie of Dido' (Arber, iii. 165). [Perhaps another book.]

Editions in *Old English Drama* (1825, ii), by J. S. Farmer (1914, *S. F. T.*), and with *Works* of Nashe.—*Dissertations*: J. Friedrich, *Didodramen des Dolce, Jodelle, und M.* (1888); B. Knutowski, *Das Dido-Drama von M. und Nash* (1905, *Breslau diss.*).

Tanner, *Bibl. Britanniae* (1748), says, 'Petowius in praefatione ad secundam partem Herois et Leandri multa in Marlovii commendationem adfert; hoc etiam facit Tho. Nash in *Carmine Elegiaco tragediae Didonis praefixo in obitum Christoph. Marlovii*, ubi quatuor eius tragediarum mentionem facit, necnon et alterius *de duce Guisio*'. The existence of this elegy is confirmed by Warton, who saw it either in 1734 or 1754 (*Hist. Eng. Poet.* iv. 311; cf. McKerrow, ii. 335). It was 'inserted immediately after the title page', presumably not of all copies, as it is not in the three now known. Whether Nashe's own share in the work was as collaborator, continuator, or merely editor, remains uncertain. Fleay, ii. 147, gives him only I. i. 122 to end, III. i, ii, iv; IV. i, ii, v; Knutowski regards him as responsible for only a few trifling passages. As, moreover, the play has affinities both to early and to late work by Marlowe, it cannot be dated. Beyond its title-page and that of the anonymous *Wars of Cyrus* there is nothing to point to any performances by the Chapel between 1584 and 1600. It is true that Tucker Brooke, 389, says, 'The one ascertained fact concerning the history of this company during the ten years previous to 1594 seems to be that they acted before the Queen at Croydon in 1591, under the direction of N. Giles, and Mr. Fleay assumes, apparently with no further evidence, that *Dido* was presented on this occasion'. But this only shows what some literary historians mean by an 'ascertained fact'. A company played *Summers Last Will and Testament* (q.v.) at Croydon in 1592 and said that they had not played for a twelvemonth. But the Queen was not present, and they are not known to have been the Chapel, whose master was not then Nathaniel Giles. Nor did they necessarily play twelve months before at Croydon; and if they did, there is nothing to show that they played *Dido*. There is nothing to connect the play with the Admiral's *Dido and Aeneas* of 1598 (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 189).

Lust's Dominion. c. 1600 (?)

1657. Lusts Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen. A Tragedie. Written by Christopher Marlowe, Gent. *For F. K., sold by Robert Pollard.*

Editions by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* i) and in Dodsley^4, xiv (1875).

The attribution of the play, as it stands, to Marlowe is generally rejected. Fleay, i. 272, supported by Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 211), suggests an identification with *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, which Day, Dekker, and Haughton were writing for the Admiral's in Feb. 1600, although the recorded payment does not show that this was finished. They think that a play in which Marlowe had a hand may perhaps underlie it, and attempt, not wholly in agreement with each other, to distribute the existing scenes amongst the collaborators.

Lost Play

The Maiden's Holiday

Entered on the Stationers' Register on 8 April 1654 (Eyre, i. 445) by Moseley as 'A comedie called The Maidens Holiday by Christopher Marlow & John Day', and included in Warburton's list of burnt plays (*3 Library*, ii. 231) as 'The Mayden Holaday by Chris̃. Marlowe'.

Doubtful Plays

Marlowe's hand has been sought in *An Alarum for London, Contention of York and Lancaster, Edward III, Locrine, Selimus, Taming of A Shrew,* and *Troublesome Reign of King John* (cf. ch. xxiv), and in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus, Henry VI,* and *Richard III.*

JOHN MARSTON (*c.* 1575–1634).

Marston was son of John Marston, a lawyer of Shropshire origin, who had settled at Coventry, and his Italian wife Maria Guarsi. He matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, aged 16, on 4 Feb. 1592, and took his degree on 6 Feb. 1594. He joined the Middle Temple, and in 1599 his father left law-books to him, 'whom I hoped would have profited by them in the study of the law but man proposeth and God disposeth'. He had already begun his literary career, as a satirist with *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image and Certain Satires* (1598) and *The Scourge of Villainy* (1598). For these he took the pseudonym of W. Kinsayder. Small, 64, has refuted the attempts to find in them attacks on Jonson, and H. C. Hart (*9 N. Q.* xi. 282, 342) has made it plausible that by 'Torquatus' was meant, not Jonson, but Gabriel Harvey. This view is now accepted by Penniman (*Poetaster*, xxiii). On 28 Sept. 1599 Henslowe paid £2, on behalf of the Admiral's, for 'M^r Maxton the new poete'. The interlineated correction 'M^r Mastone' is a forgery (Greg, *Henslowe*, i. xlii; ii. 206), but probably Marston was the poet. The title of the play was left blank, and there was no further payment. It seems clearer to me than it does to Dr. Greg that the £2 was meant to make up a complete sum of £6 10*s*. for *The King of Scots*, and that Marston was the 'other Jentellman' who collaborated with Chettle, Dekker, and Jonson on that lost play. The setting up of the Paul's boys in 1599 saved Marston from Henslowe. For them he successively revised the anonymous *Histriomastix* (q.v.), wrote the two parts of *Antonio and Mellida* and *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, helped Dekker with *Satiromastix*, and finally wrote *What You Will*. This probably accounts for all his dramatic work during Elizabeth's reign. In the course of it he came into conflict with Jonson, who told Drummond in 1619 (according to the revision of the text of Laing, 20, suggested by Penniman, *War*, 40, and Small, 3) that 'He had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him, wrote his Poetaster on him; the beginning of them were, that Marston represented him in the stage'. Marston's representation of Jonson as Chrysoganus in *Histriomastix* was complimentary, that as Brabant senior in *Jack Drum's Entertainment* offensive; and it was doubtless the latter that stirred Jonson to retaliate on Marston, perhaps as Hedon in *Cynthia's Revels*, certainly as Crispinus in *The Poetaster*. Marston's final blow was with Lampatho Doria in *What You Will*. When the theatres reopened in 1604 Marston seems to have left the Paul's boys and taken a share in the syndicate formed to exploit the Queen's Revels, for whom the rest of his plays were written. He was now on friendly terms with Jonson, to whom he dedicated his *Malcontent* and for whose *Sejanus* he wrote congratulatory verses. Possibly further friction arose over the unfortunate collaboration of Jonson, Marston, and Chapman in *Eastward Ho!*, for the chief indiscretion in which Marston seems to have been responsible, and may have stimulated a sarcasm on Jonson in the Epistle to *Sophonisba*. In 1608 Marston's career as a dramatist abruptly terminated. An abstract of the Privy Council Register has the brief note on 8 June, 'John Marston committed to Newgate' (F. P. Wilson from *Addl. MS.* 11402, f. 141, in *M. L. R.* ix. 99). I conjecture that he was the author of the Blackfriars play (cf. ch. xii, s.v. Chapel) which hit at James's explorations after Scottish silver. He disappeared, selling his interest in the Blackfriars company, then or in 1605, to Robert Keysar, and leaving *The Insatiate Countess* unfinished. He had taken orders by 10 Oct. 1616 when he obtained the living of Christchurch, Hampshire. This he resigned on 13 Sept. 1631. In 1633 he was distant from London, but died on 25 June 1634 in Aldermanbury parish. He had married Mary, probably the daughter of William Wilkes, one of James's chaplains, of whom Jonson said in 1619 (Laing, 16) that 'Marston wrott his Father-in-lawes preachings, and his Father-in-law his Commedies'. If we trust the portrait of Crispinus in *The Poetaster,* he had red hair and little legs. A letter from Marston to Sir Gervase Clifton, endorsed 'Poet Marston', is calendared in *Hist. MSS. Various Coll.* vii. 389; it is undated, but must, from the names used, be of 1603–8.

Collections

1633. Tragedies and Comedies collected into one volume. Viz. 1. Antonio and Mellida. 2. Antonio's Revenge. 3. The Tragedie of Sophonisba. 4. What You Will. 5. The Fawne. 6. The Dutch Courtezan. *A. M. for William Sheares.* [Epistle to Viscountess Falkland, signed 'William Sheares'.]

1633. The Workes of Mr. Iohn Marston, Being Tragedies and Comedies, Collected into one Volume. *For William Sheares.* [Another issue.]

1856. J. O. Halliwell, *The Works of John Marston.* 3 vols. [Contains all the works, except *Jack Drum's Entertainment.*]

1879. A. B. Grosart, *The Poems of John Marston.* [Contains *Pygmalion's Image* and the satires.]

1887. A. H. Bullen, *The Works of John Marston.* 3 vols. [Contains all the works, except *Jack Drum's Entertainment.*]

Dissertations: W. von Scholten, *Metrische Untersuchungen zu Marston's Trauerspielen* (1886, *Halle diss.*); P. Aronstein, *John Marston als Dramatiker* (*E.S.* xx. 377; xxi. 28); W. v. Wurzbach, *John Marston* (1897, *Jahrbuch,* xxxiii. 85); C. Winckler, *John Marston's litterarische Anfänge* (1903, *Breslau diss.*) and *Marston's Erstlingswerke und ihre Beziehungen zu Shakespeare* (1904, *E. S.* xxxiii. 216).

PLAYS

Antonio and Mellida. 1599

S. R. 1601, Oct. 24. 'A booke called The ffyrst and second partes of the play called Anthonio and Melida provided that he gett laufull licence for yt.' *Matthew Lownes and Thomas Fisher* (Arber, iii. 193).

1602. The History of Antonio and Mellida. The first part. As it hath beene sundry times acted, by the Children of Paules. Written by I. M. *For Mathew Lownes and Thomas Fisher.* [Epistle to Nobody, signed 'J. M.', Induction, Prologue, and Epilogue.]

1602. Antonio's Reuenge. The second part. As it hath beene sundry times acted, by the children of Paules. Written by I. M. *For Thomas Fisher.* [Prologue.]

Editions by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* ii) and W. W. Greg (1921, *M.S.R.*).

In v. i of Part i a painter brings in two pictures, one dated 'Anno Domini, 1599', the other 'Aetatis suae 24'. I agree with Small, 92, that these are probably real dates and that the second indicates Marston's own age. As he must have completed his twenty-fourth year by 3 Feb. 1600 at latest, Part i was probably produced in 1599. The prologue of Part ii speaks of winter as replacing summer, and probably therefore Part i is to be dated in the summer, and Part ii in the early winter of 1599. Clearly the painter scene cannot, as Fleay, ii. 75, suggests, be motived by a casual allusion to a painter in *Cynthia's Revels* (F_1) 2673 or the painter scene added on revision to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, since both are later. The 'armed Epilogue' of Part i seems to me clearly a criticism of the armed prologue of Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601); it may have been an addition of 1601. Part ii, prol. 13, 23, calls the theatre 'round' and 'ring'.

What You Will. 1601

S. R. 1607, Aug. 6 (Buck). 'A commedie called What you will.' *Thomas Thorp* (Arber, iii. 358).

1607. What You Will. By Iohn Marston. *G. Eld for Thomas Thorpe.* [Induction and Prologue.]

Edition by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* ii).—*Dissertation*: F. Holthausen, *Die Quelle von Marston's W. Y. W.* (1905, *Jahrbuch*, xli. 186).

Bullen, Fleay, ii. 76, Small, 101, and Aronstein agree in regarding the play as written in 1601 by way of answer to *Cynthia's Revels*, and they are probably right. Small shows that, in spite of the fact that Quadratus calls Lampatho Doria a 'Don Kynsader' (II. i. 134), Lampatho must stand for Jonson, and Quadratus to some extent for Marston himself. Perhaps Simplicius Faber is the unidentified Asinius Bubo of *Satiromastix*. Both Fleay and Small think that the play has been revised before publication, partly because of confusion in the names of the characters, and partly because of the absence of the kind of Marstonian language which Jonson satirized. Small goes so far as to suggest that the seventeen untraceable words vomited by Crispinus in *The Poetaster* came from *What You Will*, and that Marston rewrote the play and eliminated them. The rest of Fleay's conjectures about the play seem to me irresponsible. If the play dates from 1601, it may reasonably be assigned to the Paul's boys. The induction, with its allusions to the small size of the stage and the use of candles, excludes the possibility of an adult theatre.

The Dutch Courtesan. 1603–4

S. R. 1605, June 26. 'A booke called the Dutche Curtizan, as yt was latelie presented at the Blackeffryers Provyded that he gett sufficient Aucthoritie before yt be prynted.' *John Hodgettes* (Arber, iii. 293). [A further note, 'This is alowed to be printed by Aucthoritie from Master Hartwell'.]

1605. The Dutch Courtezan. As it was played in the Blacke-Friars. by the Children of her Maiesties Reuels. Written by Iohn Marston. *T. P. for John Hodgets.* [Prologue.]

S. R. 1613, April 19. Transfer to Hodgettes of Eleazer Edgar's interest in the play (Arber, iii. 520).

As a Queen's Revels play, this must have been on the stage at least as late as 1603, and the clear proof of Crawford, ii. 1, that several passages are verbal imitations of Florio's translation of Montaigne, published in that year, make it difficult to put it earlier, although Wallace, ii. 75, says that he has evidence, which he does not give, for production in 1602. On the other hand, C. R. Baskervill (*M. L. A.* xxiv. 718) argues that the plot influenced that of *The Fair Maid of Bristow*, which was performed at Court during the winter of 1603–4. The play is referred to with *Eastward Ho!* (q.v.) as bringing trouble on Marston by A. Nixon, *The Black Year* (1606). It was revived for the Court by the Lady Elizabeth's on 25 Feb. 1613, under the name of *Cockle de Moye* from one of the characters, and repeated on 12 Dec. 1613 (cf. App. B).

The Malcontent. 1604

S. R. 1604, July 5 (Pasfield). 'An Enterlude called the Male-content, Tragicomoedia.' *William Aspley and Thomas Thorpe* (Arber, iii. 266, 268). [Entry made on the wrong page and re-entered.]

1604. The Malcontent. By Iohn Marston. *V. S. for William Aspley.* [Two editions. Inscription 'Beniamino Jonsonio, poetae elegantissimo, gravissimo, amico suo, candido et cordato, Iohannes Marston, Musarum alumnus, asperam hanc suam Thaliam D.D.' and Epistle to Reader.]

1604. The Malcontent. Augmented by Marston. With the Additions played by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by Ihon Webster. *V. S. for William Aspley.* [A third edition, with the Induction, which is headed 'The Induction to the Malcontent, and the additions acted by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by Iohn Webster', and the insertions I. i. 146–88, 195–212, 256–303; I. iii; II. ii. 34, 57–71; III. i. 33–156; IV. ii. 123–37; V. i; V. ii. 10–39, 164–94, 212–26; V. iii. 180–202.]

Editions by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii) and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*); and with *Works* of Webster (q.v.).—*Dissertation*: E. E. Stoll, *John Webster* (1905), 55, and *Shakspere, Marston, and the Malcontent Type* (1906, *M. P.* iii. 281).

The induction, in which parts are taken by Sly, Sinklo, Burbadge, Condell, and Lowin, explains the genesis of the enlarged edition.

> *Sly.* . . . I would know how you came by this play?
>
> *Condell.* Faith, sir, the book was lost; and because 'twas pity so good a play should be lost, we found it and play it.
>
> *Sly.* I wonder you would play it, another company having interest in it.
>
> *Condell.* Why not Malevole in folio with us, as Jeronimo in decimo-sexto with them? They taught us a name for our play; we call it *One for Another*.
>
> *Sly.* What are your additions?
>
> *Burbadge.* Sooth, not greatly needful; only as your salad to your great feast, to entertain a little more time, and to abridge the not-received custom of music in our theatre.

Stoll, 57, rightly argues that Small, 115, is not justified in ignoring the evidence of the title-page and assigning the insertions, as well as the induction, to Webster rather than Marston. On the other hand, I think he himself ignores the evidence of Burbadge's speech in the induction, when he takes the undramatic quality of the insertions as proof that Marston did not write them first in 1604, but revived them from his original text, which the boy actors had shortened. He puts this original text in 1600, because of the allusion in one of the insertions (I. iii. 20) to a ' horn growing in the woman's forehead twelve years since'. This horn was described in a pamphlet of 1588. I do not share his view that ' twelve' must be a precise and not a round number. Sly says in the induction:

> 'This play hath beaten all your gallants out of the feathers: Blackfriars hath almost spoiled Blackfriars for feathers.'

It is clear therefore that the original actors were the Blackfriars boys, and there is nothing else to suggest a connexion between Marston and these boys during Elizabeth's reign. Small, 115, points out a reference to the Scots in v. iii. 24 which should be Jacobean. I think that this is Marston's first play for the Queen's Revels after the formation of the syndicate early in 1604, and that the revision followed later in the same year. It is not necessary to assume that the play was literally ' lost ' or that Marston was not privy to the adoption of it by the King's. Importance is attached to the date by parallels to certain plays of Shakespeare, where Stoll thinks that Shakespeare was the borrower. I do not see how it can be so. The epilogue speaks of the author's ' reformed Muse' and pays a compliment to ' another's happier Muse' and forthcoming ' Thalia', perhaps Jonson's *Volpone*.

The Fawn. *1604 < > 6*

S. R. 1606, March 12. ' A playe called the ffaune provided that he shall not put the same in prynte before he gett alowed lawfull aucthoritie.' *William Cotton* (Arber, iii. 316).

1606. Parasitaster, Or The Fawne, As it hath bene diuers times presented at the blacke Friars, by the Children of the Queenes Maiesties Reuels. Written by Iohn Marston. *T. P. for W. C.* [Epistle to the Equal Reader, signed ' Jo. Marston', Prologue, and Epilogue.]

1606. . . . and since at Paules. . . . And now corrected of many faults, which by reason of the Author's absence were let slip in the first edition. *T. P. for W. C.* [A further Epistle to the Reader states that the writer has ' perused this copy ' and is about to ' present . . . to you ' the tragedy of *Sophonisba.*]

Modern edition by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* ii).

As a Queen's Revels play, this must date from 1604 or 1605; presumably it was transferred to Paul's by Edward Kirkham, when he took charge of them for the Christmas of 1605–6. Small, 116, refutes Aronstein's suggested allusion to Jonson's *Volpone* of 1605 or 1606. Bolte, *Danziger Theater*, 177, prints from a seventeenth-century Dantzig MS. a German play, *Tiberius von Ferrara und Annabella von Mömpelgart*, which is in part derived from *The Fawn* (Herz, 99). If, as the titles suggest, the performances of *Annabella, eines Hertzogen Tochter von Ferrara* at Nördlingen in 1604, of *Annabella, eines Markgraffen Tochter von Montferrat* at Rothenburg in 1604, and of *Herzog von Ferrara* at Dresden in 1626 (Herz, 65, 66), indicate intermediate links, *The Fawn* cannot be later than 1604. Yet I find it impossible not to attach some value to the argument of Stoll, *Webster*, 17, for a date later than the execution of Sir Everard Digby on 30 Jan. 1606 (Stowe, *Annales*, 881), which appears to be alluded to in IV. i. 310, 'Nay, heed me, a woman that will thrust in crowds,—a lady, that, being with child, ventures the hope of her womb,—nay, gives two crowns for a room to behold a goodly man three parts alive, quartered, his privities hackled off, his belly lanched up'. It is true that there were also quarterings for treason on 29 Nov. 1603 (Stowe, *Annales*, ed. Howes, 831), but these were in Winchester; also that contemporary notices, such as that in Stowe and the narratives in J. Morris, *Catholics under James I*, 216, and in *Somers Tracts* (1809), ii. 111, which describes the victims as 'proper men, in shape', afford no confirmation of indecent crowds in 1606, but the cumulative effect of the quadruple allusions here, in Day's *Isle of Gulls* (q.v.), in Sharpham's *Fleir* (q.v.), and in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (q.v.) is pretty strong. The passage quoted by Crawford, ii. 40, from Montaigne is hardly particular enough to explain that in the *Fawn*. I do not like explaining discrepancies by the hypothesis of a revision, but if Kirkham revived the *Fawn* at Paul's in 1606, he is not unlikely to have had it written up a bit. The epistle refers to 'the factious malice and studied detractions' of fellow-dramatists, perhaps an echo of Marston's relations with Jonson and Chapman over *Eastward Ho!*

The Wonder of Women, or *Sophonisba*. *1606*

S. R. 1606, March 17 (Wilson). 'A booke called the wonder of woemen, or the Tragedie of Sophonisba, &c.' *Eleazar Edgar* (Arber, iii. 316).

1606. The Wonder of Women Or the Tragedie of Sophonisba, as it hath beene sundry times Acted at the Blacke Friers. Written by Iohn Marston. *John Windet.* [Epistle to the General Reader by the author, but unsigned, Argumentum, Prologue, and Epilogue.]

S. R. 1613, April 19. Transfer from Edgar to John Hodgettes (Arber, iii. 521).

The mention of Blackfriars without the name of a company points to a performance after Anne's patronage had been withdrawn from the Revels boys, late in 1605 or early in 1606, not, as Fleay, ii. 79, suggests, to one by the Chapel in 1602–3. Some features of staging (cf. ch. xxi) raise a suspicion that the play may have been taken over from Paul's. The resemblance of the title to that of *Wonder of a Woman* produced by the Admiral's in 1595 is probably accidental. The epistle glances at Jonson's translations in *Sejanus* (1603).

The Insatiate Countess. *c. 1610*

1613. The Insatiate Countesse. A Tragedie: Acted at White-Fryers. Written by Iohn Marston. *T. S. for Thomas Archer.*

1616. *N. O. for Thomas Archer.*

1631. . . . Written by William Barksteed. *For Hugh Perrie.*

1631. . . . Written by Iohn Marston. *I. N. for Hugh Perrie.* [A reissue.]

Dissertation: R. A. Small, *The Authorship and Date of the Insatiate Countess* in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, v (*Child Memorial Volume*), 277.

It is generally supposed that Marston began the play and that Barksted (q.v.) finished it. Two lines (v. ii. 244–5) appear verbatim in Barksted's *Mirrha* (1607). Small traces several other clear parallels with both *Mirrha* and *Hiren*, as well as stylistic qualities pointing to Barksted rather than to Marston, and concludes that the play is Barksted's on a plot drafted by Marston. It may be conjectured that Marston left the fragment when he got into trouble for the second time in 1608, and that the revision was more probably for the Queen's Revels at Whitefriars in 1609–11 than for the conjoint Queen's Revels and Lady Elizabeth's in 1613. Hardly any of the suggestions on the play in Fleay, ii. 80, bear analysis.

Lost Plays

On *The King of Scots*, *vide supra*. Rogers and Ley's list of 1656 (Greg, *Masques*, lxxii) ascribes to Marston a *Guise*, which other publishers' lists transfer to Webster (q.v.). Collier, *Memoirs of Alleyn*, 154, assigns to Marston a *Columbus*, on the basis of a forgery.

Doubtful Plays

Marston doubtless had a hand in revising the anonymous *Histriomastix* and in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, and attempts have been made to find him in *An Alarum for London*, *Charlemagne*, *London Prodigal*, *Puritan* (cf. ch. xxiv), and as a collaborator in Dekker's *Satiromastix*.

MASKS

Ashby Entertainment. Aug. 1607

[*MSS.*] (*a*) *Bridgewater House*, with title, 'The honorable Lorde & Lady of Huntingdons Entertainment of their right Noble Mother Alice: Countesse Dowager of Darby the first night of her honors arrivall att the house of Ashby'. [Verses to Lady Derby signed 'John Marston'; includes a mask of Cynthia and Ariadne.]

(*b*) *B.M. Sloane* 848, f. 9. [Speech of Enchantress only, with date Aug. 1607.]

Extracts in H. J. Todd, *Works of Milton*, v. 149 (1801), and Nichols, *James*, ii. 145 (1828).

On arrival, in the park, at an 'antique gate' with complimentary inscriptions, were speeches by Merimna an enchantress, and Saturn; at the top of the stairs to the great chamber another speech by Merimna and a gift of a waistcoat.

Later in the great chamber was a mask by four knights and four gentlemen, in carnation and white, and vizards like stars, representing sons of Mercury, with pages in blue, and Cynthia and Ariadne as presenters. A traverse 'slided away', and disclosed the presenters on clouds. Later a second traverse 'sank down', and the maskers appeared throned at the top of a wood. They danced 'a new measure', then 'presented their shields', and took out the ladies for measures, galliards, corantos and lavoltas. 'The night being much spent', came their 'departing measure'.

At departure were an eclogue by a shepherd and a nymph, and a gift of a cabinet by Niobe in the little park.

Mountebank's Mask. 1618 (?)

The ascription to Marston of this Gray's Inn mask rests on an unverifiable assertion by Collier (cf. Bullen, *Marston,* iii. 418; Brotanek, 356), and the known dates of Marston's career render it extremely improbable.

JOHN MASON (1581–2—?).

The degree boasted on his title-page leads to the identification of Mason as a son of Richard Mason, priest, of Cavendish, Suffolk, and pupil of Bury St. Edmunds school, who matriculated from Caius College, Cambridge, as a sizar at the age of fourteen on 6 July 1596, and took the degree of B.A. in 1601 and M.A. in 1606 from St. Catharine's Hall. He was a member of the King's Revels syndicate in 1608, and nothing further is known of him, since the combination of names is too common to justify his identification with the schoolmaster of Camberwell, Surrey, whose school-play is described in *Princeps Rhetoricus* (1648; cf. C. S. Northup in *E. S.* xlv. 154).

The Turk. 1607–8

S. R. 1609, March 10 (Segar). 'A booke called The tragedy of the Turke with the death of Borgias by John Mason gent.' *John Busby* (Arber, iii. 403).

1610. The Turke. A Worthie Tragedie. As it hath bene diuers times acted by the Children of his Maiesties Reuels. Written by Iohn Mason Maister of Artes. *E. A. for John Busbie.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

1632. An excellent Tragedy of Mulleasses the Turke, and Borgias Governour of Florence. Full of Interchangeable variety; beyond expectation. . . . *T. P. for Francis Falkner.*

Edition by J. Q. Adams (1913, *Materialien,* xxxvii).—*Dissertation*: G. C. Moore Smith, *John Mason and Edward Sharpham* (1913, *M. L. R.* viii. 371).

As a King's Revels play this may be put in 1607–8. An earlier date has been thought to be indicated by *Eastward Ho!* (1605), II. ii. 41, '*Via,* the curtaine that shaddowed Borgia', but if the reference is to a play, Borgia may well have figured in other plays. A play 'Vom Turcken' was taken by Spencer to Nuremberg in 1613 (Herz, 66).

CHARLES MASSEY.

For his career as an actor, cf. ch. xv.

He apparently wrote *Malcolm King of Scots* for the Admiral's, to which he belonged, in April 1602, and began *The Siege of Dunkirk, with Alleyn the Pirate* in March 1603. Neither play survives.

PHILIP MASSINGER (1583–1640).

Massinger, baptized at Salisbury on 24 Nov. 1583, was son of Arthur Massinger, a confidential servant of Henry, 2nd Earl of Pembroke. He entered at St. Alban Hall, Oxford, and left without a degree in 1606. Little is known of him for some years thereafter. He is conjectured to have become a Catholic and thus to have imperilled his relations with the Herbert family, at any rate until the time of Philip, the 4th earl, who was certainly his patron. He was buried at St. Saviour's on 18 March 1640 and left a widow. The greater part of his dramatic career, to which all his independent plays belong, falls outside the scope of this notice, but on 4 July 1615 he gave a joint bond with Daborne for £3 to Henslowe, and some undated correspondence probably of 1613 shows that he was collaborating in one or more plays with Daborne, Field, and Fletcher.

Collections

T. Coxeter (1759), J. M. Mason (1779), W. Gifford (1805), H. Coleridge (1840, 1848, 1851), F. Cunningham (1871, 3 vols.). [These include *The Old Law, The Fatal Dowry*, and *The Virgin Martyr*, but not any plays from the Beaumont and Fletcher Ff.]

Selections

1887–9. A. Symons, *The Best Plays of P.M.* 2 vols. (*Mermaid Series*). [Includes *The Fatal Dowry* and *The Virgin Martyr*.]

1912. L. A. Sherman, *P. M.* (*M. E. D.*).

Dissertations: S. R. Gardiner, *The Political Element in M.* (1876, *N. S. S. Trans.* 314); J. Phelan, *P. M.* (1879–80, *Anglia*, ii. 1, 504; iii. 361); E. Koeppel, *Quellenstudien zu den Dramen G. Chapman's, P.M.'s und J. Ford's* (1897, *Q.F.* lxxxii); W. von Wurzbach, *P. M.* (1899–1900, *Jahrbuch*, xxxv. 214, xxxvi. 128); C. Beck, *P. M. The Fatal Dowry* (1906); A. H. Cruickshank, *Philip Massinger* (1920).

It is doubtful how far Massinger's dramatic activity began before 1616. For ascriptions to him, v.s. Beaumont and Fletcher (*Captain, Cupid's Revenge, Coxcomb, Scornful Lady, Honest Man's Fortune, Faithful Friends, Thierry and Theodoret, T.N.K., Love's Cure*), Anthony Brewer (*The Lovesick King*), and *Second Maiden's Tragedy* (ch. xxiv). It has also been suggested that a *Philenzo and Hypollita* and an *Antonio and Vallia*, ascribed to him in late records, but not extant, may represent revisions of early work by Dekker (q.v.).

FRANCIS MERBURY (*c.* 1579).

At the end of the epilogue to the following play is written 'Amen, quoth fra: Merbury'. The formula may denote only a scribe, but a precisely similar one denotes the author in the case of Preston's *Cambyses* (q.v.).

A Marriage between Wit and Wisdom. c. 1579

[*MS.*] *Brit. Mus. Addl. MS.* 26782, formerly *penes* Sir Edward Dering.

Editions by J. O. Halliwell (1846, *Sh. Soc.*), J. S. Farmer (1909, *T.F.T.*).

The MS. has a title-page, with the date 1579, an arrangement of the parts for six actors and the title 'The —— of a Marige betweene wit and wisdome very frutefull and mixed full of pleasant mirth as well for The beholders as the Readers or hearers neuer before imprinted'. There are nine Scenes in two Acts, with a Prologue and Epilogus. The characters are almost wholly allegorical. Idleness is 'the vice'. The stage-directions mention a 'stage'. Halliwell prints the mutilated word left blank in the title above as 'Contract', no doubt rightly. Conceivably the play was in fact printed in 1579, as 'Mariage of wit and wisdome' is in Rogers and Ley's play-list of 1656 (Greg, *Masques*, lxxxvii).

The play might be identical with the lost Paul's moral of *The Marriage of Mind and Measure* (cf. App. B), which also belongs to 1579. Fleay, ii. 287, 294, infers from a not very conclusive reference to a 'King' in sc. iv that it dates from the time of Edward VI. He also identifies it with the *Hit Nail o' th' Head* named in *Sir Thomas More* (q.v.) because that phrase is quoted in the Epilogus, curiously disregarding the fact that the *Sir Thomas More* list names the play under its existing title as distinct from *Hit Nail o' th' Head*. Most of the plays in the *Sir Thomas More* list seem to be pre-Elizabethan; cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 200.

THOMAS MIDDLETON (*c.* 1570–1627).

Thomas Middleton was a Londoner and of a gentle family. The date of his birth can only be roughly conjectured from the probability that he was one of two Thomas Middletons who entered Gray's Inn in 1593 and 1596, and of his earlier education nothing is known. His first work was *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased* (1597), and he may be the T. M. of *The Black Book* (1604) and other pamphlets in prose and verse. He appears as a dramatist, possibly as early as 1599 in *The Old Law* and certainly in Henslowe's diary during 1602, writing an unnamed play for Worcester's men, and for the Admiral's *Caesar's Fall or The Two Shapes* with Dekker (q.v), Drayton, Munday, and Webster, and by himself, *Randal Earl of Chester*, and a prologue and epilogue to Greene's *Friar Bacon* (q.v.). This work is all lost, but by 1604 he had also collaborated with Dekker for the Admiral's in the extant *Honest Whore*. From 1602, if not from 1599, to the end of their career in 1606 or 1607, he was also writing diligently for the Paul's boys. I think he is referred to with their other 'apes and guls', Marston and Dekker, in Marston's *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1600), IV. 40:

> How like you *Musus* fashion in his carriage?
> O filthilie, he is as blunt as *Paules*.

Brabant, the speaker, represents Jonson, who told Drummond in 1619 that he was 'not of the number of the Faithfull, i.e. *Poets*, and but a base fellow' (Laing, 12). Occasional plays for several companies and the beginnings of employment in city pageantry occupied 1607–16, and to later periods belong a fruitful partnership with William Rowley for Prince Charles's men, and some slight share in the heterogeneous mass of work that passes under the names of Beaumont and Fletcher. He also wrote a few independent plays, of which *A Game at Chess* (1624) got him into political trouble. At some time before 1623 a few lines of his got interpolated into the text of *Macbeth* (cf. *Warwick* edition, p. 164). In 1620 he obtained a post as Chronologer to the City. He married Maria Morbeck, had a son Edward, and dwelt at Newington Butts, where he was buried on 4 July 1627.

Collections

1840. A Dyce, *Works of T. M.* 5 vols.

1885–6. A. H. Bullen, *Works of T. M.* 8 vols. [Omits *The Honest Whore*.]

1887–90. H. Ellis, *The Best Plays of T. M.* 2 vols. (Mermaid Series). [Includes *Trick to Catch the Old One*, *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *Widow*, *Roaring Girl*, *Mayor of Queenborough*, and later plays.]

Dissertations: J. Arnheim, *T. M.* (1887, *Archiv*, lxxviii. 1, 129, 369); P. G. Wiggin, *An Inquiry into the Authorship of the Middleton-Rowley Plays* (1897, *Radcliffe College Monographs*, ix); H. Jung, *Das Verhältniss T. M.'s zu Shakspere* (1904, *Münchener Beiträge*, xxix).

PLAYS

The Old Law. 1599

1656. The Excellent Comedy, called The Old Law; Or A new way to please you. By Phil. Massenger. Tho. Middleton. William Rowley. Acted before the King and Queene at Salisbury House, and at severall other places, with great Applause. Together with an exact and perfect Catalogue of all the Playes, with the Authors Names, and what are Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Pastoralls, Masks, Interludes, more exactly Printed than ever before. *For Edward Archer.*

Editions with Massinger's *Works* (q.v.).—*Dissertation*: E. E. Morris, *On the Date and Composition of T. O. L.* (*M. L. A.* xvii. 1).

It is generally supposed that in some form the play dates from 1599, as in III. i. 34 a woman was 'born in an. 1540, and now 'tis 99'. Of the three authors only Middleton can then have been writing. Morris, after elaborate study of the early work and the versification of all three, concludes that Rowley (*c.* 1615) and Massinger (*c.* 1625) successively revised an original by Middleton. The Paul's plays began in 1599, but it cannot be assumed that this was one of them. Stork, 48, doubts the 1599 date and is inclined to assume collaboration between the three writers *c.* 1615.

Blurt Master Constable. 1601–2

S. R. 1602, June 7. ‘A Booke called Blurt Master Constable. *Edward Aldee* (Arber, iii. 207).

1602. Blurt Master-Constable. Or The Spaniards Night-walke. As it hath bin sundry times priuately acted by the Children of Paules. *For Henry Rocket.*

Edition [by W. R. Chetwood] in *A Select Collection of Old Plays* (1750).

Bullen suggests that v. iii. 179, ‘There be many of your countrymen in Ireland, signior’, said to a Spaniard, reflects the raid of Spaniards in Sept. 1601. They were taken at Kinsale in June 1602. A parallel in III. i. 104 with *Macbeth,* II. ii. 3, cannot be taken with Fleay, ii. 90, as proof of posteriority.

The Phoenix. 1603–4

S. R. 1607, May 9 (Buck). ‘A Booke called The Phenix.’ *Arthur Johnson* (Arber, iii. 348).

1607. The Phoenix, As It hath beene sundry times Acted by the Children of Paules. And presented before his Maiestie. *E. A. for A. I.*

1630. *T. H. for R. Meighen.*

The only available performance before James was on 20 Feb. 1604, and the imitation of *Volpone* (1605) suggested by Fleay, ii. 92, is not clear enough to cause any difficulty. Knights are satirized in I. vi. 150, II. iii. 4, and there is an allusion to the unsettled state of Ireland in I. v. 6.

A Trick to Catch the Old One. 1604 < > 6 (?)

S. R. 1607, Oct. 7 (Buck). ‘Twoo plaies . . . thother A trick to catche the old one.’ *George Eld* (Arber, iii. 360).

1608. A Trick to Catch the Old-one. As it hath beene lately Acted, by the Children of Paules. *George Eld.*

1608. . . . As it hath beene often in Action, both at Paules, and the Black-Fryers. Presented before his Maiestie on New yeares night last. Composed by T. M. *G. E. sold by Henry Rockett.* [Another issue.]

1616. . . . By T. Middleton. *George Eld for Thomas Langley.*

Editions in *O. E. D.* (1830, iii) and by C. W. Dilke (1814, *O. E. P.* v) and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*).

The date of Q_1 is doubtless $160\frac{8}{9}$ and the Court performance that by the Children of Blackfriars on 1 Jan. 1609. They must have taken the play over from Paul's when these went under in 1606 or 1607. The title is probably proverbial, and therefore the phrase ‘We are in the way to catch the old one’ in *Isle of Gulls,* II. v, hardly enables us to date the play with Fleay, ii. 92, before Day's, which was in Feb. 1606.

A Mad World, my Masters. 1604 < > 6 (?)

S. R. 1608, Oct. 4. ‘A Booke called A Mad World (my Maysters).’ *Walter Burre and Eleazar Edgar* (Arber, iii. 391). [The licenser is Segar, ‘Deputy of Sir George Bucke’.]

1608. A Mad World, My Masters. As it hath bin lately in Action by the Children of Paules. Composed by T. M. *H. B. for Walter Burre.*

S. R. 1613, April 19. Transfer to John Hodgettes of Edgar's share (Arber, iii. 520).

1640. . . . A Comedy. As it hath bin often Acted at the Private House in Salisbury Court, by her Majesties Servants. . . . *For J. S., sold by James Becket.* [Epistle to Reader, signed 'J. S.']

Edition by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii).

The epistle says 'it is full twenty years since it was written', which is absurd. A pamphlet of the same title by Breton in 1603, hits at the Jacobean knightings in I. i. 64, II. v. 41, and the Family of Love in I. ii. 73, and the disappearance of Paul's in 1606 or 1607 are the only indications of date. In Acts IV and V the duplicate names Once-Ill-Brothel, Hargrave-Harebrain, Shortrod-Harebrain suggest revision.

Michaelmas Term. 1606 (?)

S. R. 1607, May 15 (Buck). 'A Comedy called Mychaelmas terme.' *Arthur Johnson* (Arber, iii. 349).

1607. Michaelmas Terme. As it hath been sundry times acted by the Children of Paules. *For A. I.* [Induction.]

1630. . . . Newly corrected. *T. H. for R. Meighen.*

Allusions in II. iii. 226, 376 to the presence of women at a quartering for treason may suggest, as in the case of Marston's *Fawn* (q.v.), a date after that of 30 Jan. 1606. There is no reference in II. i. 63 to the leap year of 1604, as suggested by Fleay, ii. 91. Knightings are satirized in I. i. 191; III. i. 46.

Your Five Gallants. 1607

S. R. 1608, March 22 (Buck). 'A Plaie called the ffyve Wittie Gallantes as it hath ben acted by the Children of the Chappell.' *Richard Bonyon* (Arber, iii. 372).

N.D. Your fiue Gallants. As it hath beene often in Action at the Blacke-friers. Written by T. Middleton. *For Richard Bonian.* [Induction with 'Presenter or Prologue' in dumb-show.]

This may have been in preparation for Paul's when they ceased playing and taken over by Blackfriars. In any case a reference to closure for plague in IV. ii. 29 and to fighting with a windmill (like Don Quixote) in IV. viii. 7 fit in with a date in 1607.

The Family of Love. 1604 < > 7 (?)

S. R. 1607, Oct. 12 (Buck). 'A playe called the family of Loue as yt hath bene Lately acted by the Children of his Maiesties Reuelles.' *John Browne and John Helme* (Arber, iii. 360).

1608. The Famelie of Love. Acted by the Children of his Maiesties Reuells. *For John Helmes.* [Epistle to Reader, Prologue, Epilogue.]

The prologue apologizes that 'expectation' hath not 'filled the general round'. The King's Revels can hardly have existed before 1607. Fleay, ii. 94, thinks that they inherited the play from Paul's and assigns it to 1604 'when the Family of Love were such objects of public attention'. His chief reason is that the epistle regrets that the play was 'not published when the general voice of the people had sealed it for good, and the newness of it made it much more desired than at this time'. It had 'passed the censure of the stage with a general applause'. This epistle is clearly by the author, who says 'it was in the press before I had notice of it, by which means some faults may escape in the printing'. I agree that there must have been some interval between production and publication. But there is no special virtue in the date 1604. References to the Family of Love are to be found in *Sir Giles Goosecap* (*1601–3*), II. i. 263; *Dutch Courtesan* (*1603–4*), I. i. 156, I. ii. 18); *Mad World, My Masters* (*1604–6*), I. ii. 73; *Isle of Gulls* (*1606*), p. 26; *Every Woman in Her Humour* (?), p. 316. The sect was well known in England as early as 1574–81, when an act was passed for its suppression. It petitioned James *c.* 1604 and was answered in *A Supplication of the Family of Love*, printed at Cambridge in 1606. On its history, cf. Fuller, *Church History* (1868), iii. 239; F. Nippold, *Heinrich Niclaes und das Haus der Liebe* (1862, *Z. f. Hist. Theol.*); R. Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (1876), 25; A. C. Thomas, *The Family of Love* (1893); R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (1909), 428; E. B. Daw, *Love Feigned and Unfeigned* (1917, *M. L. A.* xxxii. 267).

The Roaring Girl. c. 1610.

With Dekker (q.v.).

A Chaste Maid in Cheapside. 1611.

S. R. 1630, April 8 (Herbert). 'A play called The Chast Mayd of Chepeside.' *Constable* (Arber, iv. 232).

1630. A Chast Mayd in Cheape-side. A Pleasant conceited Comedy neuer before printed. As it hath beene often acted at the Swan on the Banke-side by the Lady Elizabeth her Seruants By Thomas Midelton Gent. *For Francis Constable.*

It is not known where the Lady Elizabeth's played during 1611–13, and it may very well have been at the Swan. Nor is there anything improbable in the suggestion of Fleay, 186, that this is the *Proud Maid's Tragedy* acted by them at Court on 25 Feb. 1612 (App. B).

No Wit, no Help, like a Woman's. 1613 (?)

S. R. 1653, Sept. 9. 'No witt, no helpe like a Woman. Mr. Tho. Midleton.' *H. Moseley.* (Eyre, i. 428).

1657. No $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Wit}\\\text{Help}\end{matrix}\right\}$ like a Womans. A Comedy. By Tho. Middleton, Gent. *For Humphrey Moseley.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

The text represents a revival by Shirley in 1638, but Fleay, ii. 96, refers the original to 1613 as in III. i. 286 a character, after referring to the almanac for 1638, says he has 'proceeded in five and twenty such books of astronomy'. Bullen accepts the date, but I feel no confidence in the argument. Stork, 47, attempts to trace Rowley's hand.

The Widow (?)

S. R. 1652, Apr. 12 (Brent). 'A play called The Widdow, written by John Fletcher & Tho: Middleton gent.' *Moseley* (Eyre, i. 394).

1652. The Widdow A Comedie. As it was Acted at the private House in Black-Fryers, with great Applause, by His late Majesties Servants. Written by Ben: Jonson John Fletcher. Tho: Middleton. Gent. Printed by the Originall Copy. *For Humphrey Moseley.* [Epistle to Reader by Alexander Gough. Prologue and Epilogue.]

Bullen places this 'from internal evidence' *c.* 1608–9, but thinks it revised at a later date, not improbably by Fletcher, although he cannot discover either Jonson's hand or, 'unless the songs be his', Fletcher's. Allusions to 'a scornful woman' (I. ii. 104) and to 'yellow bands' as 'hateful' (v. i. 52) are consistent with a date *c.* 1615–16.

The Mayor of Quinborough (?)

[*MS.*] A copy of the play, said to be 'of no great antiquity', is described in an appendix to *Wit and Wisdom* (*Sh. Soc.*), 85.

S. R. 1646, Sept. 4 (Langley). 'Maior of Quinborough.' *Robinson and Moseley* (Eyre, i. 244).

1661, Feb. 13. 'A Comedie called the Maior of Quinborough, By Tho: Middleton. *Henry Herringham* (Eyre, ii. 288).

1661. The Mayor of Quinborough: A Comedy. As it hath been often Acted with much Applause at Black-Fryars, By His Majesties Servants. Written by Tho. Middleton. *For Henry Herringham.* [Epistle to Gentlemen.]

There is a mention (v. i. 112) of Fletcher's *Wild-Goose Chase* (1621), and the introduction of a 'rebel Oliver' suggests a much later date. But Bullen thinks this an old play revised, and Fleay, ii. 104, attempts to identify it with an anonymous play called both *Vortigern* and *Hengist* (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 181) which was produced by the Admiral's on 4 Dec. 1596 and bought by the same company from Alleyn in 1601. There is not, however, much to support a theory that Middleton was writing for the stage so early as 1596. Stork, 46, thinks that Middleton and Rowley revised the older play *c.* 1606, 'at a time when plays of ancient Britain were in vogue'.

Doubtful Plays

Middleton's hand has been sought in *Birth of Merlin*, *Puritan*, and *Second Maiden's Tragedy* (cf. ch. xxiv) and in *Wit at Several Weapons* of the Beaumont (q.v.) and Fletcher series.

Lost Mask

Mask of Cupid. 4 Jan. 1614

Writing to Carleton on 5 Jan. 1614 of the festivities at the Earl of Somerset's wedding (Birch, i. 288; cf. s.v. Campion, *Mask of Squires*), Chamberlain notes that the King had called on the City to entertain the bridal pair, which they had done, though reluctantly, on 4 Jan. in Merchant Taylors' hall, with a supper, a play and a mask, and a banquet. Howes in Stowe, *Annales*, 1005, says there were '2 seuerall pleasant maskes & a play'. Bullen, *Middleton*, i. xxxix, gives from the City *Repertory*, xxxi. 2, f. 239^{v}, an order of 18 Jan. 1614 for payment to Thomas Middleton in respect of the 'late solemnities at Merchant Tailors' Hall' for 'the last Mask of Cupid and other shows lately made' by him.

ENTERTAINMENTS

Running Stream Entertainment. 29 Sept. 1613

1613. The Manner of his Lordships [Sir Thomas Middleton's] Entertainment on Michaelmas day last, being the day of his Honorable Election, together with the worthy Sir Iohn Swinarton, Knight, then Lord Maior, the Learned and Iuditious, Sir Henry Montague, Maister Recorder, and many of the Right Worshipfull the Aldermen of the Citty of London. At that most Famous and Admired Worke of the Running Streame from Amwell Head, into the Cesterne neere Islington, being the sole Inuention, Cost, and Industry of that Worthy Maister Hugh Middleton, of London Goldsmith, for the generall good of the Citty. By T. M. *Nicholas Okes*. [Appended to reissue of *The Triumphs of Truth*.]

The Triumphs of Truth. 29 Oct. 1613

S. R. 1613, Nov. 3. 'A booke called the tryumphs of truth of all the showes pagiantes Chariots &c on the Lord Maiours Day octobris 29, 1613.' *Nicholas Okes* (Arber, iii. 536).

1613. The Triumphs of Truth. A Solemnity vnparalleld for Cost, Art, and Magnificence, at the Confirmation and Establishment of that Worthy and true Nobly-minded Gentleman, Sir Thomas Middleton, Knight; in the Honorable Office of his Maiesties Lieuetenant, the Lord Maior of the thrice Famous Citty of London. Taking Beginning at his Lord-ships going, and proceeding after his Returne from receiuing the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow next after Simon and Iudes day, October 29. 1613. All the Showes, Pageants, Chariots; Morning, Noone, and Night-Triumphes. Directed, Written, and redeem'd into Forme, from the Ignorance of some former times, and their Common Writer, by Thomas Middleton. *Nicholas Okes*.

1613. . . . Shewing also his Lordships Entertainment on Michaelmas day last, . . . [etc.]. *Nicholas Okes*. [Reissue, with *Running Stream Entertainment* added.]

Edition in Nichols, *James* (1828), ii. 679, with *Running Stream*.

Civitatis Amor. 4 Nov. 1616

1616. Ciuitatis Amor. The Cities Loue. An entertainement by water, at Chelsey, and White-hall. At the ioyfull receiuing of that Illustrious Hope of Great Britaine, the High and Mighty Charles, To bee created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, Earle of Chester, &c. Together with the Ample Order and Solemnity of his Highnesse creation, as it was celebrated in his Maiesties Palace of White-hall on Monday, the fourth of Nouember, 1616. As also the Ceremonies of that Ancient and Honourable Order of the Knights of the Bath; And all the Triumphs showne in honour of his Royall Creation. *Nicholas Okes for Thomas Archer.* [Middleton's name follows the account of the 'entertainment'.]

ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY (*c.* 1556–*c.* 1610).

A Scottish poet (cf. *D. N. B.*) who has been suggested as the author of *Philotus* (cf. ch. xxiv).

ROGER MORRELL (*c.* 1597).

Possibly the author of the academic *Hispanus* (cf. App. K).

RICHARD MULCASTER (*c.* 1530–1611).

A contributor to the Kenilworth entertainment (cf. ch. xxiv, C). For his successive masterships of Merchant Taylors and St. Paul's, see ch. xii.

ANTHONY MUNDAY (*c.* 1553–1633).

Anthony was son of Christopher Munday, a London Draper. He 'first was a stage player' (*A True Report of ... M. Campion*, 1582), but in Oct. 1576 was apprenticed for eight years to John Allde, stationer. Allde went out of business about 1582, and Munday never completed his apprenticeship, probably because his ready pen found better profit in the purveyance of copy for the trade. He began by a journey to Rome in 1578–9, and brought back material for a series of attacks upon the Jesuits, to one of which *A True Report of ... M. Campion* is an answer. According to the anonymous author, Munday on his return to England 'did play extempore, those gentlemen and others whiche were present, can best giue witnes of his dexterity, who being wery of his folly, hissed him from his stage. Then being thereby discouraged, he set forth a balet against playes, but yet (o constant youth) he now beginnes againe to ruffle upon the stage'. For the ballad there is some corroborative evidence in a S. R. entry of 10 Nov. 1580 (cf. App. C, No. xxvi), which, however, does not name Munday, and it is a possible conjecture that he also wrote the *Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies* issued in the same year (cf. App. C, No. xxvii). If so, he was already, before 1580, doing work as a playwright; but of this, with the doubtful exception of the anonymous *Two Italian Gentlemen* (q.v.), there is no other evidence for another fifteen years. His experiences as an actor may have been with the company of the Earl of Oxford, whose 'servant' he calls himself in his *View of Sundry Examples* (1580). From 1581 he was employed by Topcliffe and others against recusants, and as a result became, possibly by 1584 and certainly by 1588, a Messenger of the Chamber. He still held this post in 1593, and was employed as a pursuivant to execute the Archbishop of Canterbury's warrants against Martin Marprelate in 1588. J. D. Wilson (*M. L. R.* iv. 489) suggests that he may also have taken a hand in the literary and dramatic controversy, as 'Mar-Martin, John a Cant: his hobbie-horse', who 'was to his reproche, newly put out of the morris, take it how he will; with a flat discharge for euer shaking his shins about a maypole againe while he liued' (*Protestation of Martin Marprelate*, c. Aug. 1589). Certainly Munday's official duties did not interfere with his literary productiveness, as translator of romances, maker of ballads, lyrist, and miscellaneous writer generally. He is traceable, chiefly in Henslowe's diary, as a busy dramatist for the Admiral's men during various periods between 1594 and 1602, and there is no reason to suppose that his activities were limited to these years. Meres in 1598 includes him amongst 'the best for comedy', with the additional compliment of 'our best plotter'. But he was evidently a favourite mark for the satire of more literary writers, who depreciated his style and jested at his functions as a messenger. Small, 172, has disposed of attempts to identify him with the Deliro or the Puntarvolo of *E. M. O.*, the Amorphus of *Cynthia's Revels*, the In-and-In Medley of the *Tale of a Tub*, and the Timothy Tweedle of the anonymous *Jack Drum's Entertainment*. But he may reasonably be taken for the Poet Nuntius of *E. M. I.* and the Antonio Balladino of *The Case is Altered* (q.v.); and long before Jonson took up the game, an earlier writer had introduced him as the Posthaste of the anonymous *Histriomastix* (c. 1589). Posthaste suggests the formation of Sir Oliver Owlet's men, and acts as their poet (i. 124). He writes a *Prodigal Child* at 1s. a sheet (ii. 94). He will teach the actors to play 'true Politicians' (i. 128) and 'should be employd in matters of state' (ii. 130). He is always ready to drink (i. 162; ii. 103, 115, 319; vi. 222), and claims to be a gentleman, because 'he hath a clean shirt on, with some learning' (ii. 214). He has written ballads (v. 91; vi. 235). The players jeer at 'your extempore' (i. 127), and he offers to do a prologue extempore (ii. 121), and does extemporize on a theme (ii. 293). He writes with

> no new luxury or blandishment
> But plenty of Old Englands mothers words (ii. 128).

The players call him, when he is late for rehearsal, a 'peaking pageanter', and say 'It is as dangerous to read his name at a play door, as a printed bill on a plague door' (iv. 165). The whole portrait seems to be by the earlier author; Marston only adds a characteristic epithet in 'goosequillian Posthast' (iii. 187). But it agrees closely with the later portraits by Jonson, and with the facts of Munday's career. I do not think that 'pageanter' means anything more than playmaker. But from 1605 onwards Munday was often employed by city companies to devise Lord Mayor's pageants, and it has been supposed that he had been similarly engaged since 1592 on the strength of a claim in the 1618 edition of John Stowe's *Survey of London*, which he edited, that he had been 'six and twenty years in sundry employments for the City's service'. But there were other civic employments, and it is doubtful (cf. ch. iv) how far there were pageants during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign for Munday to devise. On the title-pages of his pageants he describes himself as a 'Cittizen and Draper of London'. The Corporation's welcome at the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales in 1610 (cf. ch. iv) also fell to him to devise. How long he continued to write plays is unknown. He had several children in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, between 1584 and 1589, and was buried on 10 Aug. 1633 at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street.

Dissertations: J. D. Wilson, *A. M., Pamphleteer and Pursuivant* (1909, *M.L.R.* iv. 484); W. W. Greg, *Autograph Plays by A. M.* (1913, *M.L.R.* viii. 89); M. St. C. Byrne, *The Date of A. M.'s Journey to Rome* (1918, *3 Library*, ix. 106), *The Shepherd Tony—a Recapitulation* (1920, *M.L.R.* xv. 364), *A. M. and his Books* (1921, *4 Library*, i. 225); E. M. Thompson, *The Autograph MSS. of A. M.* (1919, *Bibl. Soc. Trans.* xiv. 325).

PLAYS

John a Kent and John a Cumber. 1594

[*MS.*] Autograph MS. in possession of Lord Mostyn, with title 'The Booke of John a Kent and John a Cumber', and at end the signature 'Anthony Mundy', and in another hand the date '—— Decembris 1596'. A mutilation of the paper has removed the day of the month and possibly some memorandum to which the date was appended. The wrapper is in part formed of a vellum leaf of which another part was used for *Sir Thomas More* (cf. ch. xxiv).

Editions by J. P. Collier (1851, *Sh. Soc.*) and J. S. Farmer (1912, *T. F. T.*).

The date has been misread '1595'. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 172) agrees with Fleay, ii. 114, that the play, of which the scene is at West Chester, must be *The Wise Man of West Chester*, produced by the Admiral's on 3 Dec. 1594 and played to 18 July 1597. Their inventory of 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 117) includes 'Kentes woden leage'. This is not required by the extant text, but two or three leaves of the MS. appear to be missing. If the identification is correct, it is not easy to see how the MS. can be earlier than 1594, although Sir E. M. Thompson's warning that the date of 1596 may be a later addition is justified. On 19 Sept. 1601 the Admiral's bought the book from Alleyn. Greg further suggests that *Randal Earl of Chester*, written by Middleton for the same company in Oct. and Nov. 1602, may have been a 'refashioning' of the earlier play, in which Randal is a character.

The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon. 1598

S. R. 1600, Dec. 1. 'The Downe falle of Robert Erle of Huntingdone after Called Robin Hood.' *Leake* (Arber, iii. 176).

1601. The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington, Afterward called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde: with his loue to chaste Matilda, the Lord Fitzwaters daughter, afterwardes his faire Maide Marian. Acted by the Right Honourable, the Earle of Notingham, Lord high Admirall of England, his seruants. *For William Leake.* [Induction.]

Editions by J. P. Collier (1833, *Five Old Plays*), in Dodsley^4 viii (1874), and by J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*).—*Dissertation*: A. Ruckdeschel, *Die Quellen des Dramas 'The Downfall and Death of Robert, Earle of Huntington, otherwise called Robin Hood'* (1897).

Henslowe paid Munday £5 on behalf of the Admiral's for 'the firste parte of Robyne Hoode' on 15 Feb. 1598. From 20 Feb. to 8 March he paid Munday and Chettle sums amounting to £5 in all for a 'seconde parte', called in the fullest entry 'seconde parte of the downefall of earlle Huntyngton surnamed Roben Hoode'. The books and apparel and properties are in the Admiral's inventories of March 1598 (*Henslowe Papers*, 114, 115, 120, 121). Both parts were licensed for performance on 28 March. On 18 Nov. he paid Chettle 10*s*. for 'the mendynge of' the first part, and on 25 Nov., apparently, another 10*s*. 'for mendinge of Roben Hood for the corte'. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 190) suggests that the last payment was for the second part, and that the two Court performances by the Admiral's at Christmas 1598 are of these plays. However this may be, Henslowe's *1, 2 Robin Hood* are doubtless the extant *Downfall* and *Death*. There is an allusion in *The Downfall*, IV. ii, to the 'merry jests' of an earlier play, which may be *The Pastoral Comedy of Robin Hood and Little John*, entered in S. R. on 14 May 1594, but not now known. Fleay, ii. 114, thinks that Chettle, besides revising some of Munday's scenes, added the Induction and the Skeltonic rhymes.

The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon. 1598

With Chettle.

S. R. 1600, Dec. 1. 'The Death of Robert Earle of Huntingdon with the lamentable trogidye of Chaste Mathilda.' *Leake* (Arber, iii. 176).

1601. The Death of Robert, Earle of Huntington. Otherwise called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde: with the lamentable Tragedie of chaste Matilda, his faire maid Marian, poysoned at Dunmowe by King Iohn. Acted by the Right Honourable, the Earle of Notingham, Lord high Admirall of England, his seruants. *For William Leake.* [*Epilogue.*]

Editions and *Dissertation* with *The Downfall* (q.v.).

This is a sequel to *The Downfall* (q.v.). Fleay, ii. 115, gives Munday the scenes dealing with Robin Hood's death and Chettle those dealing with Maid Marian's. The play contains discrepancies, but Henslowe's entries afford no evidence that Munday revised Chettle's work, as Fleay thinks. Greg (*Henslowe*, ii. 191) points out that Davenport borrowed much of his *King John and Matilda* (1655) from *The Death*.

1 Sir John Oldcastle. 1599

With Drayton (q.v.), Hathway, and Wilson.

Lost Plays

The following is a complete list of the plays in which Henslowe's diary shows Munday to have written between 1597 and 1602. All were for the Admiral's:

(i) *Mother Redcap.*
With Drayton, Dec. 1597–Jan. 1598.

(ii), (iii) *1, 2 Robin Hood.*
Vide supra.

(iv) *The Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-Lion.*

With Chettle, Drayton, and Wilson, June 1598, probably as a sequel to *Robin Hood* (cf. Greg, *Henslowe,* ii. 190).

(v) *Valentine and Orson.*

With Hathway (q.v.), July 1598.

(vi) A ' comodey for the corte ', for the completion of which Drayton was surety, Aug. 1598, but the entry is cancelled, and presumably the play was not finished, unless it is identical with (vii).

(vii) *Chance Medley.*

With Chettle or Dekker, Drayton, and Wilson, Aug. 1598.

(viii), (ix) *1, 2 Sir John Oldcastle.*

With Drayton (q.v.), Hathway, and Wilson, Oct.–Dec. 1599.

(x) *Owen Tudor.*

With Drayton, Hathway, and Wilson, Jan. 1600, but apparently not finished.

(xi) *1 Fair Constance of Rome.*

With Dekker, Drayton, Hathway, and Wilson, June 1600.

(xii) *1 Cardinal Wolsey.*

With Chettle, Drayton, and Smith, Aug.–Nov. 1601.

(xiii) *Jephthah.*

With Dekker, May 1602.

(xiv) *Caesar's Fall, or The Two Shapes.*

With Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, and Webster, May 1602.

(xv) *The Set at Tennis.*

Dec. 1602. The payment, though in full, was only £3; it was probably, therefore, a short play, and conceivably identical with the ' [sec]ond part of fortun[es Tenn ?]is ' of which a ' plot ' exists (cf. ch. xxiv) and intended to piece out to the length of a normal performance the original *Fortune's Tennis* written by Dekker (q.v.) as a ' curtain-raiser ' for the Fortune on its opening in 1600. [This is highly conjectural.]

Munday must clearly have had a hand in *Sir Thomas More,* which is in his writing, and has been suggested as the author of *Fedele and Fortunio* and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (cf. ch. xxiv).

ENTERTAINMENTS

The Triumphs of Reunited Britannia. 29 Oct. 1605

N.D. The Triumphes of re-vnited Britania. Performed at the cost and charges of the Right Worship: Company of the Merchant-Taylors, in honor of Sir Leonard Holliday kni: to solemnize his entrance as Lorde Mayor of the Citty of London, on Tuesday the 29. of October. 1605. Deuised and Written by A. Mundy, Cittizen and Draper of London. *W. Jaggard.*

Edition in Nichols, *James* (1828), i. 564.

London's Love to Prince Henry. 31 May 1610

See ch. xxiv.

Chryso-Thriambos. 29 Oct. 1611

1611. Chruso-thriambos. The Triumphes of Golde. At the Inauguration of Sir Iames Pemberton, Knight, in the Dignity of Lord Maior of London: On Tuesday, the 29. of October. 1611. Performed in the harty loue, and at the charges of the Right Worshipfull, Worthy, and Ancient Company of Gold-Smithes. Deuised and Written by A. M. Cittizen and Draper of London. *William Jaggard.*

Himatia Poleos. 29 Oct. 1614

1614. Himatia-Poleos. The Triumphs of olde Draperie, or the rich Cloathing of England. Performed in affection, and at the charges of the right Worthie and first honoured Companie of Drapers: at the enstalment of Sr. Thomas Hayes Knight, in the high office of Lord Maior of London, on Satturday, being the 29. day of October. 1614. Deuised and written by A. M. Citizen and Draper of London. *Edward Allde.*

Metropolis Coronata. 30 Oct. 1615

1615. Metropolis Coronata, The Triumphes of Ancient Drapery: or, Rich Cloathing of England, in a second Yeeres performance. In Honour of the aduancement of Sir Iohn Iolles, Knight, to the high Office of Lord Maior of London, and taking his Oath for the same Authoritie, on Monday, being the 30. day of October. 1615. Performed in heartie affection to him, and at the bountifull charges of his worthy Brethren the truely Honourable Society of Drapers, the first that receiued such Dignitie in this Citie. Deuised, and written, by A. M. Citizen, and Draper of London. *George Purslowe.*

Edition in Nichols, *James*, iii. 107.

Chrysanaleia. 29 Oct. 1616

S. R. 1616, Oct. 29. 'A booke called the golden Fishing of the showes of Sir John Leman Lord Maiour.' *George Purslowe* (Arber iii. 597).

1616. Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing: Or, Honour of Fishmongers. Applauding the aduancement of Mr. Iohn Leman, Alderman, to the dignitie of Lord Maior of London. Taking his Oath in the same authority at Westminster, on Tuesday, being the 29. day of October. 1616. Performed in hearty loue to him, and at the charges of his worthy Brethren, the ancient, and right Worshipfull Company of Fishmongers. Deuised and written by A. M. Citizen and Draper of London. *George Purslowe.*

Editions in Nichols, iii. 195, and by J. G. Nichols (1844, 1869) with reproductions of drawings for the pageant in the possession of the Fishmongers.

Doubtful Entertainment

The *Campbell* mayoral pageant of 1609 (q.v.) has been ascribed to Munday.

ROBERT NAILE (*c.* 1613).

Probable describer of the Bristol entertainment of Queen Anne in 1613 (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

THOMAS NASHE (1567–>1601).

Nashe was baptized at Lowestoft, Suffolk, in Nov. 1567, the son of William Nashe, minister, of a Herefordshire family. He matriculated from St. John's, Cambridge, on 13 Oct. 1582, took his B.A. in 1586, and left the University probably in 1588. According to the *Trimming* (Harvey, iii. 67), he 'had a hand in a Show called Terminus & non terminus, for which his partener in it was expelled the Colledge: but this foresaid Nashe played in it (as I suppose) the Varlet of Clubs; which he acted with such naturall affection, that all the spectators tooke him to be the verie same'. He went to London, and his first book, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, was entered in S. R. on 19 Sept. 1588. In actual publication it was anticipated by an epistle 'To the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities', which he prefixed to the *Menaphon* (1589) of Robert Greene (cf. App. C, No. xlii). This contains some pungent criticism of actors, with incidental depreciation of certain illiterate dramatists, among whom is apparently included Kyd, coupled with praise of Peele, and of other 'sweete gentlemen', who have 'tricked vp a company of taffata fooles with their feathers'. Evidently Nashe had joined the London circle of University wits, and henceforth lived, partly by his pen, as dramatist and pamphleteer, and partly by services rendered to various patrons, amongst whom were Lord Strange, Sir George Carey, afterwards Lord Hunsdon, and Archbishop Whitgift. His connexion with this last was either the cause or the result of his employment, with other literary men, notably Lyly, in opposition to the anti-episcopalian tracts of Martin Marprelate and his fellows. His precise share in the controversy is uncertain. He has been credited with *An Almond for a Parrot*, with a series of writings under the name of Pasquil, and with other contributions, but in all cases the careful analysis of McKerrow, v. 49, finds the evidence quite inconclusive.

McKerrow, too, has given the best account (v. 65) of Nashe's quarrel with Gabriel and Richard Harvey. This arose out of his association as an anti-Martinist with Lyly, between whom and Gabriel there was an ancient feud. It was carried on, in a vein of scurrilous personal raillery on both sides, from 1590 until it was suppressed as a public scandal in 1599. One of the charges against Nashe was his friendship with, and in the Harveian view aping of, Robert Greene, with whom, according to Gabriel's *Four Letters* (*Works*, i. 170), Nashe took part in the fatal banquet of pickled herrings and Rhenish which brought him to his end. Nashe repudiated the charge of imitation, and spoke of

Greene in *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (iii. 132), as ‘ subscribing to mee in anything but plotting Plaies, wherein he was his crafts master ’. Unless *Dido* is early work, no play written by Nashe before Greene’s death on 3 Sept. 1592 is known to us. But he is pretty clearly the ‘ young Iuuenall, that byting Satyrist, that lastly with mee together writ a Comedie ’ of Greene’s posthumous *Groats-worth* (cf. App. C, No. xlviii), and the tone of his own Defence of Plays in *Pierce Penilesse* of 1592 (cf. App. C, No. xlvi) as compared with that of the *Menaphon* epistle suggests that he had made his peace with the ‘ taffata fooles ’. His one extant unaided play belongs to the autumn of 1592, and was apparently for a private performance at Croydon. Internal evidence enables us to date in Aug.–Oct. 1596, and to ascribe to Nashe, in spite of the fact that his name at the foot is in a nineteenth-century writing, a letter to William Cotton (McKerrow, v. 192, from *Cott. MS. Julius C.* iii, f. 280) which shows that he was still writing for the stage and gives valuable evidence upon the theatrical crisis of that year (App. D, No. cv). To 1597 belongs the misadventure of *The Isle of Dogs*, which sent Nashe in flight to Great Yarmouth, and probably ended his dramatic career. He is mentioned as dead in C. Fitzgeffrey, *Affaniae* (1601).

Collections

1883–5. A. B. Grosart, *The Complete Works of T. N.* 6 vols. (*Huth Library*).

1904–10. R. B. McKerrow, *The Works of T. N.* 5 vols.

PLAYS

Summer’s Last Will and Testament. 1592

S. R. 1600, Oct. 28 (Harsnett). ‘ A booke called Sommers last Will and testament presented by William Sommers.’ *Burby and Walter Burre* (Arber, iii. 175).

1600. A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers last will and Testament. Written by Thomas Nash. *Simon Stafford for Walter Burre.* [Induction, with Prologue and Epilogue.]

Edition in Dodsley$^{3-4}$ (1825–74).—*Dissertations* : B. Nicholson, *The Date of S. L. W. and T.* (*Athenaeum*, 10 Jan. 1891) ; F. G. Fleay *Queen Elizabeth, Croydon and the Drama* (1898).

The play was intended for performance on the ‘ tyle-stones ’ and in the presence of a ‘ Lord ’, to whom there are several other references, in one of which he is ‘ your Grace ’ (ll. 17, 205, 208, 587, 795, 1897, 1925). There are also local references to ‘ betweene this and Stretham ’ (l. 202), to ‘ Dubbers hill ’ near Croydon (l. 621), to Croydon itself (ll. 1830, 1873), and to ‘ forlorne ’ Lambeth (l. 1879). The conclusion seems justified that ‘ this lowe built house ’ (l. 1884) was the palace of Archbishop Whitgift at Croydon.

There was a plague ‘ in this latter end of summer ’ (l. 80) ; which had been ‘ brought in ’ by the dog-days (l. 656), and had led to ‘ want of terme ’ and consequent ‘ Cities harm ’ in London (l. 1881). Summer accuses Sol of spiting Thames with a 'naked channell' (l. 545) and Sol lays it on the moon (l. 562):

> in the yeare
> Shee was eclipst, when that the Thames was bare.

Two passages refer to the Queen as on progress. Summer says (l. 125):

> Haruest and age haue whit'ned my greene head:
> . . . .
> This month haue I layne languishing a bed,
> Looking eche hour to yeeld my life and throne;
> And dyde I had in deed vnto the earth,
> But that *Eliza*, Englands beauteous Queene,
> On whom all seasons prosperously attend,
> Forbad the execution of my fate,
> Vntill her ioyfull progresse was expir'd.
> For her doth Summer liue, and linger here.

And again, at the end of the play (l. 1841):

> Vnto *Eliza*, that most sacred Dame,
> Whom none but Saints and Angels ought to name,
> All my faire dayes remaining I bequeath,
> To waite vpon her till she be returnd.
> Autumne, I charge thee, when that I am dead,
> Be prest and seruiceable at her beck,
> Present her with thy goodliest ripened fruites.

The plague and absence of term from London might fit either 1592 or 1593 (cf. App. E), but I agree with McKerrow, iv. 418, that the earlier year is indicated. In 1593 the plague did not begin in the dog-days, nor did Elizabeth go on progress. And it is on 6 Sept. 1592 that Stowe (1615), 764, records the emptying of Thames. I may add a small confirmatory point. Are not 'the horses lately sworne to be stolne' (l. 250) those stolen by Germans in the train of Count Mompelgard between Reading and Windsor and referred to in *Merry Wives*, IV. v. 78. The Count came to Windsor on 19 Aug. 1592 (Rye, xcix). Now I part company with Mr. McKerrow, who thinks that, although the play was written in 1592, it may have been revised for performance before Elizabeth in a later year, perhaps at her visit to Whitgift on 14 Aug. 1600. His reasons are three: (*a*) Sol's reference to the Thames seems to date it in a year earlier than that in which he speaks; (*b*) the seasonal references suggest August, while Stowe's date necessitates September at earliest, and the want of term points to October; (*c*) the references to Elizabeth imply her presence. I think there is something in (*a*), but not much, if the distinction between actual and dramatic time is kept in mind. As to (*b*), the tone of the references is surely to a summer prolonged beyond its natural expiration for Eliza's benefit, well into autumn, and in such a year the fruits of autumn, which in this country are chiefly apples, will be on the trees until October. As to (*c*), I cannot find any evidence of the Queen's presence at all. Surely she is on progress elsewhere, and due to 'return' in the future. I may add that Elizabeth was at Croydon in the spring of 1593, and that it would, therefore, have been odd to defer a revival for her benefit until another seven years had elapsed. The 1592 progress came to an end upon 9 Oct. and I should put the performance not long before. When Q_1 of *Pierce Penilesse* (S. R. 8 Aug. 1592) was issued, Nashe was kept by fear of infection 'with my Lord in the Countrey', and the misinterpretations of the pamphlet which he deprecates in the epistle to Q_2 (McKerrow, i. 154) are hinted at in a very similar protest (l. 65) in the play.

The prologue is spoken by 'the greate foole *Toy*' (ll. 10, 1945), who would borrow a chain and fiddle from 'my cousin Ned' (l. 7), also called 'Ned foole' (l. 783). The epilogue is spoken (l. 1194) and the songs sung (ll. 117, 1871) by boys. Will Summer (l. 792) gives good advice to certain 'deminitiue urchins', who wait 'on my Lords trencher'; but he might be speaking either to actors or to boys in the audience. The morris (l. 201) dances 'for the credit of Woster-shire', where Whitgift had been bishop. The prompter was Dick Huntley (l. 14), and Vertumnus was acted by Harry Baker (l. 1567). There is a good deal of Latin in the text. On the whole, I think that the play was given by members of Whitgift's household, which his biographer describes as 'a little academy'. The prologue (l. 33) has 'So fares it with vs nouices, that here betray our imperfections: we, afraid to looke on the imaginary serpent of Enuy, paynted in mens affections, haue ceased to tune any musike of mirth to your eares this tweluemonth, thinking that, as it is the nature of the serpent to hisse, so childhood and ignorance would play the goslings, contemning and condemning what they vnderstood not'. This agrees curiously in date with the termination of the Paul's plays. Whitgift might have entertained the Paul's boys during the plague and strengthened them for a performance with members of his own household. But would they call themselves 'nouices'?

Dido, Queen of Carthage > *1593*

With Marlowe (q.v.).

Lost Plays

Terminus et non Terminus. *1586 < > 8*

Vide supra. McKerrow, v. 10, thinks that the name of Nashe's alleged part may be a jest, and points out that the identification by Fleay, ii. 124, of the play, of which nothing more is known, with the 'London Comedie' of the *Cards* referred to in Harington's *Apology* (cf. App. C, No. xlv) is improbable.

The Isle of Dogs. *1597*

Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (S. R. 7 Sept. 1598), writes:

'As *Actaeon* was wooried of his owne hounds: so is *Tom Nash* of his *Isle of Dogs.* Dogges were the death of *Euripedes,* but bee not disconsolate gallant young *Iuuenall, Linus,* the sonne of *Apollo* died the same death. Yet God forbid that so braue a witte should so basely perish, thine are but paper dogges, neither is thy banishment like *Ouids,* eternally to conuerse with the barbarous *Getes*. Therefore comfort thy selfe sweete *Tom*, with *Ciceros* glorious return to Rome, & with the counsel *Aeneas* giues to his seabeaten soldiors.'

We learn something more from *Nashes Lenten Stuffe* (S.R. 11 Jan. 1599), where he tells us that he is sequestered from the wonted means of his maintenance and exposed to attacks on his fame, through 'the straunge turning of the Ile of Dogs from a commedie to a tragedie two summers past, with the troublesome stir which hapned aboute it', and goes on to explain the 'infortunate imperfit Embrion of my idle houres, the Ile of Dogs before mentioned . . . was no sooner borne but I was glad to run from it'; which is what brought him to Yarmouth. In a marginal note he adds 'An imperfit Embrion I may well call it, for I hauing begun but the induction and first act of it, the other foure acts without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope, by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine to' (McKerrow, iii. 153). Of this there is perhaps some confirmation in the list of writings on the cover of the *Northumberland MS.* which records the item, not now extant in the MS., 'Ile of doges frmn^{t} by Thomas Nashe inferior plaiers'. This MS. contains work by Bacon (q.v.), and if the entry is not itself based on *Lenten Stuffe*, it may indicate that Bacon was professionally concerned in the proceedings to which the play gave rise. McKerrow, v. 31, points out that the evidence is against the suggestion in the *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (S. R. 11 Oct. 1597) that Nashe suffered imprisonment for the play. The Privy Council letter of 15 Aug. 1597 (cf. App. D, No. cxi) was no doubt intended to direct his apprehension, but, as I pointed out in *M. L. R.* iv. 410, 511, the actor and maker of plays referred to therein as actually in prison must have been Ben Jonson, who was released by the Council on 3 Oct. 1597 (cf. App. D, No. cxii). The connexion of Jonson (q.v.) with the *Isle of Dogs* is noted in *Satiromastix*. With him the Council released Gabriel Spencer and Robert Shaw, and the inference is that the peccant company was Pembroke's (q.v.) at the Swan on Bankside. The belief that it was the Admiral's at the Rose only rests on certain forged interpolations by Collier in Henslowe's diary. These are set out by Greg (*Henslowe*, i. xl). The only genuine mention of the affair in the diary is the provision noted in the memorandum of Borne's agreement of 10 Aug. 1597 that his service is to begin 'imediatly after this restraynt is recaled by the lordes of the counsell which restraynt is by the meanes of playinge the Ieylle of Dooges' (*Henslowe*, i. 203). The restraint was ordered by the Privy Council on 28 July 1597 (App. D, No. cx), presumably soon after the offence, the nature of which is only vaguely described as the handling of 'lewd matters'. Perhaps it is possible, at any rate in conjecture, to be more specific. By dogs we may take it that Nashe meant men. The idea was not new to him. In *Summer's Last Will and Testament* he makes Orion draw an elaborate parallel between dogs and men, at the end of which Will Summer says that he had not thought 'the ship of fooles would haue stayde to take in fresh water at the Ile of dogges' (l. 779). But there is nothing offensive to authority here. Nashe returns to the question of his indiscretion in more than one passage of *Lenten Stuffe*, and in particular has a diatribe (McKerrow, iii. 213) against lawyers who try to fish 'a deepe politique state meaning' out of what contains no such thing. 'Talke I of a beare, O, it is such a man that emblazons him in his armes, or of a woolfe, a fox, or a camelion, any lording whom they do not affect it is meant by.' Apparently Nashe was accused of satirizing some nobleman. But this was not the only point of attack. 'Out steps me an infant squib of the Innes of Court . . . and he, to approue hymselfe an extrauagant statesman, catcheth hold of a rush, and absolutely concludeth, it is meant of the Emperor of Ruscia, and that it will vtterly marre the traffike into that country if all the Pamphlets bee not called in and suppressed, wherein that libelling word is mentioned.' I do not suppose that Nashe had literally called the Emperor of Russia a rush in *The Isle of Dogs*, but it is quite possible that he, or Ben Jonson, had called the King of Poland a pole. On 23 July 1597, just five days before the trouble, a Polish ambassador had made representations in an audience with Elizabeth, apparently about the question, vexed in the sixteenth as in the twentieth century, of contraband in neutral vessels, and she, scouring up her rusty old Latin for the purpose, had answered him in very round terms. The matter, to which there are several allusions in the Cecilian correspondence (Wright, *Eliz.* ii. 478, 481, 485), gave some trouble, and any mention of it on the public stage might well have been resented. A letter of Robert Beale in 1592 (McKerrow, v. 142) shows that the criticisms of Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* had similarly been due to his attack upon the Danes, with which country the diplomatic issues were much the same as with Poland. In *Hatfield MSS*. vii. 343 is a letter of 10 Aug. 1597 to Robert Cecil from Richard (misdescribed in the Calendar as Robert) Topcliffe, recommending an unnamed bearer as 'the first man that discovered to me that seditious play called The Isle of Dogs'.

Doubtful Play

Nashe has been suggested as a contributor to *A Knack to Know a Knave* (cf. ch. xxiv).

THOMAS NELSON.

The pageant-writer is probably identical with the stationer of the same name, who is traceable in London during 1580–92 (McKerrow, 198).

Allot Pageant. 29 Oct. 1590

1590. The Deuice of the Pageant: Set forth by the Worshipfull Companie of the Fishmongers, for the right honourable Iohn Allot: established Lord Maior of London, and Maior of the Staple for this present Yeere of our Lord 1590. By T. Nelson. *No imprint.*

Speeches by the riders on the Merman and the Unicorn, and by Fame, the Peace of England, Wisdom, Policy, God's Truth, Plenty, Loyalty and Concord, Ambition, Commonwealth, Science and Labour, Richard the Second, Jack Straw, and Commonwealth again, representing Sir William Walworth, who was evidently the chief subject of the pageant.

Edition by W. C. Hazlitt (1886, *Antiquary*, xiii. 54).—*Dissertation*: R. Withington, *The Lord Mayor's Show for 1590* (1918, *M.L.N.* xxxiii. 8).

ALEXANDER NEVILLE (1544–1614).
Translator of Seneca (q.v.).

THOMAS NEWTON (*c.* 1542–1607).
Translator of Seneca (q.v.).

RICHARD NICCOLS (1584–1616 ?).

This writer of various poetical works and reviser in 1610 of *The Mirror for Magistrates* may have been the writer intended by the S. R. entry to Edward Blount on 15 Feb. 1612 of 'A tragedye called, The Twynnes tragedye, written by Niccolls' (Arber, iii. 478). No copy is known, and it is arbitrary of Fleay, ii. 170, to 'suspect' a revival of it in William Rider's *The Twins* (1655), which had been played at Salisbury Court.

HENRY NOEL (*ob.* 1597).

A younger son of Andrew Noel of Dalby on the Wolds, Leicestershire, whose personal gifts and extravagance enabled him to make a considerable figure as a Gentleman Pensioner at Court. He may have been a fellow author with Robert Wilmot (q.v.) of *Gismond of Salerne*, although he has not been definitely traced as a member of the Inner Temple, by whom the play was produced.

THOMAS NORTON (1532–84).

Norton was born in London and educated at Cambridge and the Inner Temple. In 1571 he became Remembrancer of the City of London, and also sat in Parliament for London. Apparently he is distinct from the Thomas Norton who acted from 1560 as counsel to the Stationers' Company. He took part in theological controversy as a Calvinist, and was opposed to the public stage (cf. App. D, No. xxxi). In 1583 he escaped with some difficulty from a charge of treason. His first wife, Margaret, was daughter, and his second, Alice, niece of Cranmer.

Ferrex and Porrex, or *Gorboduc*. *28 Jan. 1562*

S. R. 1565–6. 'A Tragdie of Gorboduc where iij actes were Wretten by Thomas Norton and the laste by Thomas Sackvyle, &c.' *William Greffeth* (Arber, i. 296).

1565, Sept. 22. The Tragedie of Gorboduc, Where of three Actes were wrytten by Thomas Nortone, and the two laste by Thomas

Sackuyle. Sett forthe as the same was shewed before the Quenes most excellent Maiestie, in her highnes Court of Whitehall, the .xviij. day of Ianuary, Anno Domini .1561. By the Gentlemen of Thynner Temple in London. *William Griffith.* [Argument; Dumb Shows.]

N.D. [*c.* 1571] The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex, set forth without addition or alteration but altogether as the same was shewed on stage before the Queenes Maiestie, about nine yeares past, *viz.*, the xviij day of Ianuarie 1561, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. Seen and allowed, &c. *John Day.* [Epistle by 'The P. to the Reader'.]

1590. *Edward Allde for John Perrin.* [Part of *The Serpent of Division.*]

Editions in Dodsley[1-3] (1744–1825), and by Hawkins (1773, *O. E. D.* ii), W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* i), W. D. Cooper (1847, *Sh. Soc.*), R. W. Sackville-West, *Works of Sackville* (1859), L. T. Smith (1883), J. M. Manly (1897, *Spec.* ii. 211), J. S. Farmer (1908, *T. F. T.*), J. W. Cunliffe and H. A. Watt (1912, *E. E. C. T.*).—*Dissertations*: E. Köppel (*E. S.* xvi. 357); Koch, *F. und P.* (1881, *Halle diss.*); H. A. Watt, *G.; or F. and P.* (1910, *Wisconsin Univ. Bulletin*, 351).

Day's epistle says that the play was 'furniture of part of the grand Christmasse in the Inner Temple first written about nine yeares agoe by the right honourable Thomas now Lorde Buckherst, and by T. Norton, and after shewed before her Maiestie, and neuer intended by the authors therof to be published'. But one W. G. printed it in their absence, 'getting a copie therof at some yongmans hand that lacked a litle money and much discretion'. Machyn, 275, records on 18 Jan. 1562 'a play in the quen hall at Westmynster by the gentyll-men of the Tempull, and after a grett maske, for ther was a grett skaffold in the hall, with grett tryhumpe as has bene sene; and the morow after the skaffold was taken done'. Fleay, ii. 174, doubts Norton's participation—Heaven knows why.

Malone (*Var.* iii. 32) cites the unreliable Chetwood for a performance of *Gorboduc* at Dublin Castle in 1601.

For the Inner Temple Christmas of 1561, at which Robert Dudley was constable-marshal and Christopher Hatton master of the game, cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 415. It was presumably at the mask of 18 Jan. that Hatton danced his way into Elizabeth's heart.

THOMAS NUCE (*ob.* 1617).

Translator of Seneca (q.v.).

OWEN AP JOHN (*c.* 1600).

A late sixteenth-century MS. (*Peniarth MS.* 65 = *Hengwrt MS.* 358) of *The Oration of Gwgan and Poetry* is calendared as his in *Welsh MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*), i. 2. 454, and said to be 'in the form of interludes'. He may be merely the scribe.

PHILIP PARSONS (1594–1653).

Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, and later Principal of Hart Hall (*D. N. B.*), and author of the academic *Atalanta* (cf. App. K).

MERCURIUS (?) PATEN (*c.* 1575).

Gascoigne names a 'M. [Mr.] Paten' as a contributor to the Kenilworth entertainment (cf. ch. xxiv, C.). He might be the Patten described in *D. N. B.* as rector of Stoke Newington (but not traceable in Hennessy) and author of an anonymous *Calendars of Scripture* (1575). But I think he is more likely to have been Mercurius, son of William Patten, teller of the exchequer and lord of the manor of Stoke Newington, who matriculated at Trinity, Cambridge, in 1567 and was Blue Mantle pursuivant in 1603 (*Hist. of Stoke Newington* in *Bibl. Top. Brit.* ii; *Admissions to T. C. C.* ii. 70).

GEORGE PEELE (*c.* 1557–96).

As the son of James Peele, clerk of Christ's Hospital and himself a maker of pageants (vol. i, p. 136; *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 166), George entered the grammar school in 1565, proceeded thence to Broadgates Hall, Oxford, in 1571, and became a student of Christ Church in 1574, taking his B.A. in 1577 and his M.A. in 1579. In Sept. 1579 the court of Christ's Hospital required James Peele 'to discharge his howse of his sonne George Peele and all other his howsold which have bene chargable to him'. This perhaps explains why George prolonged his residence at Oxford until 1581. In that year he came to London, and about the same time married. His wife's business affairs brought him back to Oxford in 1583 and in a deposition of 29 March he describes himself as aged 25. During this visit he superintended the performance before Alasco at Christ Church on 11 and 12 June of the *Rivales* and *Dido* of William Gager, who bears testimony to Peele's reputation as wit and poet in two sets of Latin verses *In Iphigeniam Georgii Peeli Anglicanis versibus redditam* (Boas, 166, 180). Presumably the rest of his life was spent in London, and its wit and accompanying riot find some record in *The Merry Conceited Jests of George Peele* (S. R. 14 Dec. 1605: text in Bullen and in Hazlitt, *Jest-Books*, ii. 261, and Hindley, i), although this is much contaminated with traditional matter from earlier jest books. It provided material for the anonymous play of *The Puritan* (1607), in which Peele appeared as George Pyeboard. His fame as a dramatist is thus acknowledged in Nashe's epistle to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589):

> 'For the last, though not the least of them all, I dare commend him to all that know him, as the chief supporter of pleasance now living, the Atlas of poetry, and *primus verborum artifex*; whose first increase, the Arraignment of Paris, might plead to your opinions his pregnant dexterity of wit and manifold variety of invention, wherein (*me iudice*) he goeth a step beyond all that write.'

Some have thought that Peele is the

> Palin, worthy of great praise,
> Albe he envy at my rustic quill,

of Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (1591). It seems difficult to accept the suggestions of Sarrazin that he was the original both of Falstaff and of Yorick. An allusion in a letter to Edward Alleyn (cf. ch. xv) has unjustifiably been interpreted as implying that Peele was actor as well as playwright, and Collier accordingly included his name in a forged list of housekeepers at an imaginary Blackfriars theatre of 1589 (cf. vol. ii, p. 108). He was, however, clearly one of the three of his 'quondam acquaintance' to whom Greene (q.v.) addressed the attack upon players in his *Groats-worth of Wit* (1592). In 1596 Peele after 'long sickness' sent a begging letter by his daughter to Lord Burghley, with a copy of his *Tale of Troy*. He was buried as a 'householder' at St. James's, Clerkenwell, on 9 Nov. 1596 (*Harl. Soc. Registers*, xvii. 58), having died, according to Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 'by the pox'. He can, therefore, hardly be the Peleus of *Birth of Hercules* (*1597 <*).

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1828–39. A. Dyce. 3 vols.

1861, 1879. A. Dyce. 1 vol. [With Greene.]

1888. A. H. Bullen. 2 vols.

Dissertations: R. Lämmerhirt, *G. P. Untersuchungen über sein Leben und seine Werke* (1882); L. Kellner, *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamides* (1889, *E. S.* xiii. 187); E. Penner, *Metrische Untersuchungen zu P.* (1890, *Archiv*, lxxxv. 269); A. R. Bayley, *P. as a Dramatic Artist* (*Oxford Point of View*, 15 Feb. 1903); G. C. Odell, *P. as a Dramatist* (1903, *Bibliographer*, ii); E. Landsberg, *Der Stil in P.'s sicheren und zweifelhaften dramatischen Werken* (1910, *Breslau diss.*); G. Sarrazin, *Zur Biographie und Charakteristik von G. P.* (1910, *Archiv*, cxxiv. 65); P. H. Cheffaud, *G. P.* (1913).

PLAYS

The Arraignment of Paris. c. 1584

1584. The Araygnement of Paris A Pastorall. Presented before the Queenes Maiestie, by the Children of her Chappell. *Henry Marsh.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

Editions by O. Smeaton (1905, *T. D.*) and H. H. Child (1910, *M. S. R.*).—*Dissertation*: F. E. Schelling, *The Source of P.'s A. of P.* (1893, *M. L. N.* viii. 206).

Fleay, ii. 152, assigns the play to 1581 on the assumption that the Chapel stopped playing in 1582. But they went on to 1584. Nashe's allusion (*vide supra*) and the ascription of passages from the play to 'Geo. Peele' in *England's Helicon* (1600) fix the authorship.

The Battle of Alcazar. c. 1589

[*MS.*] *Addl. MS.* 10449, 'The Plott of the Battell of Alcazar'. [Probably from Dulwich. The fragmentary text is given by Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 138, and a facsimile by Halliwell, *The Theatre Plats of Three Old English Dramas* (1860).]

1594. The Battell of Alcazar, fought in Barbarie, betweene Sebastian king of Portugall, and Abdelmelec king of Marocco. With the death of Captaine Stukeley. As it was sundrie times plaid by the Lord high

Admirall his seruants. *Edward Allde for Richard Bankworth.* [Prologue by 'the Presenter' and dumb-shows.]

Edition by W. W. Greg (1907, *M. S. R.*).

Interest in Sebastian was aroused in 1589 by the expedition of Norris and Drake to set Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. This started on 18 April, and Peele wrote *A Farewell*, in which is a reference to this amongst other plays (l. 20, ed. Bullen, ii. 238):

> Bid theatres and proud tragedians,
> Bid Mahomet's Poo and mighty Tamburlaine,
> King Charlemagne, Tom Stukeley and the rest,
> Adieu.

There are some possible but not very clear allusions to the Armada in the play. From 21 Feb. 1592 to 20 Jan. 1593 Strange's men played fourteen times for Henslowe *Muly Mollocco*, by which this play, in which Abdelmelec is also called Muly Mollocco, is probably meant (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 149). The 'plot' must belong to a later revival by the Admiral's, datable, since both Alleyn and Shaw acted in it, either in Dec. 1597 or in 1600–2 (cf. ch. xiii).

The authorship has been assigned to Peele, both on stylistic evidence and because ll. 467–72 appear over his name in R. A.'s *England's Parnassus* (1600), but R. A. has an error in at least one of his ascriptions to Peele, and he ascribes l. 49 of this play to Dekker (Crawford, *E. P.* xxxv. 398, 474; *M. S. C.* i. 101).

Edward I > 1593

S. R. 1593, Oct. 8. 'An enterlude entituled the Chronicle of Kinge Edward the firste surnamed Longeshank with his Retourne out of the Holye Lande, with the lyfe of Leublen Rebell in Wales with the sinkinge of Quene Elinour.' *Abel Jeffes* (Arber, ii. 637).

1593. The Famous Chronicle of king Edwarde the first, sirnamed Edwarde Longshankes, with his returne from the holy land. Also the life of Lleuellen, rebell in Wales. Lastly, the sinking of Queene Elinor, who sunck at Charingcrosse, and rose againe at Potters-hith now named Queenehith. *Abel Jeffes, sold by William Barley.* [At end, 'Yours. By George Peele, Maister of Artes in Oxenford'.]

1599. *W. White.*

Edition by W. W. Greg (1911, *M. S. R.*).—*Dissertations*: W. Thieme, *P.'s Ed. I und seine Quellen* (1903, *Halle diss.*); E. Kronenberg, *G. P.'s Ed. I* (1903, *Jena diss.*).

Fleay, ii. 157, makes the date 1590–1, on the ground that lines are quoted from *Polyhymnia* (1590). A theory that Shakespeare acted in the play is founded on ll. 759–62, where after Baliol's coronation Elinor says:

> Now, brave John Baliol, Lord of Galloway
> And King of Scots, shine with thy golden head!
> Shake thy spears, in honour of his [i.e. Edward's] name,
> Under whose royalty thou wearest the same.

This is not very convincing.

A play called *Longshank*, *Longshanks*, and *Prince Longshank* was played fourteen times by the Admiral's, from 29 Aug. 1595 to 14 July 1596. It is marked 'ne', and unless there had been substantial revision, can hardly be Peele's play. 'Longe-shanckes sewte' is in the Admiral's inventory of 10 March 1598. On 8 Aug. 1602 Alleyn sold the book of the play to the Admiral's with another for £4. (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 176; *Henslowe Papers*, 113.)

David and Bethsabe > *1594*

S. R. 1594, May 14. 'A booke called the book of David and Bethsaba.' *Adam Islip* (Arber, ii. 649). [Islip's name is cancelled and Edward White's substituted.]

1599. The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe. With the Tragedie of Absalon. As it hath ben divers times plaied on the stage. Written by George Peele. *Adam Islip*. [Prologue.]

Editions by T. Hawkins (1773, *O. E. D.* ii), J. M. Manly (1897, *Specimens*, ii. 419), and W. W. Greg (1912, *M. S. R.*).—*Dissertations*: B. Neitzel (1904, *Halle diss.*); M. Dannenberg, *Die Verwendung des biblischen Stoffes von David und Bathseba im englischen Drama* (1905, *Königsberg diss.*).

Fleay, ii. 153, dates the play *c.* 1588 on the ground of some not very plausible political allusions. The text as it stands looks like a boil-down of a piece, perhaps of a neo-miracle type, written in three 'discourses'. It had choruses, of which two only are preserved. One is ll. 572–95 (at end of sc. iv of *M. S. R.* ed.). The other (ll. 1646–58; *M. S. R.* sc. xv) headed 'Chorus 5', contains the statement:

> this storie lends vs other store,
> To make a third discourse of Dauids life,

and is followed by a misplaced fragment of a speech by Absalon.

In Oct. 1602 Henslowe (ii. 232) laid out money for Worcester's on poles and workmanship 'for to hange Absolome'; but we need not assume a revival of Peele's play.

The Old Wive's Tale. 1591 <> 4

S. R. 1595, Apr. 16. 'A booke or interlude intituled a pleasant Conceipte called the owlde wifes tale.' *Ralph Hancock* (Arber, ii. 296).

1595. The Old Wiues Tale. A pleasant conceited Comedie, played by the Queenes Maiesties players. Written by G. P. *John Danter, sold by Ralph Hancock and John Hardie.*

Editions by F. B. Gummere (1903, *R. E. C.*), W. W. Greg (1908, *M. S. R.*), W. A. Neilson (1911, *C. E. D.*), F. R. Cady (1916).—*Dissertation*: H. Dutz, *Der Dank des Tödten in der englischen Literatur* (1894).

The Queen's men had presumably produced the play by 1594, when they left London. Peele borrowed some lines and the name Sacrapant from Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (1591). The hexameters of Huanebango are a burlesque of Gabriel Harvey.

Lost Plays

Iphigenia. c. 1579

A translation of one of the two plays of Euripides, probably written at Oxford, is only known by some laudatory verses of William Gager, *In Iphigeniam Georgii Peeli Anglicanis versibus redditam*, printed by Bullen, i. xvii.

Hunting of Cupid > 1591

S. R. 1591, July 26 (Bp. of London). 'A booke intituled the Huntinge of Cupid wrytten by George Peele, Master of Artes of Oxeford. Provyded alwayes that yf yt be hurtfull to any other Copye before lycenced, then this to be voyde.' *Richard Jones* (Arber, ii. 591).

Probably the play—I suppose it was a play—was printed, as Drummond of Hawthornden includes jottings from 'The Huntinge of Cupid by George Peele of Oxford. Pastoral' amongst others from 'Bookes red anno 1609 be me', and thereby enables us to identify extracts assigned to Peele in *England's Parnassus* (1600) and *England's Helicon* (1600) as from the same source. The fragments are all carefully collected by W. W. Greg in *M. S. C.* i. 307.

The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek > 1594

The *Merry Conceited Jests* (Bullen, ii. 394) gives this as the title of a 'famous play' of Peele's. Conceivably it, rather than Greene's *Alphonsus* (q.v.), may be the 'Mahomet's Poo' of Peele's *Farewell* of 1589 (*vide supra*, s.v. *Battle of Alcazar*). An Admiral's inventory of 10 March 1598 includes 'owld Mahemetes head'. The Admiral's had played *Mahomet* for Henslowe from 16 Aug. 1594 to 5 Feb. 1595, and a play called *The Love of a Grecian Lady* or *The Grecian Comedy* from 5 Oct. 1594 to 10 Oct. 1595. In Aug. 1601 Henslowe bought *Mahemett* from Alleyn, and incurred other expenses on the play for the Admiral's (Henslowe, ii. 167; *Henslowe Papers*, 116). Possibly all the three titles of 1594–5 stand for Peele's play. Jacob Ayrer wrote a play on the siege of Constantinople and the loves of Mahomet and Irene. This may have had some relation on the one hand to Peele's, and on the other to a play of the siege of Constantinople used by Spencer (cf. ch. xiv) in Germany during 1612–14 (Herz, 73). Pistol's 'Have we not Hiren here?' (*2 Hen. IV*, II. iv. 173) is doubtless from the play.

The Knight of Rhodes

This also is described in the *Merry Jests* (cf. ch. xxiv, s.v. *Soliman and Perseda*).

Doubtful Plays

Peele's hand has been sought in nearly every masterless play of his epoch: *Alphonsus of Germany, Captain Thomas Stukeley, Clyomon and Clamydes, Contention of York and Lancaster, George a Greene, Henry VI, Histriomastix, Jack Straw, Troublesome Reign of King John,* *Knack to Know a Knave, Leire, Locrine, Mucedorus, Soliman and Perseda, Taming of A Shrew, True Tragedy of Richard III, Wily Beguiled, Wisdom of Dr. Dodipoll* (cf. ch. xxiv).

ENTERTAINMENTS

Dixie Pageant. 29 Oct. 1585

1585. The Device of the Pageant borne before Woolstone Dixi Lord Maior of the Citie of London. An. 1585. October 29. *Edward Allde.* [At end, 'Done by George Peele, Master of Arts in Oxford'.]

Editions in Nichols, *Eliz.* (1823), ii. 446, and F. W. Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants* (1843, *Percy Soc.* xxxviii).

Polyhymnia 17 Nov. 1590

See s.v. Lee.

Descensus Astreae 29 Oct. 1591

1591. Descensus Astreae. The Deuice of a Pageant, borne before M. William Web, Lord Maior of the Citie of London on the day he tooke his oath; beeing the 29. of October. 1591. Wherevnto is annexed A Speech deliuered by one clad like a Sea Nymph, who presented a Pinesse on the water brauely rigd and mand, to the Lord Maior, at the time he tooke Barge to go to Westminster. Done by G. Peele Maister of Arts in Oxford. *For William Wright.*

Edition in F. W. Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants* (1843, *Percy Soc.* xxxviii).

Anglorum Feriae. 1595

[*MS.*] *Brit. Mus. Addl. MS.* 21432 (autograph). 'Anglorum Feriae, Englandes Hollydayes, celebrated the 17th of Novemb. last, 1595, beginninge happyly the 38 yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne ladie Queene Elizabeth. By George Peele M^r^ of Arte in Oxforde.'

S. R. 1595, Nov. 18. 'A newe Ballad of the honorable order of the Runnynge at Tilt at Whitehall the 17. of November in the 38 yere of her maiesties Reign.' *John Danter* (Arber, iii. 53). [This is not necessarily Peele's poem.]

Edition by R. Fitch (n.d. *c.* 1830).

This is a blank-verse description of tilting, like *Polyhymnia*; on the occasion, cf. s.v. Bacon.

Lost Entertainment. 1588

S.R. 1588, Oct. 28. 'Entred for his copie vppon Condicon that it maye be lycenced, ye device of the Pageant borne before the Righte honorable Martyn Calthrop lorde maiour of the Cytie of London the 29th daie of October 1588 George Peele the Authour.' *Richard Jones* (Arber, ii. 504).

In the *Merry Conceited Jests* it is said that Peele had 'all the oversight of the pageants' (Bullen, ii. 381).

Doubtful Entertainment

For the ascription to Peele of a Theobalds entertainment in 1591, see s.v. Cecil.

JOHN PENRUDDOCK (*c.* 1588).

The Master 'Penroodocke', who was one of the directors for the *Misfortunes of Arthur* of Thomas Hughes (q.v.) in 1588, was presumably John Penruddock, one of the readers of Gray's Inn in 1590, and the John who was admitted to the inn in 1562 (J. Foster, *Admissions to Gray's Inn*).

WILLIAM PERCY (1575–1648).

Percy was third son of Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, and educated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford. He was a friend of Barnabe Barnes, and himself published *Sonnets to the Fairest Coelia* (1594). His life is obscure, but in 1638 he was living in Oxford and 'drinking nothing but ale' (*Strafford Letters*, ii. 166), and here he died in 1648.

PLAYS

[*MS.*] Autograph formerly in collection of the Duke of Devonshire, with t.p. 'Comædyes and Pastoralls . . . By W. P. Esq. . . . Exscriptum Anno Salutis 1647'. [Contains, in addition to the two plays printed in 1824, the following:

Arabia Sitiens, or A Dream of a Dry Year (1601).
The Aphrodysial, or Sea Feast (1602).
Cupid's Sacrifice, or a Country's Tragedy in Vacuniam (1602).
Necromantes, or The Two Supposed Heads (1602).]

[*Edition*] 1824. The Cuck-Queanes and Cuckolds Errants or The Bearing down the Inne. A Comædye. The Faery Pastorall, or Forrest of Elves. By W. P. Esq. (*Roxburghe Club*). [Preface by [Joseph] H[aslewood].]—*Dissertations*: C. Grabau, *Zur englischen Bühne um 1600* (1902, *Jahrbuch*, xxxviii. 230); V. Albright, *P.'s Plays as Proof of the Elizabethan Stage* (1913, *M. P.* xi. 237); G. F. Reynolds, *W. P. and his Plays* (1914, *M. P.* xii. 241).

Percy's authorship appears to be fixed by a correspondence between an epigram in the MS. to Charles Fitzgeffrey with one *Ad Gulielmum Percium* in *Fitzgeoffridi Affaniae* (1601), sig. D 2. 6.

The Cuck-Queanes and Cuckolds Errants is dated 1601 and *The Faery Pastorall* 1603. The other plays are unprinted and practically unknown, although Reynolds gives some account of *The Aphrodysial*. There are elaborate stage-directions, which contain several references to Paul's, for which the plays, whether in fact acted or not, were evidently intended, as is shown by an author's note appended to the manuscript (cf. ch. xii, s.v. Paul's).

I feel some doubt as to the original date of these plays. It seems to me just conceivable that they were originally produced by the Paul's boys before 1590, and revised by Percy after 1599 in hopes of a revival. Some of the s.ds. are descriptive in the past tense (cf.

ch. xxii), which suggests actual production. The action of *C. and C. Errant* is during the time of the Armada, but the composition must be later than the death of Tarlton, as his ghost prologizes. Here the author notes, 'Rather to be omitted if for Powles, and another Prologue for him to be brought in Place'. *Faery Pastoral* uses (p. 97) the date '1647'; it is in fairy time, but points to some revision when the MS. was written. There are alternative final scenes, with the note, 'Be this the foresayd for Powles, For Actors see the Direction at later end of this Pastorall, which is separate by itself, Extra Olens, as they say'. Similarly in *Aphrodysial* a direction for beards is noted 'Thus for Actors; for Powles without', and another s.d. is 'Chambers (noise supposd for Powles) For Actors'. A reference to 'a showre of Rose-water and confits, as was acted in Christ-Church in Oxford, in Dido and Aeneas' is a reminiscence of Gager's play of 12 June 1583, and again makes a seventeenth-century date seem odd.

PETER (?) PETT (*c.* 1600).

Henslowe's diary records a payment of £6 on 17 May 1600 for the Admiral's 'to pay Will: Haulton [Haughton] and Mr. Pett in full payment of a play called straunge newes out of Poland'. Fleay, i. 273, says: 'Pett is not heard of elsewhere. Should it not be Chett., *i.e.* Chettle? The only Pett I know of as a writer is Peter Pett, who published *Time's journey to seek his daughter Truth*, in verse, 1599.' To which Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 213, replies: 'Henslowe often has Cett for Chettle, which is even nearer, but only where he is crowded for room and he never applies to him the title of Mr.'

JOHN PHILLIP (>1570–>1626).

John Phillip or Phillips was a member of Queens' College, Cambridge, and author of various ballads, tracts, and elegies, published between 1566 and 1591. I do not know whether he may be the 'Phelypes', who was apparently concerned with John Heywood and a play by Paul's (q.v.) in 1559. A John Phillipps, this or another, is mentioned (1619) as a brother-in-law in the will of Samuel Daniel (*Sh. Soc. Papers*, iv. 157).

Dissertation: W. W. Greg, *J. P.—Notes for a Bibliography* (1910–13, *3 Library*, i. 302, 395; iv. 432).

Patient Grissell. 1558–61

S. R. 1565–6. 'An history of meke and pacyent gresell.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 309).

1568–9. 'The history of payciente gresell &c.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 385).

N.D. The Commodye of pacient and meeke Grissill, Whearin is declared, the good example, of her patience towardes her husband: and lykewise, the due obedience of Children, toward their Parentes. Newly. Compiled by Iohn Phillip. Eight persons maye easely play this Commody. . . . *Thomas Colwell.* [Preface; Epilogue, followed by 'Finis. qd. Iohn Phillipp'.]

Edition by R. B. McKerrow and W. W. Greg (1909, *M. S. R.*).

The characters include Politic Persuasion, the 'Vice'. Elizabeth is mentioned as Queen in the epilogue, and a reference (51) to the 'wethercocke of Paules' perhaps dates before its destruction in 1561.

JOHN PICKERING (*c.* 1567–8).

Brie records several contemporary John Pickerings, but there is nothing to connect any one of them with the play.

Horestes. 1567–8

1567. A Newe Enterlude of Vice Conteyninge, the Historye of Horestes, with the cruell reuengment of his Father's death, vpon his one naturtll Mother. By John Pikeryng. . . . The names deuided for VI to playe. . . . *William Griffith.* [On the back of the t.p. is a coat of arms which appears to be a slight variant of that assigned by Papworth and Morant, *Ordinary of British Armorials*, 536, to the family of Marshall. Oddly enough, there was a family of this name settled at Pickering in Yorkshire, but they, according to G. W. Marshall, *Miscellanea Marescalliana*, i. 1; ii. 2, 139, had quite a different coat.]

Editions by J. P. Collier (1866, *Illustrations of Old English Literature*), A. Brandl (1898, *Q. W. D.*), J. S. Farmer (1910, *T. F. T.*).—*Dissertation*: F. Brie, *Horestes von J. P.* (1912, *E. S.* xlvi. 66).

The play has a Vice, and ends with prayer for Queen Elizabeth and the Lord Mayor of 'this noble Cytie'. Feuillerat, *Eliz.* 449, thinks it too crude to be the Court *Orestes* of 1567–8, but the coincidence of date strongly suggests that it was.

JOHN POOLE (?).

Possible author of *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* (cf. ch. xxiv).

HENRY PORTER (*c.* 1596–9).

Porter first appears in Henslowe's diary as recipient of a payment of £5 on 16 Dec. 1596 and a loan of £4 on 7 March 1597, both on account of the Admiral's. It may be assumed that he was already writing for the company, who purchased five plays, wholly or partly by him, between May 1598 and March 1599. Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia* of 1598, counts him as one of 'the best for Comedy amongst vs'. He appears to have been in needy circumstances, and borrowed several small sums from the company or from Henslowe personally (Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 304). On 28 Feb. 1599, when he obtained £2 on account of *Two Merry Women of Abingdon*, 'he gaue me his faythfulle promysse that I shold haue alle the boockes w^{ch} he writte ether him sellfe or wth any other'. On 16 April 1599, in consideration of 1*s.* he bound himself in £10 to pay Henslowe a debt of 25*s.* on the following day, but could not meet his obligation. Porter is not traceable as a dramatist after 1599. His extant play, on the title-page of which he is described as 'Gent.', suggests a familiarity with the neighbourhood of Oxford, and I see no *a priori* reason why he should not be the Henry Porter, son of a London gentleman, who matriculated from Brasenose on 19 June 1589 (Boase and Clark, ii. 2, 170), or the Henricus Porter, apparently a musician, of John Weever's *Epigrammes* (1599), v. 24, or the Henry Porter of Christ Church who became B.Mus. in July 1600 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i. 284), or the Henry Porter who was a royal sackbut on 21 June 1603 (Nagel, 36), or the Henry Porter whose son Walter became Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on 5 Jan. 1616 and has left musical works (*D. N. B.*). Gayley's argument to the contrary rests on the unfounded assumption that the musician could not have been writing Bankside plays during the progress of his studies for his musical degree.

The Two Angry Women of Abingdon > *1598*

1599. The Pleasant Historie of the two angrie women of Abington. With the humorous mirthe of Dicke Coomes and Nicholas Prouerbes, two Seruingmen. As it was lately playde by the right Honorable the Earle of Nottingham, Lord High Admirall, his seruants. By Henry Porter Gent. *For Joseph Hunt and William Ferbrand.* [Prologue. Greg shows this to be Q_1.]

1599. *For William Ferbrand.*

Editions in Dodsley[4] (1874), and by G. M. Gayley (1903, *R. E. C.* i), J. S. Farmer (1911, *T. F. T.*), W. W. Greg (1912, *M. S. R.*).

The play shows no signs of being a sequel, and is presumably the First Part, to which Porter wrote a Second Part (*vide infra*) in the winter of 1598–9. It was an Admiral's play, and therefore one would expect to find it in Henslowe's very full, if not absolutely exhaustive, chronicle of the company's repertory. Of the plays named as his by Henslowe, *Love Prevented* seems the only likely title. But he was in the pay of the company before the diary began to record the authorship of plays, and Part i may therefore be among the anonymous plays of 1596–7 or an earlier season. Gayley suggests *The Comedy of Humours*, produced 11 May 1597, but that is more plausibly identified with Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth* (q.v.). Another possibility is *Woman Hard to Please*, produced 27 Jan. 1597.

Lost Plays

Henslowe's diary records the following plays for the Admiral's men, in which Porter had a hand in 1598 and 1599:

(i) *Love Prevented.*
May 1598. *Vide Two Angry Women of Abingdon, supra.*

(ii) *Hot Anger Soon Cold.*
With Chettle and Jonson, Aug. 1598.

(iii) *2 Two Angry Women of Abingdon.*
Dec. 1598–Feb. 1599.

(iv) *Two Merry Women of Abingdon.*
Feb. 1599.

(v) *The Spencers.*
With Chettle, March 1599.

THOMAS POUND (1538 ?–1616 ?).

Pound was of Beaumonds in Farlington, Hants, the son of William Pound and Anne Wriothesley, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Southampton. William Pound had a brother Anthony, whose daughter Honora married Henry, fourth Earl of Sussex (*V. H. Hants*, iii. 149; *Harl. Soc.* lxiv. 138; Berry, *Hants Genealogies*, 194; *Recusant Rolls* in *Catholic Record Soc.* xviii. 278, 279, 330, 334). Thomas was in youth a Winchester boy, a Lincoln's Inn lawyer, and a courtier of repute. About 1570 he left the world and became a fervent Catholic, and the record of his recusancy, of his relations with the Jesuit order, which he probably joined, of the help he gave to Edmund Campion, and of his long life of imprisonment and domiciliary restraint is written in H. Morus, *Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu* (1660); D. Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu: L'Inghilterra* (1667); N. Sanders and E. Rishton, *De Origine Schismatis Anglicani* (1586); M. Tanner, *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix* (1694); R. Simpson in *2 Rambler* (1857), viii. 29, 94; H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, iii (1878), 567; J. H. Pollen, *English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth* (1920), 333 *sqq.* I am only concerned with his worldly life and his quitting of it. As a Winchester *alumnus*, he is said to have delivered a Latin speech of welcome to Elizabeth (Bartoli, 51), presumably at her visit of 1560 (App. A), but he can hardly still have been a schoolboy; perhaps he was at New College. He had already been entered at Lincoln's Inn on 16 Feb. 1560 (*Adm. Reg.* i. 66), and it was on behalf of Lincoln's Inn that he wrote and pronounced two mask orations which are preserved in *Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS.* 108, ff. 24, 29, whence they are described in E. Brydges, *British Bibliographer*, ii. 612. Both seem to have been before Elizabeth (cf. vol. i, p. 162, and App. A). The first, at the wedding of his cousin Henry, Earl of Southampton, in Feb. 1566, is headed in the manuscript 'The copye of an oration made and pronounced by Mr. Pownde of Lyncolnes Inne, with a brave maske out of the same howse, all one greatte horses att the mariage off the yonge erle of South hampton to the Lord Mountagues dawghter abowt Shrouetyde 1565'. The second, at the wedding on 1 July 1566 of another cousin, Frances Radcliffe, is similarly headed 'The copye of an oration made and pronounced by Mr. Pownd of Lincolnes Inne, with a maske att y^e^ marriage of y^e^ Earl of Sussex syster to Mr. Myldmaye off Lyncolnes Inne 1566'. From this, which is in rhyming quatrains, Brydges quotes 119 lines; they are of no merit. In 1580 Pound wrote from his prison at Bishop's Stortford to Sir Christopher Hatton (*S. P. D. Eliz.* cxlii. 20) commending a petition to the Queen, 'for her poeticall presents sake, which her Majesty disdayned not to take at poore Mercuries hands, if you remember it, at Killiegeworth Castle'. The reference must be to the Kenilworth visit of 1568, rather than 1573 or 1575, for soon after Thomas Pound's days of courtly masking came to an abrupt end. The story is told in Morus, 46:

'Natales Christi dies, ut semper solemnes, ita anno sexagesimo quarto fuere celeberrimi; dabantur in Curia ludi apparatissimi Thoma

Pondo instructore. Inter saltandum, nudam eius manum manu nuda prensat Regina, tum ei caput, abrepto Leicestrie Comitis pileo, ipsa tegit, ne ex vehementi motu accensus subito refrigeraretur. Imposita ei videbatur laurea: cum (secundo eandem saltationis formam flagitante Regina) celerrime de more uno in pede circumuolitans, pronus concidit; Plausu in risum mutato, surge, inquit Regina, Domine Taure; ea voce commotus, surrexit quidem; at flexo ad terram poplite, vulgatum illud latine prolocutus, *sic transit gloria mundi*, proripuit se, et non longo interuallo Aulam spesque fallaces deseruit, consumptarum facultatum et violatae Religionis praemium ludibrium consecutus.'

There is a little difficulty as to the date. Morus puts it in 1564, but goes on to add that Pound was in his thirtieth year, and he was certainly born in 1538 or 1539. And Bartoli, 51, followed by Tanner, 480, gives 1569, citing, probably from Jesuit archives, a letter written by Pound himself on 3 June 1609. No doubt 1569, which may mean either 1568–9 or 1569–70, is right.

THOMAS PRESTON (>1569–1589<).

A Thomas Preston entered King's, Cambridge, from Eton in 1553, and became Fellow in 1556, taking his B.A. in 1557 and his M.A. in 1561. At Elizabeth's visit in 1564 he disputed with Thomas Cartwright before her in the Philosophy Act, and also played in *Dido*, winning such favour that she called him her 'scholar' and gave him a pension of £20 a year from the privy purse (Cunningham, xx; Nichols, *Eliz.* i. 270; Fuller, *Cambridge*, 137; Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, iv. 322). He held his fellowship at King's until 1581. In 1583 a newswriter reported him to be 'withdrawen into Scotland as a malcontent and there made much of by the King' (Wright, *Eliz.* ii. 215). In 1584 he became Master of Trinity Hall, and in 1589 was Vice-Chancellor. In 1592, with other Heads of Houses, he signed a memorial to Burghley in favour of the stay of plays at Cambridge (*M. S. C.* i. 192). It seems to me incredible that he should, as is usually taken for granted, have been the author of *Cambyses*, about which there is nothing academic, and I think that there must have been a popular writer of the same name, responsible for the play, and also for certain ballads of the broadside type, of which *A Lamentation from Rome* (Collier, *Old Ballads, Percy Soc.*) was printed in 1570, and *A Ballad from the Countrie, sent to showe how we should Fast this Lent* (*Archiv*, cxiv. 329, from *Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS.* 185) is dated 1589. Both are subscribed, like *Cambyses*, 'Finis Quod Thomas Preston'. A third was entered on S. R. in 1569–70 as 'A geliflower of swete marygolde, wherein the frutes of tyranny you may beholde'.

A Thomas Preston is traceable as a quarterly waiter at Court under Edward VI (*Trevelyan Papers*, i. 195, 200, 204; ii. 19, 26, 33), and a choirmaster of the same name was ejected from Windsor Chapel as a recusant about 1561 (cf. ch. xii).

Cambyses > 1570

S.R. 1569–70. 'An enterlude a lamentable Tragedy full of pleasaunt myrth.' *John Allde* (Arber, i. 400).

N.D. [1569–84]. A Lamentable Tragedie, mixed full of pleasant mirth, containing the life of Cambises King of Percia . . . By Thomas Preston. *John Allde.* [Arrangement of parts for eight actors; Prologue; Epilogue, with prayer for Queen and Council. At end, 'Amen, quod Thomas Preston'.]

N.D. [1584–1628]. *Edward Allde.*

Editions by T. Hawkins (1773, *O. E. D.* i), in Dodsley[4], iv (1874), and by J. M. Manly (1897, *Specimens*, ii), and J. S. Farmer (1910, *T. F. T.*).

Line 1148 mentions Bishop Bonner whose 'delight was to shed blood', and Fleay, 64, therefore dates the play 1569–70, as Bonner died 5 Sept. 1569. But he may merely be put in the past as an ex-bishop. Three comic villains, Huf, Ruf, and Snuf, are among the characters, and chronology makes it possible that the play was the *Huff, Suff, and Ruff* (cf. App. A) played at Court during Christmas 1560–1. Preston may, however, have borrowed these characters, as Ulpian Fulwell borrowed Ralph Roister, from an earlier play.

Doubtful Play

Preston has been suggested as the author of *Sir Clyomon and Clamydes* (cf. ch. xxiv).

DANIEL PRICE (1581–1631).

A student of Exeter College, Oxford, who became chaplain to Prince Henry (*D. N. B.*), and described his *Creation* in 1610 (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

RICHARD (?) PUTTENHAM (*c.* 1520–1601).

The author of *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589; cf. App. C, No. xli) claims to have written three plays, no one of which is extant. He analyses at length the plot of his 'Comedie entituled *Ginecocratia*' (Arber, 146), in which were a King, Polemon, Polemon's daughter, and Philino. He twice cites his 'enterlude', *Lustie London* (Arber, 183, 208), in which were a Serjeant, his Yeoman, a Carrier, and a Buffoon. And he twice cites his 'enterlude', *The Woer* (Arber, 212, 233), in which were a Country Clown, a Young Maid of the City, and a Nurse.

The author of *The Arte* is referred to by Camden in 1614 (cf. Gregory Smith, ii. 444) as 'Maister Puttenham', and by E. Bolton, *Hypercritica* (*c.* 1618), with the qualification 'as the Fame is', as 'one of her Gentlemen Pensioners, Puttenham'. H. Crofts, in his edition (1880) of Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour*, has shown that this is more likely to have been Richard, the elder, than George, the younger, son of Robert Puttenham and nephew of Sir Thomas Elyot. Neither brother, however, can be shown to have been a Gentleman Pensioner, and Collier gives no authority for his statement that Richard was a Yeoman of the Guard. Richard was writing as far back as the reign of Henry VIII, and the dates of his plays are unknown.

WILLIAM RANKINS (>1587–1601<).

The moralist who published *A Mirrour of Monsters* (1587), *The English Ape* (1588), and *Seven Satires* (1598) is, in spite of the attack on plays (cf. App. C, No. xxxviii) in the first of these, probably identical with the dramatist who received payment from Henslowe on behalf of the Admiral's for the following plays during 1598–1601:

(i) *Mulmutius Dunwallow.*

Oct. 1598, £3, ' to by a boocke ', probably an old one.

(ii) *Hannibal and Scipio.*

With Hathway, Jan. 1601.

(iii) *Scogan and Skelton.*

With Hathway, Jan.–Mar. 1601.

(iv) *The Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt.*

With Hathway, Mar.–Apr. 1601, but never finished, as shown by a letter to Henslowe from S. Rowley, bidding him let Hathway ' haue his papars agayne ' (*Henslowe Papers*, 56).

Rankins has also been suggested as the author of *Leire* (cf. ch. xxiv).

THOMAS RICHARDS (*c.* 1577).

A possible author of *Misogonus* (cf. ch. xxiv).

HENRY ROBERTS (*c.* 1606).

A miscellaneous writer (*D. N. B.*) who described the visit of the King of Denmark to England (cf. ch. xxiv, C). The stationer of the same name, who printed the descriptions, may be either the author or his son (McKerrow, 229).

JOHN ROBERTS (*c.* 1574).

A contributor to the Bristol Entertainment of Elizabeth (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

ROBINSON.

Henslowe paid £3 on behalf of the Admiral's men on 9 Sept. 1602 ' vnto M^{r}. Robensone for a tragedie called Felmelanco '. Later in the month he paid two sums amounting to another £3 to Chettle, for ' his tragedie ' of the same name. The natural interpretation is that Chettle and Robinson co-operated, but Fleay, i. 70, rather wantonly says, ' Robinson was, I think, to Chettle what Mrs. Harris was to Mrs. Gamp ', and Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 224, while not agreeing with Fleay, ' It is, however, unlikely that he had any hand in the play. Probably Chettle had again pawned his MS.'

Dates make it improbable that this Robinson was the poet Richard Robinson whose lost ' tragedy ' *Hemidos and Thelay* is not likely to have been a play (cf. App. M).

SAMUEL ROWLEY (?–1624).

For Rowley's career as an Admiral's and Prince's man, cf. ch. xv.

Dr. Faustus

For the additions by Rowley and Bird in 1602, cf. s.v. Marlowe.

When You See Me, You Know Me. 1603 < > 5

S. R. 1605, Feb. 12. 'Yf he gett good alowance for the enterlude of King Henry the 8th before he begyn to print it. And then procure the wardens handes to yt for the entrance of yt: He is to haue the same for his copy.' *Nathanaell Butter* (Arber, iii. 283). [No fee recorded.]

1605. When you see me, You know me. Or the famous Chronicle Historie of King Henry the eight, with the birth and vertuous life of Edward Prince of Wales. As it was playd by the high and mightie Prince of Wales his seruants. By Samuell Rowly, seruant to the Prince. *For Nathaniel Butter.*

1613; 1621; 1632.

Editions by K. Elze (1874) and J. S. Farmer (1912, *S. F. T.*).—*Dissertation*: W. Zeitlin, *Shakespeare's King Henry the Eighth and R.'s When You See Me* (1881, *Anglia*, iv. 73).

The Noble Soldier

Probably with Day and Dekker (q.v.).

Lost Plays

(a) *Plays for the Admiral's, noted in Henslowe's diary.*

Judas. With W. Bird, Dec. 1601, possibly a completion of the play of the same name left unfinished by Haughton (q.v.) in 1600.

Joshua. Sept. 1602.

(b) *Plays for the Palsgrave's, licensed by Sir Henry Herbert* (Chalmers, *S. A.* 214–17; Herbert, 24, 26, 27).

27 July 1623, *Richard III.*
29 Oct. 1623, *Hardshifte for Husbands.*
6 Apr. 1624, *A Match or No Match.*

Doubtful Plays

H. D. Sykes, *The Authorship of The Taming of A Shrew, etc.* (1920, *Sh. Association*), argues, on the basis of a comparison of phraseology with *When You See Me, You Know Me* and some of the additions to *Dr. Faustus*, for Rowley's authorship of (*a*) *The Famous Victories*, (*b*) the prose scenes of *A Shrew*, (*c*) the clowning passages in Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, (*d*) the prose scenes of *Wily Beguiled.* He suggests that the same collaborator, borrowing first from Marlowe and then from Kyd, may have supplied the verse scenes both of *A Shrew* and of *Wily Beguiled.* There is no external evidence to connect Rowley with the Queen's, and he only becomes clearly traceable with the Admiral's in 1598, but Mr. Sykes has certainly made out a stylistic case which deserves consideration.

WILLIAM ROWLEY (?–1625<).

Of Rowley's origin and birth nothing is known. He first appears as collaborator in a play of Queen Anne's men in 1607, and, although he may have also acted with this company, there is no evidence of the fact. His name is in the patent of 30 March 1610 for the Duke of York's men with that of Thomas Hobbes, to whom his pamphlet *A Search for Money* (1609, *Percy Soc.* ii) is dedicated. He acted as their payee from 1610 to 1615, and they played his *Hymen's Holiday or Cupid's Vagaries*, now lost, in 1612. *A Knave in Print* and *The Fool without Book*, entered as his on 9 Sept. 1653 (Eyre, i. 428), might be their anonymous two-part *Knaves* of 1613. He contributed an epitaph on Thomas Greene of the Queen's to Cooke's *Greene's Tu Quoque* (1614). From 1615 to March 1616 the Prince's men seem to have been merged in the Princess Elizabeth's. They then resumed their identity at the Hope, and with them Rowley is traceable as an actor to 1619 and as a writer, in collaboration with Thomas Middleton (q.v.), Thomas Ford, and Thomas Heywood, until 1621. In 1621 he wrote an epitaph upon one of their members, Hugh Attwell, apparently as his 'fellow'. It was still as a Prince's man that he received mourning for James on 17 March 1625. But in 1621 and 1622 he was writing, with Middleton and alone, for the Lady Elizabeth's at the Cockpit, and in 1623 both writing and acting in *The Maid of the Mill* for the King's men, and prefixing verses to Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, which belonged to the same company. He had definitely joined the King's by 24 June 1625 when his name appears in their new patent, and for them his latest play-writing was done. In addition to what was published under his name, he is generally credited with some share in the miscellaneous collection of the Beaumont and Fletcher Ff. His name is not in an official list of King's men in 1629, but the date of his death is unknown. A William Rowley married Isabel Tooley at Cripplegate in 1637, but the date hardly justifies the assumption that it was the dramatist.

Dissertations: P. G. Wiggin, *An Inquiry into the Authorship of the Middleton-Rowley Plays* (1897, *Radcliffe College Monographs*, ix); C. W. Stork, *William Rowley* (1910, *Pennsylvania Univ. Publ.* xiii, with texts of *All's Lost for Lust* and *A Shoemaker a Gentleman*).

A Shoemaker a Gentleman. *c. 1608*

S. R. 1637, Nov. 28 (Weekes). 'A Comedie called A Shoomaker is a gentleman with the life and death of the Criple that stole the weather cocke of Pauls, by William Rowley.' *John Okes* (Arber, iv. 400).

1638. A Merrie and Pleasant Comedy: Never before Printed, called A Shoo-maker a Gentleman. As it hath beene sundry Times Acted at the Red Bull and other Theatres, with a general and good Applause. Written by W. R. Gentleman. *I. Okes, sold by Iohn Cooper.* [Epistle by Printer to Gentlemen of the Gentle Craft.]

Edition by C. W. Stork (1910).

The epistle says that the play was still often acted, and 'as Plaies were then, some twenty yeares agone, it was in the fashion'. This dating and the mention of the Red Bull justify us in regarding it as an early play for Queen Anne's men.

A New Wonder, A Woman Never Vexed (?)

S. R. 1631, Nov. 24 (Herbert). 'A booke called A new wonder or a woman neuer vext (a Comedy) by William Rowley.' *Constable* (Arber, iv. 266).

1632. A new Wonder, A Woman never vext. A pleasant conceited Comedy: sundry times Acted: never before printed. Written by William Rowley, one of his Maiesties Servants. *G. P. for Francis Constable.*

Fleay, ii, 102, and Greg (*H.* ii. 177) suggest revision by Rowley of the Admiral's *Wonder of a Woman* (1595), perhaps by Heywood (q.v.); Stork, 26, early work for Queen Anne's men, under Heywood's influence.

A Match at Midnight (?)

S. R. 1633, Jan. 15 (Herbert). 'A Play called A Match at midnight.' *William Sheares* (Arber, iv. 291).

1633. A Match at Midnight A Pleasant Comœdie: As it hath been Acted by the Children of the Revells. Written by W. R. *Aug. Mathewes for William Sheares.*

Fleay, 203 and ii. 95, treats the play, without discussion, as written by Middleton and Rowley for the Queen's Revels *c.* 1607. Bullen, *Middleton*, i. lxxxix, and Stork, 17, concur as to the date, the former regarding it as Middleton's revised *c.* 1622 by Rowley, the latter as practically all Rowley's. These views are evidently influenced by the mention of the Children of the Revels on the title-page. Wiggin, 7, noting allusions to the battle of Prague in 1620 and *Reynard the Fox* (1621), thinks it alternatively possible that Rowley wrote it under Middletonian influence for one of the later Revels companies *c.* 1622. There was no doubt a company of Children of the Revels in 1622–3 (Murray, i. 198), but the name on a t.p. of 1633 would naturally refer to the still later company of 1629–37 (Murray, i. 279).

The Birth of Merlin (?)

1662. The Birth of Merlin: Or, The Childe hath found his Father. As it hath been several times Acted with great Applause. Written by William Shakespear, and William Rowley. *Tho. Johnson for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh.*

Editions by T. E. Jacob (1889), J. S. Farmer (1910, *T. F. T.*), and with *Sh. Apocrypha.—Dissertations*: F. A. Howe, *The Authorship of the B. of M.* (1906, *M. P.* iv. 193); W. Wells, *The B. of M.* (1921, *M. L. R.* xvi. 129).

Kirkman's attribution to Shakespeare and Rowley was first made in his play-list of 1661 (Greg, *Masques*, liii). It is generally accepted for Rowley, but not for Shakespeare. But Fleay, *Shakespeare*, 289, on a hint of P. A. Daniel, gave Rowley a collaborator in Middleton, and later (ii. 105) treated the play as a revision by Rowley of the *Uther Pendragon* produced by the Admiral's on 29 April 1597. This view seems to rest in part upon the analogous character of *The Mayor of Quinborough*. Howe thinks that Rowley worked up a sketch by Middleton later than 1621, and attempts a division of the play on this hypothesis. But Stork, *Rowley*, 58, thinks that Rowley revised *Uther Pendragon* or some other old play about 1608. F. W. Moorman (*C. H.* v. 249) suggests Dekker, and Wells Beaumont and Fletcher.

Doubtful Plays

The ascription to Rowley on the t.p. of *The Thracian Wonder* is not generally accepted. His hand has been sought in *The Captain*, *The Coxcomb*, and *Wit at Several Weapons* (cf. s.v. Beaumont) and in *Troublesome Reign of King John* (cf. ch. xxiv) and *Pericles*.

MATTHEW ROYDON (>1580–1622<).

The reference to his 'comike inuentions' in Nashe's *Menaphon* epistle of 1589 (App. C, No. xlii) suggests that he wrote plays.

GEORGE RUGGLE (1575–1622).

Ruggle entered St. John's, Cambridge, from Lavenham grammar school, Suffolk, in 1589, migrated to Trinity, where he took his B.A. in 1593 and his M.A. in 1597, and became Fellow of Clare Hall in 1598. He remained at Cambridge until 1620, shortly before his death.

Ignoramus. 8 March 1615

[*MSS.*] *Bodl. Tanner MS.* 306, with actor-list; *Harl. MSS.* 6869 (fragmentary); and others.

S. R. 1615, April 18 (Nidd). 'Ignoramus Comœdia provt Cantabrigie acta coram Jacobo serenissimo potentissimo magnae Britanniae rege.' *Walter Burre* (Arber, iii. 566).

1630. Ignoramus. Comœdia coram Regia Majestate Jacobi Regis Angliae, &c. *Impensis I. S.* [Colophon] *Excudebat T. P.* [Prologus Prior. Martii 8. Anno 1614; Prologus Posterior. Ad secundum Regis adventum habitus, Maii 6, 1615; Epilogus.]

1630. . . . Secunda editio auctior & emendatior. *Typis T. H. Sumptibus G. E. & J. S.* [Macaronic lines, headed 'Dulman in laudem Ignorami'.]

1658. . . . Autore M^{ro} Ruggle, Aulae Clarensis A.M.

1659, 1668, 1707, 1731, 1736, 1737.

Edition by J. S. Hawkins (1787).

Chamberlain, describing to Carleton James's visit to Cambridge in March 1615, wrote (Birch, i. 304): 'The second night [8 March] was a comedy of Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other houses, wherein David Drummond, on a hobby-horse, and Brakin, the recorder of the town, under the name of Ignoramus, a common lawyer, bore great parts. The thing was full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors; among whom the Lord Compton's son, though least, yet was not worst, but more than half marred by extreme length.' On 31 March he told Carleton (Birch, i. 360) of the Oxford satires on the play, and of a possible second visit by the King, unless he could persuade the actors to visit London. And on 20 May he wrote to him (Birch, i. 363): 'On Saturday last [13 May], the King went again to Cambridge, to see the play "Ignoramus", which has so nettled the lawyers, that they are almost out of all patience.' He adds that rhymes and ballads had been written by the lawyers, and answered. Specimens of the 'flytings' to which the play gave rise are in Hawkins, xxxvii, xlii, cvii, 259. Fuller, *Church History* (1655), x. 70, reports a story that the irritation caused to the lawyers also led to John Selden's demonstration of the secular origin of tithes. The authorship of *Ignoramus* is indicated by the entry in a notice of the royal visit printed (Hawkins, xxx) from a manuscript in the library of Sir Edward Dering:

> 'On Wednesday night, 2, *Ignoramus*, the lawyer, *Latine*, and part *English*, composed by Mr. *Ruggle, Clarensis.*'

Ignoramus was largely based on the *Trappolaria* (1596) of Giambattista Porta, into which Ruggle introduced his satire of the Cambridge recorder, Francis Brackyn, who had already been the butt of *3 Parnassus*.

Doubtful and Lost Plays

There is no justification for ascribing to Ruggle *Loiola* (1648), which is by John Hacket, but Hawkins, lxxii, cites from a note made in a copy of *Ignoramus* by John Hayward of Clare Hall, *c.* 1741:

> 'N.B. Mr. Geo. Ruggle wrote besides two other comedies, *Re vera* or *Verily*, and *Club Law*, to expose the puritans, not yet printed. MS.'

Club Law (cf. ch. xxiv) has since been recovered.

THOMAS SACKVILLE (1536–1608).

Thomas Sackville became Lord Buckhurst in 1567 and Earl of Dorset in 1604. He is famous in literature for his contributions to ed. 2 (1559) of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, and in statesmanship as Lord Treasurer under Elizabeth and James I.

Ferrex and Porrex, or *Gorboduc*. *1562*

With Thomas Norton (q.v.).

GEORGE SALTERNE (>1603).

Author of the academic *Tomumbeius* (cf. App. K).

JOHN SAVILE (*c.* 1603).

Describer of the coming of James I to England (cf. ch. xxiv, C).

ROBERT SEMPILL (*c.* 1530–95).

A Scottish ballad writer (*D. N. B.*) and a suggested author of *Philotus* (cf. ch. xxiv).

SENECAN TRANSLATIONS (1559–81).

Troas (Jasper Heywood)

S. R. 1558–9. 'A treates of Senaca.' *Richard Tottel* (Arber, i. 96).

1559. The Sixt Tragedie of the most graue and prudent author Lucius, Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas, with diuers and sundrye addicions to the same. Newly set forth in Englishe by Iasper Heywood studient in Oxenforde. *Richard Tottel. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* [Epistle to Elizabeth by Heywood; Preface to the Readers; Preface to the Tragedy.]

1559. *Richard Tottel.* [Another edition (B.M. G. 9440).]

N.D. [*c.* 1560]. *Thomas Powell for George Bucke.*

Thyestes (Jasper Heywood)

1560, March 26. The seconde Tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes faithfully Englished by Iasper Heywood, fellow of Alsolne College in Oxforde. [*Thomas Powell* ?] '*in the hous late Thomas Berthelettes*'. [Verse Epistle to Sir John Mason by Heywood; The Translator to the Book; Preface.]

Hercules Furens (Jasper Heywood)

1561. Lucii Annei Senecae Tragedia prima quae inscribitur Hercules furens . . . The first Tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca, intituled Hercules furens, newly pervsed and of all faultes whereof it did before abound diligently corrected, and for the profit of young schollers so faithfully translated into English metre, that ye may se verse for verse tourned as farre as the phrase of the english permitteth By Iasper Heywood studient in Oxford. *Henry Sutton.* [Epistle to William, Earl of Pembroke, by Heywood; Argument; Latin and English texts.]

Oedipus (Alexander Neville)

S. R. 1562–3. 'A boke intituled the lamentable history of the prynnce Oedypus &c.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 209).

1563, April 28. The Lamentable Tragedie of Oedipus the Sonne of Laius Kyng of Thebes out of Seneca. By Alexander Neuyle. *Thomas Colwell.* [Epistles to Nicholas Wotton by Neville, and to the Reader.]

Agamemnon (John Studley)

S. R. 1565–6. 'A boke intituled the eighte Tragide of Senyca.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 304).

1566. The Eyght Tragedie of Seneca. Entituled Agamemnon. Translated out of Latin into English, by Iohn Studley, Student in Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge. *Thomas Colwell.* [Commendatory Verses by Thomas Nuce, William R., H. C., Thomas Delapeend, W. Parkar, T. B.; Epistle to Sir William Cecil, signed 'Iohn Studley'; Preface to the Reader.]

Medea (John Studley)

S.R. 1565–6. 'A boke intituled the tragedy of Seneca Media by John Studley of Trenety Colledge in Cambryge.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 312).

1566. The seuenth Tragedie of Seneca, Entituled Medea: Translated out of Latin into English, by Iohn Studley, Student in Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge. *Thomas Colwell.* [Epistle to Francis, Earl of Bedford, signed 'Iohn Studley'; Preface to Reader; Commendatory Verses by W. P.; Argument.]

Octavia (Thomas Nuce)

Hercules Oetaeus (John Studley)

S.R. 1566–7. 'A boke intituled the ix^th^ and x^th^ tragide of Lucious Anneas oute of the laten into englesshe by T. W. fellowe of Pembrek Hall, in Chambryge.' *Henry Denham* (Arber, i. 327).

1570–1. 'iij^de^ part of Herculus Oote.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 443).

N.D. The ninth Tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca called Octavia. Translated out of Latine into English, by T. N. Student in Cambridge. *Henry Denham.* [Epistles to Robert Earl of Leicester, signed 'T. N.', and to the Reader.]

This is B.M. C. 34, e. 48. C. Grabau in *Sh.-Jahrbuch*, xliii. 310, says that a copy in the Irish sale of 1906 was of an unknown edition, possibly of 1566.

Hippolytus (John Studley)

S.R. 1566–7. 'The iiij^th^ parte Seneca Workes.' *Henry Denham* (Arber, i. 336).

31 Aug. 1579. Transfer from Denham to Richard Jones and John Charlwood (Arber, ii. 359).

The Ten Tragedies. 1581

S.R. 1580–1. 'Senecas Tragedies in Englishe.' *Thomas Marsh* (Arber, ii. 396).

1581. Seneca his Tenne Tragedies, Translated into Englysh. *Thomas Marsh.* [Epistle to Sir Thomas Heneage by Thomas Newton. Adds *Thebais*, by Thomas Newton, and, if not already printed, as S. R. entries in 1566–7 and 1570–1 suggest, *Hercules Oetaeus* and *Hippolytus*, by John Studley. The *Oedipus* of Neville is a revised text.]

Reprint of 1581 collection (1887, *Spenser Soc.*), and editions of Studley's *Agamemnon* and *Medea*, by E. M. Spearing (1913, *Materialien*, xxxviii), and of Heywood's *Troas*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Furens*, by H. de Vocht (1913, *Materialien*, xli).—*Dissertations*: J. W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of S. on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893); E. Jockers, *Die englischen S.-Übersetzer des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1909, *Strassburg diss.*); E. M. Spearing, *The Elizabethan 'Tenne Tragedies of S.'* (1909, *M. L. R.* iv. 437), *The Elizabethan Translation of S.'s Tragedies* (1912), *A. N.'s Oedipus* (1920, *M. L. R.* xv. 359); F. L. Lucas, *S. and Elizabethan Tragedy* (1922).

Of the translators, Jasper Heywood (1535–98) became Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, in 1558. He was son of John Heywood the dramatist, and uncle of John Donne. In 1562 he became a Jesuit, and left England, to return as a missionary in 1581. He was imprisoned during 1583–5 and then expelled. John Studley (*c.* 1547–?) entered Trinity, Cambridge, in 1563 and became Fellow in 1567. Alexander Neville (1544–1614) took his B.A. in 1560 at Cambridge. He became secretary successively to Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, archbishops of Canterbury, and produced other literary work, chiefly in Latin. Thomas Nuce (*ob.* 1617) was Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1562, and became Canon of Ely in 1585. Thomas Newton (*c.* 1542–1607) migrated in 1562 from Trinity, Oxford, to Queens', Cambridge, but apparently returned to his original college later. About 1583 he became Rector of Little Ilford, Essex. He produced much unimportant verse and prose, in Latin and English, and was a friend of William Hunnis (q.v.).

For a fragment of another translation of *Hercules Oetaeus*, cf. s.v. Elizabeth. Archer's play-list of 1656 contains the curious entry 'Baggs Seneca', described as a tragedy. Of this Greg, *Masques*, li, can make nothing.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564–1616).

No adequate treatment of Shakespeare's life and plays is possible within the limits of this chapter. I have therefore contented myself with giving the main bibliographical data, in illustration of the chapters on the companies (Strange's, Pembroke's, Chamberlain's, and King's) and the theatres (Rose, Newington Butts, Theatre, Curtain, Globe, Blackfriars) with which he was or may have been concerned. I follow the conjectural chronological order adopted in my article on Shakespeare in the 11th ed. of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Collections

[1619]. It is probable that the 1619 editions of *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Q_2), *Pericles* (Q_4), and the apocryphal *Yorkshire Tragedy* were intended to form part of a collection of plays ascribed to Shakespeare, and that the '1600' editions of *Midsummer Night's Dream* (Q_2) and *Merchant of Venice* (Q_2) bearing the name of the printer Roberts, the '1600' edition of the apocryphal *Sir John Oldcastle* bearing the initials T. P., the '1608' edition of *Henry V* (Q_3), the '1608' edition of *King Lear* (Q_2) lacking the name of the 'Pide Bull' shop, and the undated edition of *The Whole Contention of York and Lancaster* were all also printed in 1619 for the same purpose. The printer seems to have been William Jaggard, with whom was associated Thomas Pavier, who held the copyright of several of the plays. Presumably an intention to prefix a general title-page is the explanation of the shortened imprints characteristic of these editions. The sheets of *The Whole Contention* and *Pericles* have in fact continuous signatures; but the plan seems to have been modified, and the other plays issued separately. The bibliographical evidence bearing on this theory is discussed by

W. W. Greg, W. Jaggard, A. W. Pollard, and A. H. Huth in *2 Library*, ix. 113, 381; x. 208; and *3 Library*, i. 36, 46; ii. 101; and summed up by A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 81. Confirmatory evidence is adduced by W. J. Niedig, *The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619* (*M.P.* viii. 145) and *False Dates on Shakespeare Quartos* (1910, *Century*, 912).

S. R. 1623, Nov. 8 (Worrall). 'Master William Shakspeers Comedyes Histories, and Tragedyes soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men. viz^{t} Comedyes The Tempest The two gentlemen of Verona Measure for Measure The Comedy of Errors As you like it All's well that ends well Twelfe Night The winters tale Histories The thirde parte of Henry ye Sixt Henry the eight Tragedies Coriolanus Timon of Athens Julius Caesar Mackbeth Anthonie and Cleopatra Cymbeline' *Blounte and Isaak Jaggard* (Arber, iv. 107). [This entry covers all the plays in F_1 not already printed, except *Taming of the Shrew*, *King John*, and *2, 3 Henry VI*, which were doubtless regarded from the stationer's point of view as identical with the *Taming of A Shrew*, *Troublesome Reign of King John*, and *Contention of York and Lancaster*, on which they were based. The 'thirde parte of Henry ye Sixt' is of course the hitherto unprinted *1 Henry VI*.]

[F_1] 1623. M^{r}. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies Published according to the True Originall Copies. *By Isaac Iaggard and Ed. Blount.* [Colophon] *Printed* [by W. Jaggard] *at the charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smethweeke, and W. Aspley.* [Verses to the Reader, signed B[en] I[onson]; Portrait signed 'Martin Droeshout sculpsit London'; Epistles to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery and to the great Variety of Readers, both signed 'Iohn Heminge, Henry Condell'; Commendatory Verses signed 'Ben: Ionson', 'Hugh Holland', 'L. Digges', 'I. M.'; 'The Names of the Principall Actors in all these Playes'; 'A Catalogue of the seuerall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume'.]

S. R. 1627, June 19 [on or after]. Transfer from Dorothy widow of Isaac Jaggard to Thomas and Richard Cotes of 'her parte in Schackspheere playes' (Arber, iv. 182).

S. R. 1630, Nov. 16. Transfer from Blount to Robert Allot by note dated 26 June 1630 of his 'estate and right' in the sixteen plays of the 1623 entry (Arber, iv. 243).

[F_2] 1632. *Thomas Cotes, for John Smethwick, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, Richard Meighen and Robert Allot.* [So colophon: there are t.ps. with separate imprints by Cotes for each of the five booksellers.]

[F_3] 1663. *For Philip Chetwinde.* [For the second issue of 1664, with *Pericles* and six apocryphal plays added, cf. p. 203.]

[F_4] 1685. *For H. Herringman* (and others).

Of later editions the most valuable for literary history are those by E. Malone, revised by J. Boswell (1821, the *Third Variorum Shakespeare*, 21 vols.); W. A. Wright (1891–3, the *Cambridge Shakespeare*, 9 vols.); F. J. Furnivall and others (1885–91, the *Shakespeare Quarto*

Facsimiles, 43 vols.); H. H. Furness (1871–1919, the *New Variorum Shakespeare*, 18 plays in 19 vols. issued); E. Dowden and others (1899–1922, the *Arden Shakespeare*); A. T. Q. Couch and J. D. Wilson (1921–2, the *New Shakespeare*, 5 vols. issued). Of dissertations I can only note, for biography, J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (1890, ed. 9), and S. Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1922, new ed.), and for bibliography, S. Lee, *Facsimile of* F_1 *from the Chatsworth copy* (1902, with census of copies, added to in *2 Library*, vii. 113), W. W. Greg, *The Bibliographical History of the First Folio* (1903, *2 Library*, iv. 258), A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909) and *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (1920), A. W. Pollard and H. C. Bartlett, *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto* (1916), and H. C. Bartlett, *Mr. William Shakespeare* (1922).

1 Henry VI. 1592

[F_1] 1623. The first Part of Henry the Sixt.

2, 3 Henry VI. 1592 (?)

S. R. No original entry. [Probably these plays were regarded from a stationer's point of view as identical with the anonymous *Contention of York and Lancaster* (q.v.), on which they were based. Pavier had acquired rights over these from Millington in 1602.]

[F_1] 1623. The Second Part of Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Good Duke Humfrey. The Third Part of Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Duke of Yorke.

S. R. 1626, Aug. 4. Transfer from Mrs. Pavier to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde of 'Master Paviers right in Shakesperes plaies or any of them' (Arber, iv. 164).

S. R. 1630, Nov. 8. Transfer from Bird to Richard Cotes of 'Yorke and Lancaster' (Arber, iv. 242).

Richard III. 1592–3 (?)

S. R. 1597, Oct. 20 (Barlowe). 'The tragedie of Kinge Richard the Third with the death of the Duke of Clarence.' *Andrew Wise* (Arber, iii. 93).

[Q_1] 1597. The Tragedy of King Richard the third. Containing, His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: the pittiefull murther of his iunocent nephewes: his tyrannical vsurpation: with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. *Valentine Sims for Andrew Wise.*

[Q_2] 1598. . . . By William Shake-speare. *Thomas Creede for Andrew Wise.*

[Q_3] 1602. . . . Newly augmented. . . . *Thomas Creede for Andrew Wise.* [There is no augmentation.]

S. R. 1603, June 25. Transfer from Andrew Wise to Mathew Lawe (Arber, iii. 239).

[Q_4] 1605. *Thomas Creede, sold by Mathew Lawe.*

[Q_5] 1612. . . . As it hath beene lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants. . . . *Thomas Creede, sold by Mathew Lawe.*

[Q_6] 1622. *Thomas Purfoot, sold by Mathew Law.*

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedy of Richard the Third: with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the Battell at Bosworth Field. [*Running Title,* The Life and Death of Richard the Third. From Q_1–Q_2–Q_3–Q_4 (+Q_3)–Q_5–Q_6, with corrections.]

[Q_7] 1629. *John Norton, sold by Mathew Law.*

[Q_8] 1634. *John Norton.*

Comedy of Frrors. 1593 (?)

[F_1] 1623. The Comedie of Errors.

Titus Andronicus. 1594

S. R. 1594, Feb. 6. 'A Noble Roman historye of Tytus Andronicus.' *John Danter* (Arber, ii. 644).

[Q_1] 1594. The most Lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus: As it was Plaide by the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembrooke and Earle of Sussex their Seruants. *John Danter, sold by Edward White and Thomas Millington.*

[Q_2] 1600. . . . As it hath sundry times beene playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Chamberlaine theyr Seruants. *I*[*ames R*[*oberts*] *for Edward White.*

S. R. 1602, April 19. Transfer 'saluo iure cuiuscunque' from Thomas Millington to Thomas Pavier (Arber, iii. 204).

[Q_3] 1611. *For Edward White.*

[F_1] 1623. The Lamentable Tragedy of Titus Andronicus. [From Q_1–Q_2–Q_3, with addition of III. ii.]

S. R. 1626, Aug. 4. Transfer from Mrs. Pavier of interest to Edward Brewster and Robert Bird (Arber, iv. 164).

The Taming of The Shrew. 1594

S. R. No entry. [Probably the play was regarded from the point of view of copyright as identical with the anonymous *Taming of A Shrew* (q.v.), on which it was based.]

[F_1] 1623. The Taming of the Shrew.

[Q_1] 1631. A wittie and pleasant comedie called The Taming of the Shrew. As it was acted by his Maiesties Seruants at the Blacke Friers and the Globe. Written by Will. Shakespeare. *W. S. for Iohn Smethwicke.*

Love's Labour 's Lost. 1594 (?)

S. R. No original entry.

[Q_1] 1598. A Pleasant Conceited Comedie Called, Loues labors lost. As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented By W. Shakespere. *W*[*illiam*] *W*[*hite*] *for Cutbert Burby.*

S. R. 1607. Jan. 22. Transfer from Burby to Nicholas Ling (Arber, iii. 337).

S. R. 1607, Nov. 19. Transfer from Ling to John Smethwick (Arber, iii. 365).

$[F_1]$ 1623. Loues Labour's lost. [From Q_1.]

$[Q_2]$ 1631. . . . As it was Acted by his Maiesties Seruants at the Blacke-Friers and the Globe. . . . *W*[*illiam*] *S*[*tansby*] *for John Smethwicke.*

Romeo and Juliet. 1594–5 (?)

S. R. No original entry.

$[Q_1]$ 1597. An Excellent conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet, As it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publiquely, by the right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Seruants. *John Danter.*

$[Q_2]$ 1599. . . . Newly corrected, augmented, and amended : . . . *Thomas Creede for Cuthbert Burby.* [Revised and enlarged text.]

S. R. 1607, Jan. 22. Transfer by direction of a court from Burby to Nicholas Ling (Arber, iii. 337).

S. R. 1607, Nov. 19. Transfer from Ling to John Smethwick (Arber, iii. 365).

$[Q_3]$ 1609. . . . by the King's Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. . . . *For Iohn Smethwick.*

$[F_1]$ 1623. The Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet. [From Q_2–Q_3.]

$[Q_4]$ N.D. *For Iohn Smethwicke.* [Two issues.]

$[Q_5]$ 1637. *R. Young for John Smethwicke.*

A Midsummer Night's Dream. 1595

S. R. 1600, Oct. 8 (Rodes). 'A booke called A mydsommer nightes Dreame.' *Thomas Fisher* (Arber, iii. 174).

$[Q_1]$ 1600. A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath beene sundry times publickely acted, by the Right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. *For Thomas Fisher.*

$[Q_2]$ [1619]. '*Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600.*' [On the evidence for printing with false date by William Jaggard, cf. Pollard, 81.]

$[F_1]$ 1623. A Midsommer Nights Dreame. [From Q_2.]

On the possible date and occasion of performance, cf. my paper in *Shakespeare Homage* (1916).

The Two Gentlemen of Verona. 1595 (?)

$[F_1]$ 1623. The Two Gentlemen of Verona.

King John. 1595 (?)

S. R. No entry. [Probably the play was regarded, from a stationer's point of view, as identical with the anonymous *Troublesome Reign of King John* (q.v.), on which it was based.]

$[F_1]$ 1623. The life and Death of King John.

Richard II. 1595–6

S. R. 1597, Aug. 29. 'The Tragedye of Richard the Second.' *Andrew Wise* (Arber, iii. 89).

[Q_1] 1597. The Tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath beene publikely acted by the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants. *Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise.*

[Q_2] 1598. . . . By William Shake-speare. *Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise.*

[Q_3] 1598. *Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise.* [White coll.]

S. R. 1603, June 25. Transfer from Andrew Wise to Mathew Lawe (Arber, iii. 239).

[Q_4] 1608. . . . With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard. As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Maiesties seruantes, at the Globe. *W*[*illiam*] *W*[*hite*] *for Mathew Law.* [Two issues with distinct t.ps., of which one only has the altered title. Both include the added passage IV. i. 154–318.]

[Q_5] 1615. *For Mathew Law.*

[F_1] 1623. The life and death of King Richard the Second. [From Q_1–Q_2–Q_3–Q_4–Q_5, with corrections.]

[Q_6] 1634. *Iohn Norton.*

The Merchant of Venice. 1596 (?)

S. R. 1598, July 22. 'A booke of the Marchaunt of Venyce or otherwise called the Jewe of Venyce, Prouided that yt bee not prynted by the said James Robertes or anye other whatsoeuer without lycence first had from the Right honorable the lord Chamberlen.' *James Robertes* (Arber, iii. 122).

S. R. 1600, Oct. 28. Transfer from Roberts to Thomas Heyes (Arber, iii. 175).

[Q_1] 1600. The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh: and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath been diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. *I*[*ames*] *R*[*oberts*] *for Thomas Heyes.*

[Q_2] [1619]. '*Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.*' [On the evidence for printing with false date by William Jaggard, cf. Pollard, 81.]

S. R. 1619, July 8. Transfer from Thomas to Laurence Heyes (Arber, iii. 651).

[F_1] 1623. The Merchant of Venice. [From Q_1.]

[Q_3] 1637. *M. P*[*arsons?*] *for Laurence Hayes.*

[Q_3] 1652. *For William Leake.* [Reissue.]

S. R. 1657, Oct. 17. Transfer from Bridget Hayes and Jane Graisby to William Leake (Eyre, ii. 150).

1 Henry IV. 1596–7 (?)

S. R. 1598, Feb. 25 (Dix). 'A booke intituled The historye of Henry the iiij$^{\text{th}}$ with his battaile of Shrewsburye against Henry

Hottspurre of the Northe with the conceipted mirthe of Sir John ffalstoff.' *Andrew Wise* (Arber, iii. 105).

[Q_1] 1598. The History of Henrie the Fourth; With the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe. *P[eter] S[hort] for Andrew Wise.*

[Q_2] 1599. . . . Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare. *S[imon] S[tafford] for Andrew Wise.*

S. R. 1603, June 25. Transfer from Wise to Mathew Law (Arber, iii. 239).

[Q_3] 1604. *Valentine Simmes for Mathew Law.*

[Q_4] 1608. *For Mathew Law.*

[Q_5] 1613. *W[illiam] W[hite] for Mathew Law.*

[Q_6] 1622. *T[homas] P[urfoot], sold by Mathew Law.*

[F_1] 1623. The First Part of Henry the Fourth, with the Life and Death of Henry Sirnamed Hot-spurre. [From Q_1–Q_2–Q_3–Q_4–Q_5.]

[Q_7] 1632. *John Norton, sold by William Sheares.*

[Q_8] 1639. *John Norton, sold by Hugh Perry.*

2 Henry IV. 1597–8 (?)

S. R. 1600, Aug. 23. 'The second parte of the history of Kinge Henry the iiijth with the humours of Sir John ffalstaff: wrytten by master Shakespere.' *Andrew Wise and William Aspley* (Arber, iii. 170).

[Q] 1600. The Second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift. With the humours of sir Iohn Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. *V[alentine S[immes] for Andrew Wise and William Aspley.* [Two issues, the first of which omits III. i.]

[F_1] 1623. The Second Part of Henry the Fourth, Containing his Death: and the Coronation of King Henry the Fift. [Distinct text from Q.]

Much Ado About Nothing. 1598 (?)

S. R. [1600], Aug. 4. 'The commedie of muche A doo about nothing a booke . . . to be staied' (Arber, iii. 37).

S. R. 1600, Aug. 23. 'Muche a Doo about nothinge.' *Andrew Wise and William Aspley* (Arber, iii. 170).

[Q] 1600. Much adoe about Nothing. As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. *V[alentine] S[immes] for Andrew Wise and William Aspley.*

[F_1] 1623. Much adoe about Nothing. [From Q, with corrections.]

Henry V. 1599

S. R. No original entry. [Possibly the play was regarded from a stationer's point of view as identical with the anonymous *Famous Victories of Henry V* (q.v.) entered by Creede on 14 May 1594.]

S. R. [1600], Aug. 4. 'Henry the ffift, a booke . . . to be staied' (Arber, iii. 37).

[Q_1] 1600. The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, With his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Togither with Auntient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. *Thomas Creede for Tho. Millington and Iohn Busby.*

S. R. 1600, Aug. 14. Transfer to Thomas Pavier, with other 'thinges formerlye printed and sett over to' him (Arber, iii. 169).

[Q_2] 1602. *Thomas Creede for Thomas Pauier.*

[Q_3] [1619]. '*Printed for T. P. 1608.*' [On the evidence for printing with false date by William Jaggard, cf. Pollard, *F. and Q.* 81.]

[F_1] 1623. The Life of Henry the Fift. [Distinct text from Qq.]

S. R. 1626, Aug. 4. Transfer from Mrs. Pavier to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde of interest in 'The history of Henry the fift and the play of the same' (Arber, iv. 164).

S. R. 1630, Nov. 8. Transfer from Bird to Richard Cotes of 'Henrye the Fift' and 'Agincourt' (Arber, iv. 242).

Julius Caesar. 1599

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of Iulius Cæsar.

The Merry Wives of Windsor. 1599–1600 (?)

S. R. 1602, Jan. 18 (Seton). 'A booke called An excellent and pleasant conceited commedie of Sir John ffaulstof and the merry wyves of Windesor.' *John Busby.* Transfer the same day from Busby to Arthur Johnson (Arber, iii. 199).

[Q_1] 1602. A most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedie, of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the merrie Wiues of Windsor. Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humors, of Syr Hugh the Welch Knight, Iustice Shallow, and his wise Cousin M. Slender. With the swaggering vaine of Auncient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym. By William Shakespeare. As it hath bene diuers times Acted by the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines seruants. Both before her Maiestie, and else-where. *T*[*homas*] *C*[*reede*] *for Arthur Iohnson.*

[Q_2] 1619. [*William Jaggard*] *for Arthur Johnson.* [On its relation to other plays printed by Jaggard in 1619, cf. Pollard *F. and Q.* 81.]

[F_1] 1623. The Merry Wiues of Windsor. [Distinct text from Qq.]

S. R. 1630, Jan. 29. Transfer from Johnson to Meighen (Arber, iv. 227).

[Q_3] 1630. *T. H*[*arper*] *for R. Meighen.*

As You Like It. 1600 (?)

[F_1] 1623. As you Like it.

Hamlet. 1601 (?)

S. R. 1602, July 26 (Pasfield). 'A booke called the Revenge of Hamlett Prince Denmarke as yt was latelie Acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servantes.' *James Robertes* (Arber, iii. 212).

[Q_1] 1603. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. By William Shake-speare. As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where. [*Valentine Simmes*] *for N*[*icholas*] *L*[*ing*] *and Iohn Trundell.*

[Q_2] 1604. . . . Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie. . . . *I*[*ames*] *R*[*oberts*] *for N*[*icholas*] *L*[*ing*]. [Some copies are dated 1605. Distinct text from Q_1.]

S. R. 1607, Nov. 19. Transfer from Ling to John Smethwick (Arber, iii. 365).

[Q_3] 1611. *For Iohn Smethwicke.*

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. [Distinct text from Qq.]

[Q_4] N.D. [after 1611]. *W*[*illiam*] *S*[*tansby*] *for Iohn Smethwicke.*

[Q_5] 1637. *R. Young for John Smethwicke.*

Twelfth Night. 1601–2

[F_1] 1623. Twelfe Night, Or what you will.

Troilus and Cressida. 1602 (?)

S. R. 1603, Feb. 7. 'Master Robertes, Entred for his copie in full Court holden this day to print when he hath gotten sufficient aucthority for yt, The booke of Troilus and Cresseda as yt is acted by my lord Chamberlens Men' (Arber, iii. 226).

S. R. 1609, Jan. 28 (Segar, 'deputye to Sir George Bucke'). 'A booke called the history of Troylus and Cressida.' *Richard Bonion and Henry Walleys* (Arber, iii. 400).

[Q] 1609. The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida. As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants at the Globe. Written by William Shakespeare. *G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley.* [In a second issue the title became 'The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid. Excellently expressing the beginning of their loues, with the conceited wooing of Pandarus Prince of Licia'; and an Epistle headed 'A neuer writer, to an euer reader. Newes' was inserted.]

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of Troylus and Cressida. [A distinct text from Q.]

All's Well That Ends Well. 1602 (?)

[F_1] 1623. All's Well, that Ends Well.

Measure for Measure. 1604 (?)

[F_1] 1623. Measure, For Measure.

Othello 1604 (?)

S. R. 1621, Oct. 6 (Buck). 'The Tragedie of Othello, the moore of Venice.' *Thomas Walkley* (Arber, iv. 59).

[Q_1] 1622. The Tragœdy of Othello, The Moore of Venice. As it hath beene diuerse times acted at the Globe, and at the Black Friers, by his Maiesties Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. *N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Walkley.* [Epistle by the Stationer to the Reader, signed 'Thomas Walkley'.]

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of Othello, the Moore of Venice. [Distinct text from Q_1.]

S. R. 1628, March 1. Transfer from Walkley to Richard Hawkins (Arber, iv. 194).

[Q_2] 1630. *A. M[athewes] for Richard Hawkins.*

[Q_3] 1655. . . . The fourth Edition. *For William Leak.*

Macbeth. 1605–6 (?)

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of Macbeth.

King Lear. 1605–6

S. R. 1607, Nov. 26 (Buck). 'A booke called Master William Shakespeare his historye of Kinge Lear, as yt was played before the kinges maiestie at Whitehall vppon Sainct Stephens night at Christmas Last by his maiesties servantes playinge vsually at the Globe on the Banksyde.' *Nathanael Butter and John Busby* (Arber, iii. 366).

[Q_1] 1608. M. William Shak-speare: His True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam: As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall vpon S. Stephans night in Christmas Hollidayes. By his Maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-side. [*Nicholas Okes* ?] *for Nathaniel Butter and are to be sold at . . . the Pide Bull. . . .* [Sheets freely corrected during printing.]

[Q_2] [1619]. '*Printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1608.*' [On the evidence for printing with false date by William Jaggard, cf. Pollard, 81.]

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of King Lear. [From Q_1, with corrections.]

[Q_3] 1655. *By Jane Bell.*

Antony and Cleopatra. 1606 (?)

S. R. 1608, May 20 (Buck). 'A booke Called Anthony and Cleopatra.' *Edward Blount* (Arber, iii. 378).

S. R. 1623, Nov. 8. 'Anthonie and Cleopatra', with other playes for F_1 [*vide supra*]. *Edward Blount and Isaac Jaggard* (Arber, iv. 107).

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of Anthonie, and Cleopatra.

Coriolanus. 1606 (?)

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedy of Coriolanus.

Timon of Athens. 1607 (?)

[F_1] 1623. The Lyfe of Tymon of Athens.

Pericles. 1608 (?)

S. R. 1608, May 20 (Buck). 'A booke called The booke of Pericles prynce of Tyre.' *Edward Blount* (Arber, iii. 378).

[Q_1] 1609. The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Historie, aduentures, and fortunes of the said Prince: As also, The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter Mariana. As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Seruants, at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare. *[William White] for Henry Gosson.*

[Q_2] 1609. *[William White] for Henry Gosson.* ['Eneer' for 'Enter' on A_2].

[Q_3] 1611. *By S[imon] S[tafford].*

[Q_4] '*Printed for T[homas] P[avier] 1619.*' [The signatures are continuous with those of *The Whole Contention* printed n.d. in 1619. Probably the printer was William Jaggard; cf. Pollard, 81.]

[Q_5] 1630. *I. N[orton] for R. B[ird].* [Two issues.]

[Q_6] 1635. *By Thomas Cotes.*

[F_3] 1664. Pericles Prince of Tyre. [Distinct text from Qq.]

Cymbeline. 1609 (?)

[F_1] 1623. The Tragedie of Cymbeline.

The Winter's Tale. 1610 (?)

[F_1] 1623. The Winters Tale.

The Tempest. 1611

[F_1] 1623. The Tempest.

Henry VIII. 1613 (?)

[F_1] 1623. The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eight.

Doubtful Plays

Besides the seven plays printed in F_3 (*vide supra*) Shakespeare has been credited (cf. ch. xxiv) with the authorship of or contributions to *An Alarum for London*, *Arden of Feversham*, *Fair Em*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Troublesome Reign of King John*, *Mucedorus*, *Second Maiden's Tragedy*, *Taming of A Shrew*, and perhaps more plausibly, *Contention of York and Lancaster*, *Edward III*, *Sir Thomas More*, and *T. N. K.* (cf. s.v. Beaumont).

Lost Plays

Meres includes 'Loue Labours Wonne' in his list of 1598 (App. C, No. lii).

On 9 Sept. 1653 Humphrey Mosely entered in the Stationers' Register (Eyre, i. 428), in addition to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* with an ascription to Shakespeare (cf. ch. xxiv):

'The History of Cardenio, by M^{r} Fletcher & Shakespeare.'
'Henry y^{e} first, & Hen: the 2^{d}. by Shakespeare, & Davenport.'

On 29 June 1660 he entered (Eyre, ii. 271):

'The History of King Stephen.
Duke Humphrey, a Tragedy.
Iphis & Iantha or a marriage without a man, a Comedy.
} by Will: Shakspeare.'

Warburton's list of burnt plays (*3 Library*, ii. 230) contains :

'Henry y^{e} 1st. by Will. Shakespear & Rob. Davenport',

'Duke Humphery Will. Shakespear',

and in a supplementary list :

'A Play by Will. Shakespear.'

Of *Henry II*, *Stephen*, *Duke Humphrey*, and *Iphis and Iantha* nothing more is known.

Cardenio is presumably the play given as 'Cardenno' and 'Cardenna' by the King's men at Court in 1612–13 and again on 8 June 1613 (App. B). Its theme, from *Don Quixote*, Part I, chh. xxiii–xxxvii, is that of *Double Falsehood, or the Distressed Lovers*, published in 1728 by Lewis Theobald as 'written originally by W. Shakespeare, and now revised and adapted to the stage by M^{r}. Theobald'. In 1727 it had been produced at Drury Lane. Theobald claimed to have three manuscripts, no one of which is now known. One had formerly, he said, belonged to Betterton, and was in the handwriting of 'M^{r}. *Downes*, the famous Old Prompter' (cf. App. I). Another came from a 'Noble Person', with a tradition 'that it was given by our Author, as a Present of Value, to a Natural Daughter of his, for whose Sake he wrote it, in the Time of his Retirement from the Stage'. Theobald is much under suspicion of having written *Double Falsehood* himself (cf. T. R. Lounsbury, *The First Editors of Shakespeare*, 145).

'The Historye of Henry the First, written by Damport' was licensed for the King's men on 10 Apr. 1624 (*Var.* iii. 229, 319 ; Herbert, 27).

EDWARD SHARPHAM (1576–1608).

Edward was the third son of Richard Sharpham of Colehanger in East Allington, Devonshire, where he was baptized on 22 July 1576. He entered the Middle Temple on 9 Oct. 1594. He made his will on 22 Apr. 1608, and was buried on the following day at St. Margaret's, Westminster. It may be inferred that he died of plague. Unless he is the E. S. who wrote *The Discoveries of the Knights of the Post* (1597), he is only known by his two plays. There is no justification for identifying him with the Ed. Sharphell who prefixed a sonnet to the *Humours Heav'n on Earth* (1605) of John Davies of Hereford, calling Davies his 'beloued Master', or, consequently, for assuming that he had been a pupil of Davies as writing-master at Magdalen, Oxford.

Dissertations : G. C. Moore Smith, *E. S.* (1908, *10 N. Q.* x. 21), *John Mason and E. S.* (1913, *M. L. R.* viii. 371) ; M. W. Sampson, *The Plays of E. S.* (1910, *Studies in Language and Literature in Celebration of the 70th Birthday of J. M. Hart*, 440).

The Fleir. 1606

S. R. 1606, May 13. 'A Comedie called The fleare. Provided that they are not to printe yt tell they bringe good aucthoritie and licence for the Doinge thereof.' *John Trundell and John Busby* (Arber, iii. 321).

1606, Nov. 21. Transfer from Trundell to Busby and Arthur Johnson, with note 'This booke is aucthorised by Sir George Bucke Master Hartwell and the wardens' (Arber, iii. 333).

1607. The Fleire. As it hath beene often played in the Blacke-Fryers by the Children of the Reuells. Written by Edward Sharpham of the Middle Temple, Gentleman. *F. B.* [Epistle to the Reader, by the printer.]

1610; 1615; 1631.

Edition by H. Nibbe (1912, *Materialien*, xxxvi).

The epistle says that the book has been 'long lookt for', that the author is 'ith' Country' and that further 'Comicall discourses' from him are forthcoming. A date after the executions for treason on 30 Jan. 1606 is suggested, as in the case of Marston's *Fawn*, by ii. 364, 'I have heard say, they will rise sooner, and goe with more deuotion to see an extraordinarie execution, then to heare a Sermon', and with this indication allusions to the Union (ii. 258) and *Northward Ho!* (ii. 397) and resemblances to the *Fawn* are consistent.

Cupid's Whirligig. 1607

S. R. 1607, June 29 (Tylney). 'A Comedie called Cupids Whirley-gigge.' *John Busby and Arthur Johnson* (Arber, iii. 354).

1607. Cupid's Whirligig, As it hath bene sundry times Acted by the Children of the Kings Majesties Reuels. *E. Allde, sold by A. Johnson.* [Epistle to Robert Hayman, signed 'E. S.']

1611; 1616; 1630.

Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*, ii. 146, cites Coxeter as authority for a false ascription of the play to Shakespeare. But nobody could well have supposed Shakespeare to be indicated by the initials E. S., for which there is really no other candidate than Sharpham. The play must be the further 'Comicall discourses' promised by the same publishers in the epistle to *The Fleir*, and it may be added that Hayman (cf. *D. N. B.*), like Sharpham, was a Devonshire man. The date may be taken to be 1607, as the King's Revels are not traceable earlier.

SAMUEL SHEPPARD (>1606–1652<).

The known work of this miscellaneous writer belongs to 1646–52, and although it includes a political tract in dramatic form, it is only his vague claim of a share, possibly as amanuensis, in Jonson's *Sejanus* (q.v.), which suggests that he might be the unknown S. S. whose initials are on the title-page of *The Honest Lawyer* (1616).

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY (1554–86).

Both his entertainments were printed for the first time with the third (1598) edition of the *Arcadia*.

The Lady of May. 1579 (?)

1598. The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the same Author. *For William Ponsonby.* [The description of the entertainment follows *Astrophel and Stella* among the 'new additions', beginning at the head of sig. 3 B3^{v}, without title or date.]

Reprints in 1599, 1605, 1613, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1627, 1629, 1633, 1638, 1655, 1662, 1674 editions of the *Arcadia*.

Editions in Nichols, *Elizabeth*$^{1, 2}$, ii. 94 (1788–1823), and Collections of Sidney's *Works*.

The entertainment was in the Garden. As the Queen entered the grove, An Honest Man's Wife of the Country delivered a speech and a written supplication in verse, for decision of the case of her daughter. Then came the daughter, chosen May Lady, and haled this way by six Shepherds on behalf of her lover Espilus and six Foresters on behalf of her lover Therion. The case was put to the Queen by Lalus an old Shepherd, Rombus a Schoolmaster, and finally the May Lady herself. Espilus, accompanied by the Shepherds with recorders, and Therion, accompanied by the Foresters with cornets, sang in rivalry. A 'contention' followed between Dorcas, an old Shepherd, and Rixus, a young Forester, 'whether of their fellows had sung better, and whether the estate of shepherds or foresters were the more worshipful'. Rombus tried to intervene. The May Lady appealed to the Queen, who decided for Espilus. Shepherds and Foresters made a consort together, Espilus sang a song, and the May Lady took her leave.

Nichols assigns the entertainment to Elizabeth's Wanstead visit of 1578. But it might also belong to that of 1579, and possibly to that of 1582. In 1579, but not in 1578, the visit covered May Day. The references in the text are, however, to the month of May, rather than to May Day.

Pastoral Dialogue. c. 1580

1598. A Dialogue between two Shepherds, Vttered in a Pastorall Show at Wilton. [Appended to *Arcadia*; cf. *supra*.]

Edition in A. B. Grosart, *Poems of Sidney* (1877), ii. 50.

This dialogue between Dick and Will appears to belong to the series of poems motived by Sidney's love for Penelope Devereux. It must therefore date between August 1577, when Sidney first visited his sister, Lady Pembroke, at Wilton, and his own marriage on 20 Sept. 1583. There is no indication that the Queen was present; not improbably the 'Show' took place while Sidney was out of favour at Court, and was living at Wilton from March to August 1580.

JOHN SINGER (?–1603<).

On Singer's career as an actor, see ch. xv.

On 13 Jan. 1603, about which date he apparently retired from the Admiral's, Henslowe paid him £5 'for his playe called Syngers vallentarey' (Greg, *Henslowe*, i. 173; ii. 226). I think the term 'vallentarey' must be used by Henslowe, rightly or wrongly, in the sense of 'valedictory'. *Quips on Questions* (1600), a book of 'themes', is not his, but Armin's (q.v.).

WILLIAM SLY (?–1608).

On Sly's career as an actor, see ch. xv.

He has been guessed at as the author of *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (cf. ch. xxiv).

W. SMITH.

There are traceable (*a*) Wentworth Smith, who wrote plays for Henslowe's companies, the Admiral's, and Worcester's during 1601–3 (*vide infra*) and witnessed the will of W. Haughton in 1605; (*b*) a W. Smith, who wrote *Hector of Germany* and *The Freeman's Honour* (*vide infra*); (*c*) a 'Smith', whose *Fair Foul One* Herbert licensed on 28 Nov. 1623 (Chalmers, *S. A.* 216; Herbert, 26); (*d*) if Warburton can be trusted, a 'Will. Smithe', whose *S^t George for England* his cook burnt (*3 Library*, ii. 231). It is possible that (*a*) and (*b*) may be identical. A long space of time separates (*b*) and (*c*), and if (*d*) is to be identified with any other, it may most plausibly be with (*c*). There is nothing to connect any one of them with the William Smith who published sonnets under the title of *Chloris* (1596), or with any other member of this infernal family, and the 'W. S.' of the anonymous *Locrine* (1595), *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (1602), *The Puritan* (1607) is more probably, in each case, aimed at Shakespeare.

The Hector of Germany. c. 1615

S. R. 1615, April 24 (Buck). 'A play called The Hector of Germany, or the Palsgraue is a harmeles thinge.' *Josias Harrison* (Arber, iii. 566). [The four last words of the title are scored through.]

1615. The Hector of Germaine, or the Palsgrave, Prime Elector. A New Play, an Honourable Hystorie. As it hath beene publikely Acted at the Red Bull, and at the Curtaine, by a Companie of Young Men of this Citie. Made by W. Smith, with new Additions. *Thomas Creede for Josias Harrison.* [Epistle to Sir John Swinnerton, signed 'W. Smith; Prologue; after text, 'Finis. W. Smyth.' Some copies have a variant t.p.]

Edition by L. W. Payne (1906, *Pennsylvania Univ. Publ.*).

The epistle says 'I have begun in a former Play, called the Freemans Honour, acted by the Now-Seruants of the Kings Maiestie, to dignifie the worthy Companie of the Marchantaylors'. If the phrase 'Now-Seruants' implies production before 1603, the identification of W. Smith and Wentworth Smith becomes very probable. The prologue explains that the Palsgrave is not Frederick, since 'Authorities sterne brow' would not permit 'To bring him while he lives upon the stage', and apologizes for the performance by 'men of trade'.

Lost Plays

Henslowe assigns to Wentworth Smith a share in the following plays:

Plays for the Admiral's, 1601–2

(i) *The Conquest of the West Indies.*

With Day and Haughton, Apr.–Sept. 1601.

(ii) *1 Cardinal Wolsey.*

With Chettle, Drayton, and Munday, Aug.–Nov. 1601.

(iii), (iv) *1, 2 The Six Clothiers.*

With Hathway and Haughton, Oct.–Nov. 1601. Apparently Part 2 was not finished.

(v) *Too Good to be True.*

With Chettle and Hathway, Nov. 1601–Jan. 1602.

(vi) *Love Parts Friendship.*

With Chettle, May 1602, conjectured to be the anonymous *Trial of Chivalry* (q.v.).

(vii) *Merry as May be.*

With Day and Hathway, Nov. 1602.

Plays for Worcester's, 1602–3

(viii) *Albere Galles.*

With Heywood, Sept. 1602, possibly identical with the anonymous *Nobody and Somebody* (q.v.).

(ix) *Marshal Osric.*

With Heywood, Sept. 1602, conceivably identical with *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject,* printed (1637) as by Heywood (q.v.).

(x) *The Three* (or *Two*) *Brothers.*

Oct. 1602.

(xi) *1 Lady Jane.*

With Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, and Webster, Oct. 1602. It is not certain that Smith, or any one but Dekker, had a hand in Part 2, which was apparently not finished. Part 1 is doubtless represented by the extant *Sir Thomas Wyatt* of Dekker (q.v.) and Webster, in which nothing is at all obviously traceable to Smith.

(xii), (xiii) *1, 2 The Black Dog of Newgate.*

With Day, Hathway, and another, Nov. 1602–Feb. 1603.

(xiv) *The Unfortunate General.*

With Day and Hathway, Jan. 1602.

(xv) *The Italian Tragedy.*

March 1603.

EDMUND SPENSER (1552–99).

The only record of Spenser's dramatic experiments, unless they are buried amongst the anonymous plays of the Revels Accounts, is to be found in his correspondence of April 1580 with Gabriel Harvey, who wrote, 'I imagine your Magnificenza will hold us in suspense . . . for your nine English Commedies', and again, 'I am void of all judgment if your Nine Comedies, whereunto in imitation of Herodotus, you give the names of the Nine Muses (and in one mans fancy not unworthily) come not nearer Ariosto's Comedies, either for the fineness of plausible elocution, or the rareness of Poetical Invention, than that Elvish Queen doth to his Orlando Furioso' (*Two other Very Commendable Letters,* in Harvey's *Works,* i. 67, 95). I can hardly suppose that the manuscript play of 'Farry Queen' in Warburton's list (*3 Library*, ii. 232) had any connexion with Spenser's comedies.

ROD. STAFFORD.

Probably the 'Rod. Staff.' who collaborated with Robert Wilmot (q.v.) in the Inner Temple play of *Gismond of Salerne*.

WILLIAM STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY (1561–1642).

Derby seems to have had players from 1594 to 1618, who presumably acted the comedies which he was said to be 'penning' in June 1599 (cf. ch. xiii), but none of these can be identified, although the company's anonymous *Trial of Chivalry* (1605) needs an author. A fantastic theory that his plays were for the Chamberlain's, and that he wrote them under the name of William Shakespeare, was promulgated by J. Greenstreet in *The Genealogist*, n.s. vii. 205; viii. 8, 137), and has been elaborately developed by A. Lefranc in *Sous le Masque de 'William Shakespeare'* (1919) and later papers in *Le Flambeau* and elsewhere. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was not impossibly written for his wedding on 26 Jan. 1595 (cf. App. A and *Shakespeare Homage*, 154).

JOHN STEPHENS (>1611–1617<).

A Gloucester man, who entered Lincoln's Inn in 1611, but is only known by his slight literary performances, of which the most important are his *Essayes* of 1615 (cf. App. C, No. lx).

Cynthia's Revenge > 1613

1613. Cinthias Revenge: or Maenanders Extasie. Written by John Stephens, Gent. *For Roger Barnes.* [There are two variant t.ps. of which one omits the author's name. Epistle to Io. Dickinson, signed 'I. S.'; Epistle to the Reader; Argument; Commendatory Verses, signed 'F. C.', 'B. I.', 'G. Rogers', 'Tho. Danet'.]

Dissertation: P. Simpson, *The Authorship and Original Issue of C. R.* (1907, *M. L. R.* ii. 348).

The epistle to the reader says that the author's name is 'purposly concealed . . . from the impression', which accounts for the change of title-page. Stephens claims the authorship in the second edition of his *Essayes* (1615). Kirkman (Greg, *Masques*, lxii) was misled into assigning it to 'John Swallow', by a too literal interpretation of F. C.'s lines:

> One Swallow makes no Summer, most men say,
> But who disproues that Prouerbe, made this Play.

JOHN STUDLEY (*c.* 1545–*c.* 1590).

Translator of Seneca (q.v.).

ROBERT TAILOR (*c.* 1613).

Tailor also published settings to *Sacred Hymns* (1615) and wrote commendatory verses to John Taylor's *The Nipping or Snipping of Abuses* (1614).

Hog Hath Lost His Pearl. 1613

S. R. 1614, May 23, 1614 (Taverner and Buck). 'A play booke called Hogge hath lost his pearle.' *Richard Redmer* (Arber, iii. 547).

1614. The Hogge hath lost his Pearle. A Comedy. Divers times Publikely acted, by certaine London Prentices. By Robert Tailor. *For Richard Redmer.* [Prologue and Epilogue.]

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-4}$ (1744–1875) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* iii).

Sir H. Wotton wrote to Sir Edmund Bacon (Wotton, ii. 13): 'On Sunday last at night, and no longer, some sixteen apprentices (of what sort you shall guess by the rest of the story) having secretly learnt a new play without book, intituled *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*, took up the White-Fryers for their theatre: and having invited thither (as it should seem) rather their mistresses than their masters; who were all to enter *per bullettini* for a note of distinction from ordinary comedians, towards the end of the play the sheriffs (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as they say) and carried some six or seven of them to perform the last act at Bridewel; the rest are fled. Now it is strange to hear how sharp-witted the City is, for they will needs have Sir John Swinerton, the Lord Mayor, be meant by the Hog, and the late Lord Treasurer [Lord Salisbury] by the Pearl.' Swinnerton was Lord Mayor in 1612–13. The letter is only dated 'Tuesday', but refers to the departure of the King, which was 22 Feb. 1613, as on the previous day. This would give the first Sunday in Lent (21 Feb.) for the date of production. The phrase (I. i) 'Shrove-Tuesday is at hand' suggests 14 Feb., but the date originally intended was very likely altered. The Prologue refers to the difficulties of the producers. The play had been 'toss'd from one house to another'. It does not grunt at 'state-affairs' or 'city vices'. There had been attempts to 'prevent' it, but it 'hath a Knight's license', doubtless Sir George Buck's. In I. i is some chaff, apparently directed at Garlic and the Fortune, and an interview between a player and one Haddit, who writes a jig called *Who Buys my Four Ropes of Hard Onions* for four angels, and a promise of a box for a new play. Fleay, ii. 256, identifies Haddit with Dekker, but his reasons do not bear analysis, and Haddit is no professional playwright, but a gallant who has run through his fortune. A passage in Act III (Dodsley, p. 465) bears out the suggestion of satire on the house of Cecil.

RICHARD TARLTON (?–1588).

On his career as an actor, cf. ch. xv.

The Seven Deadly Sins. 1585

[*MS.*] *Dulwich MS.* xix, 'The platt of The secound parte of the Seuen Deadlie sinns.' [This was found pasted inside the boards forming the cover to a manuscript play of the seventeenth century, *The Tell Tale* (*Dulwich MS.* xx).]

The text is given by Malone, *Supplement* (1780), i. 60; Steevens, *Variorum* (1803), iii. 404; Boswell, *Variorum* (1821), iii. 348; Collier, iii. 197; Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 129; and a photographic facsimile by W. Young, *History of Dulwich* (1889), ii. 5.

The 'platt' names a number of actors and may thereby be assigned to a revival by the Admiral's or Strange's men about 1590 (cf. ch. xiii). The play consisted of three episodes illustrating Envy, Sloth, and Lechery, together with an Induction. This renders plausible the conjecture of Fleay, 83, supported by Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 153, that it is the *Four Plays in One* revived by Strange's for Henslowe on 6 March 1592. And if so, the original two parts may be traceable in the *Five Plays in One* and the *Three Plays in One* of the Queen's men in 1585. Tarlton was of course a Queen's man, and evidence of his authorship is furnished by Gabriel Harvey, who in his *Four Letters* (1592, *Works*, i. 194) attacks Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) as 'not Dunsically botched-vp, but right-formally conueied, according to the stile, and tenour of Tarletons president, his famous play of the seauen Deadly sinnes; which most deadly, but most liuely playe, I might haue seene in London; and was verie gently inuited thereunto at Oxford by Tarleton himselfe'. Nashe defends himself against the charge of plagiarism in his *Strange News* (1592, *Works*, i. 304, 318), and confirms the indication of authorship.

Doubtful Play

Tarlton has been suggested as the author of the anonymous *Famous Victories of Henry V* (cf. ch. xxiv).

JOHN TAYLOR (1580–1653).

Known as the Water Poet. His description of the festivities at the wedding of Princess Elizabeth in 1613 (cf. ch. xxiv, C) is only one of innumerable pamphlets in verse and prose, several of which throw light on stage history. Many of these were collected in his folio *Workes* of 1630, reprinted with others of his writings by the Spenser Society during 1868–78. There is also a collection by C. Hindley (1872).

CHARLES TILNEY (*ob.* 1586).

Said, on manuscript authority alleged by Collier, to be the author of *Locrine* (cf. ch. xxiv).

THOMAS TOMKIS (>1597–1614<).

Tomkis entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1597, took his B.A. in 1600 and his M.A. in 1604, and became Fellow of Trinity in the same year. He has been confused by Fleay, ii. 260, and others with various members of a musical family of Tomkins.

Lingua. 1602 < > 7

S. R. 1607, Feb. 23 (Wilson). 'A Commedie called Lingua.' *Simon Waterson* (Arber, iii. 340).

1607. Lingua: Or The Combat of the Tongue, And the fiue Senses. For Superiority. *G. Eld for Simon Waterson.* [Prologue.]

1617; 1622; n.d.; 1632; 1657.

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-4}$ (1744–1874) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii) and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S.F.T.*).—*Dissertation*: F. S. Boas, *Macbeth and L.* (1909, *M. L. R.* iv. 517).

Winstanley (1687) assigned the play to Antony Brewer, but Sir J. Harington, in a memorandum printed by F. J. Furnivall from *Addl. MS.* 27632 in *7 N.Q.* ix. 382, notes 'The combat of Lingua made by Thom. Tomkis of Trinity colledge in Cambridge', and this is rendered plausible by the resemblance of the play to *Albumazar.* It is clearly of an academic type. As to the date there is less certainty. G. C. Moore Smith (*M. L. R.* iii. 146) supports 1602 by a theory that a compliment (IV. vii) to Queen Psyche is really meant for Elizabeth, and contains allusions to notable events of her reign. I do not find his interpretations very convincing, although I should not like to say that they are impossible. Fleay, ii. 261, starting from a tradition handed down by the publisher of 1657 that Oliver Cromwell acted in the play, conjectures that the play formed part of Sir Oliver Cromwell's entertainment of James at Hinchinbrook on 27–9 April 1603, and that his four-year-old nephew took the four-line part of Small Beer (IV. v). Either date would fit in with the remark in III. v, 'About the year 1602 many used this skew kind of language'. Boas, however, prefers a date near that of publication, on account of similarities to passages in *Macbeth.* The play was translated as *Speculum Aestheticum* for Maurice of Hesse-Cassel in 1613 by Johannes Rhenanus, who probably accompanied Prince Otto to England in 1611; cf. P. Losch, *Johannes Rhenanus* (1895).

Albumazar. 1615

S. R. 1615, April 28 (Nidd). 'Albumazar a comedie acted before his Maiestie at Cambridg 10° Martii 1614.' *Nicholas Okes* (Arber, iii. 566).

1615. Albumazar. A Comedy presented before the Kings Maiestie at Cambridge, the ninth of March, 1614. By the Gentlemen of Trinitie Colledge. *Nicholas Okes for Walter Burre.* [Prologue.]

1615. *Nicholas Okes for Walter Burre.* [Another edition with the same t.p.]

1634. . . . Newly revised and corrected by a speciall Hand. *Nicholas Okes.*

1634. *Nicholas Okes.*

1668. . . . As it is now Acted at His Highness the Duke of York's Theatre. *For Thomas Dring.* [Prologue by Dryden.]

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-4}$ (1744–1875) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii).

The play is assigned to 'M^{r} Tomkis, Trinit.' in an account of the royal visit given by S. Pegge from Sir Edward Dering's MS. in *Gent. Mag.* xxvi. 224, and a bursar's account-book for 1615 has the entry, 'Given M^{r}. Tomkis for his paines in penning and ordering the Englishe Commedie at our Masters appoyntment, xx^{li}' (*3 N. Q.* xii. 155). Chamberlain wrote to Carleton (Birch, i. 304) that 'there was no great matter in it more than one good clown's part'. It is an adaptation of

Giambattista Porta's *L'Astrologo* (1606). No importance is to be attached to the suggestion of H. I. in *3 N. Q.* ix. 178, 259, 302, that Shakespeare was the author and wrote manuscript notes in a copy possessed by H. I. Dryden regards the play as the model of Jonson's *Alchemist* (1610):

> Subtle was got by our Albumazar,
> That Alchymist by our Astrologer.

Unless Dryden was mistaken, the performance in 1615 was only a revival, but the payment for ' penning ' makes this improbable.

Doubtful Later Play

G. C. Moore Smith (*M. L. R.* iii. 149) supports the attribution by Winstanley to Tomkis of *Pathomachia or the Battle of Affections* (1630), also called in a running title and in *Bodl. MS. Eng. Misc.* e. 5 *Love's Load-stone*, a University play of *c.* 1616, in which there are two references to ' Madame Lingua '.

CYRIL TOURNEUR (?–1626).

Tourneur, or Turnor, first appears as the author of a satire, *The Transformed Metamorphosis* (1600), but his history and relationships to the Cecils and to Sir Francis Vere suggest that he was connected with a Richard Turnor who served in the Low Countries as water-bailiff and afterwards Lieutenant of Brill during 1585–96. His career as a dramatist was over by 1613, and from December of that year to his death on 28 Feb. 1626 he seems himself to have been employed on foreign service, mainly in the Low Countries but finally at Cadiz, where he was secretary to the council of war under Sir Edward Cecil in 1625. He died in Ireland and left a widow Mary.

Collections

1878. J. C. Collins, *The Plays and Poems of C. T.* 2 vols.
1888. J. A. Symonds, *Webster and Tourneur* (*Mermaid Series*).
Dissertations: G. Goodwin in *Academy* (9 May 1891); T. Seccombe in *D. N. B.* (1899).

The Atheist's Tragedy. 1607 < > 11

S. R. 1611, Sept. 14 (Buck). ' A booke called, The tragedy of the Atheist.' *John Stepneth* (Arber, iii. 467).

1611. The Atheist's Tragedie: Or The honest Man's Reuenge, As in diuers places it hath often beene Acted. Written by Cyril Tourneur. *For John Stepneth and Richard Redmer.*

1612. *For John Stepneth and Richard Redmer.* [Another issue.]

Fleay, ii. 263, attempts to date the play before the close of the siege of Ostend in 1604, but, as E. E. Stoll, *John Webster*, 210, points out, this merely dates the historic action and proves nothing as to composition. Stoll himself finds some plausible reminiscences of *King Lear* (1606) and suggests a date near that of publication.

LOST PLAYS

The Nobleman. c. 1612

S. R. 1612, Feb. 15 (Buck). 'A play booke beinge a Tragecomedye called, The Noble man written by Cyril Tourneur.' *Edward Blount* (Arber, iii. 478).

1653, Sept. 9. 'The Nobleman, or Great Man, by Cyrill Tourneur.' *Humphrey Moseley* (Eyre, i. 428).

The play was acted by the King's at Court on 23 Feb. 1612 and again during the winter of 1612–13. Warburton's list of plays burnt by his cook (*3 Library*, ii. 232) contains distinct entries of 'The Great Man T.' and 'The Nobleman T. C. Cyrill Turñuer'. Hazlitt, *Manual*, 167, says (1892): 'Dr Furnivall told me many years ago that the MS. was in the hands of a gentleman at Oxford, who was editing Tourneur's Works; but I have heard nothing further of it. Music to a piece called The Nobleman is in *Addl. MS. B.M.* 10444.'

For *The Arraignment of London* (1613) v.s. Daborne.

Doubtful Plays

Tourneur's hand has been sought in the *Honest Man's Fortune* of the Beaumont (q.v.) and Fletcher series, and in *Charlemagne*, *Revenger's Tragedy*, and *Second Maiden's Tragedy* (cf. ch. xxiv).

NICHOLAS TROTTE (*c.* 1588).

A Gray's Inn lawyer, who wrote an 'Introduction' for the *Misfortunes of Arthur* of Thomas Hughes (q.v.) in 1588.

RICHARD VENNAR (*c.* 1555–1615 ?).

Vennar (Vennard), who has often been confused with William Fennor, a popular rhymer, was of Balliol and Lincoln's Inn, and lived a shifty life, which ended about 1615 in a debtor's prison. Its outstanding feature was the affair of *England's Joy*, but in 1606 he is said (*D. N. B.*) to have been in trouble for an attempt to defraud Sir John Spencer of £500 towards the preparation of an imaginary mask under the patronage of Sir John Watts, the Lord Mayor.

England's Joy. 1602

[*Broadsheet*] The Plot of the Play, called England's Joy. To be Played at the Swan this 6 of Nouember, 1602. [No. 98 in collection of Society of Antiquaries.]

Reprints by W. Park in *Harleian Miscellany* (1813), x. 198; S. Lee (1887, *vide infra*); W. Martin (1913, *vide infra*); W. J. Lawrence (1913, *vide infra*).—*Dissertations*: S. Lee, *The Topical Side of the Elizabethan Drama* (*N. S. S. Trans.* 1887–92, 1); T. S. Graves, *A Note on the Swan Theatre* (1912, *M. P.* ix. 431), *Tricks of Elizabethan Showmen* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April 1915); W. Martin, *An Elizabethan Theatre Programme* (1913, *Selborne Magazine*, xxiv. 16); W. J. Lawrence (ii. 57), *The Origin of the Theatre Programme.*

The document appears to be a 'bill'. It is 12¾ by 7¾ inches, and contains a synopsis under nine heads, beginning with the civil wars from Edward III to Mary 'induct by shew and in Action', and continuing with episodes from the reign of Elizabeth, who is England's Joy. In sc. viii 'a great triumph is made with fighting of twelue Gentlemen at Barriers', and in sc. ix Elizabeth 'is taken vp into Heauen, when presently appeares, a Throne of blessed Soules, and beneath vnder the Stage set forth with strange fireworkes, diuers blacke and damned Soules, wonderfully discribed in their seuerall torments'. Apart from the bill, Vennar must have given it out that the performers were to be amateurs. Chamberlain, 163, writes to Carleton on 19 Nov. 1602:

> 'And, now we are in mirth, I must not forget to tell you of a cousening prancke of one Venner, of Lincolns Inne, that gave out bills of a famous play on Satterday was sevenight on the Banckeside, to be acted only by certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account. The price at cumming in was two shillings or eighteen pence at least; and when he had gotten most part of the mony into his hands, he wold have shewed them a faire paire of heeles, but he was not so nimble to get up on horsebacke, but that he was faine to forsake that course, and betake himselfe to the water, where he was pursued and taken, and brought before the Lord Chiefe Justice, who wold make nothing of it but a jest and a merriment, and bounde him over in five pound to appeare at the sessions. In the meane time the common people, when they saw themselves deluded, revenged themselves upon the hangings, curtains, chairs, stooles, walles, and whatsoever came in theire way, very outragiously, and made great spoile; there was great store of good companie, and many noblemen.'

Similarly John Manningham in his *Diary*, 82, 93, notes in Nov. 1602, how

> 'Vennar, a gent. of Lincolnes, who had lately playd a notable cunnicatching tricke, and gulled many under couller of a play to be of gent. and reuerens, comming to the court since in a blacke suit, bootes and golden spurres without a rapier, one told him he was not well suited; the golden spurres and his brazen face uns[uited].'

On 27 Nov. he adds, 'When one said that Vennar the graund connicatcher had golden spurres and a brazen face, "It seemes", said R. R. "he hath some mettall in him."' Vennar's own account of 'my publique default of the Swan, where not a collier but cals his deere 12 pense to witnesse the disaster of the day' was given many years later in '*An Apology*: Written by Richard Vennar, of Lincolnes Inne, abusively called Englands Joy. 1614', printed by Collier in *Illustrations* (1866), iii. It vies in impudence with the original offence. He had been in prison and was in debt, and 'saw daily offering to the God of pleasure, resident at the Globe on the Banke-side'. This suggested his show, 'for which they should give double payment, to the intent onely, men of ability might make the purchase without repentance'. He continues:

> 'My devise was all sorts of musique, beginning with chambers, the harpe of war, and ending with hounds, the cry of peace, of which I was doubly provided for Fox and Hare. The report of gentlemen and gentlewomens

actions, being indeed the flagge to our theater, was not meerely falcification, for I had divers Chorus to bee spoken by men of good birth, schollers by profession, protesting that the businesse was meerely abused by the comming of some beagles upon mee that were none of the intended kennell: I meane baylifes, who, siezing mee before the first entrance, spoke an Epilogue instead of a Prologue. This changed the play into the hunting of the fox, which, that the world may know for a verity, I heere promise the next tearme, with the true history of my life, to bee publiquely presented, to insert, in place of musicke for the actes, all those intendments prepared for that daies enterteinment.'

Later on he says, 'I presented you with a dumbe show', and jests on getting 'so much mony for six verses', which, I suppose, means that the performance was intended to be a spoken one, but was broken off during the prologue. Apparently the new entertainment contemplated by Vennar in 1614 was in fact given, not by him but by William Fennor, to whom John Taylor writes in his *A Cast Over Water* (1615):

Thou brag'st what fame thou got'st upon the stage.
Indeed, thou set'st the people in a rage
In playing England's Joy, that every man
Did judge it worse than that was done at Swan.
. . . .
Upon S. George's day last, sir, you gave
To eight Knights of the Garter (like a knave),
Eight manuscripts (or Books) all fairelie writ,
Informing them, they were your mother wit:
And you compil'd them; then were you regarded,
And for another's wit was well rewarded.
All this is true, and this I dare maintaine,
The matter came from out a learned braine:
And poor old *Vennor* that plaine dealing man,
Who acted England's Joy first at the Swan,
Paid eight crowns for the writing of these things,
Besides the covers, and the silken strings.

Robin Goodfellow, in Jonson's *Love Restored* (*1612*), calls the absence of a mask 'a fine trick, a piece of England's Joy', and three characters in the *Masque of Augurs* (*1622*) are said to be 'three of those gentlewomen that should have acted in that famous matter of England's Joy in six hundred and three'—apparently a slip of Jonson's as to the exact date. Other allusions to the 'gullery' are in Saville, *Entertainment of King James at Theobalds* (1603); R. Brathwaite, *The Poet's Palfrey* (*Strappado for the Devil*, ed. J. W. Ebsworth, 160); J. Suckling, *The Goblins* (ed. Hazlitt, ii. 52); W. Davenant, *Siege of Rhodes*, Pt. ii, prol. It may be added that Vennar's cozenage was perhaps suggested by traditional stories of similar tricks. One is ascribed to one Qualitees in *Merry Tales, Wittie Questions and Quick Answeres*, cxxxiii (1567, Hazlitt, *Jest Books*, i. 145). In this bills were set up 'vpon postes aboute London' for 'an antycke plaie' at Northumberland Place and 'all they that shoulde playe therin were gentilmen'. Another is the subject of one of the *Jests* of George Peele (Bullen, ii. 389). W. Fennor, *The Compters Commonwealth* (1617), 64, tells of an adventure of 'one M^{r}. Venard (that went by the name of Englands Joy)' in jail, where he afterwards died.

EDWARD DE VERE, EARL OF OXFORD (1550–1604).

Meres (1598) includes the earl in his list of 'the best for Comedy amongst vs', but although Oxford had theatrical servants at intervals from 1580 to 1602 (cf. ch. xiii), little is known of their plays, and none can be assigned to him, although the anonymous *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600) calls for an author. J. T. Looney, *Shakespeare Identified* (1920), gives him Shakespeare's plays, many of which were written after his death.

FRANCIS VERNEY (1584–1615).

Francis, the eldest son of Sir Edmund Verney of Penley, Herts., and Claydon, Bucks., entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1600, and was knighted on 14 March 1604. As a result of family disputes, he left England about 1608, and became a pirate in the Mediterranean, dying at Messina on 6 Sept. 1615 (*Verney Memoirs*^{2}, i. 47). G. C. Moore Smith (*M. L. R.* iii. 151) gives him the following play.

Antipoe. 1603 < > 8

[*MS.*] *Bodl. MS.* 31041, 'The tragedye of Antipoe with other poetical verses written by mee Nic^{o}. Leatt Jun. in Allicant In June 1622', with Epistles to James and the Reader by 'Francis Verney'. Presumably Verney was the author, and Nicolas only a scribe.

ANTONY WADESON (*c.* 1601).

Henslowe made payments to him on behalf of the Admiral's in June and July 1601 for a play called *The Honourable Life of the Humorous Earl of Gloucester, with his Conquest of Portugal*, but these only amounted to 30*s.*, so that possibly the play was not finished.

Doubtful Play

The anonymous *Look About You* (cf. ch. xxiv) has been ascribed to Wadeson.

LEWIS WAGER (*c.* 1560).

Wager became Rector of St. James Garlickhithe on 28 March 1560. Some resemblance of his style to that of W. Wager has led to an assumption that they were related. He was a corrector of books.

The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene > 1566

S. R. 1566–7. 'An interlude of the Repentaunce of Mary Magdalen.' *John Charlwood* (Arber, i. 335).

1566. A new Enterlude, neuer before this tyme imprinted, entreating of the Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene: not only godlie, learned and fruitefull, but also well furnished with pleasaunt myrth and pastime, very delectable for those which shall heare or reade the same. Made by the learned clarke Lewis Wager. *John Charlwood.* [Prologue.]

1567. *John Charlwood.* [Probably a reissue. Two manuscript copies in the Dyce collection seem to be made from this edition.]

Editions by F. I. Carpenter (1902, 1904, *Chicago Decennial Publications*, ii. 1) and J. S. Farmer (1908, *T. F. T.*).

A play of Protestant tone, with biblical and allegorical characters, including 'Infidelitie the Vice', intended for four [five] actors. There is a Prologue, intended for actors who have 'vsed this feate at the vniuersitie' and will take 'half-pence or pence' from the audience. Carpenter dates the play *c.* 1550; but his chief argument that the prologue recommends obedience 'to the kyng' is not very convincing.

See also W. Wager, s.v. *The Cruel Debtor.*

W. WAGER (*c.* 1559).

Nothing is known of him beyond his plays and the similarity of his name to that of Lewis Wager (q.v.). Joseph Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, v. 90, attempts to identify him with William Gager (q.v.), but this is not plausible. On the illegitimate extension of W. into William and other bibliographical confusions about the two Wagers, *vide* W. W. Greg, *Notes on Dramatic Bibliographers* (*M. S. C.* i. 324).

The Longer Thou Livest, the More Fool Thou Art. c. 1559

S. R. 1568–9. 'A ballett the lenger thou leveste the more ffoole thow.' *Richard Jones* (Arber, i. 386).

N.D. A very mery and Pythie Commedie, called The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art. A Myrrour very necessarie for youth, and specially for such as are like to come to dignitie and promotion: As it maye well appeare in the Matter folowynge. Newly compiled by W. Wager. *William Howe for Richard Jones.* [Prologue.]

Editions by Brandl (1900, *Jahrbuch* xxxvi. 1) and J. S. Farmer (1910, *S. F. T.*).

A Protestant moral of 1,977 lines, with allegorical characters, arranged for four actors. Moros enters 'synging the foote of many Songes, as fooles were wont'. Elizabeth is prayed for as queen, but the Catholic domination is still recent.

Enough is as Good as a Feast. c. 1560

N.D. A Comedy or Enterlude intituled, Inough is as good as a feast, very fruteful, godly and ful of pleasant mirth. Compiled by W. Wager. *By John Allde.* [The t.p. has also 'Seuen may easely play this Enterlude', with an arrangement of parts. The play was unknown until it appeared in Lord Mostyn's sale of 1919. The seventeenth-century publishers' lists record the title, but without ascription to Wager (Greg, *Masques*, lxvi).]

Edition by S. de Ricci (1920, *Huntingdon Reprints*, ii).

F. S. Boas (*T. L. S.* 20 Feb. 1919) describes the play as 'a morality with a controversial Protestant flavour'; at the end Satan carries off the Vice, Covetouse, on his back. Elizabeth is prayed for.

The Cruel Debtor. c. 1565

S. R. 1565–6. 'A ballet intituled an interlude the Cruell Detter by Wager.' *Thomas Colwell* (Arber, i. 307).

N.D. Fragments. C. iii in Bagford Collection (*Harl. MS.* 5919); D and D 4 (?) formerly in collection of W. B. Scott, now in B.M. (C. 40, e. 48).

Editions by F. J. Furnivall (1878, *N. S. S. Trans.* 1877–9, 2*) and W. W. Greg (1911, *M. S. C.* i. 314).

The speakers are Rigour, Flattery, Simulation, Ophiletis, Basileus, and Proniticus.

R. Imelmann in *Herrig's Archiv*, cxi. 209, would assign these fragments to Lewis Wager, rather than W. Wager, but the stylistic evidence is hardly conclusive either way, and there is no other.

Lost Play

Warburton's list of manuscripts burnt by his cook (*3 Library*, ii. 232) includes 'Tis Good Sleeping in A Whole Skin W. Wager'.

GEORGE WAPULL (*c.* 1576).

A George Wapull was clerk of the Stationers' Company from 29 Sept. 1571 to 30 May 1575. In 1584–5 the company assisted him with 10*s.* 'towards his voyage unto Norembegue' in America (Arber, i. xliv, 509).

The Tide Tarrieth No Man > 1576

S. R. 1576, Oct. 22. 'An Enterlude intituled The tide tariethe noe man.' *Hugh Jackson* (Arber, ii. 303).

1576. The Tyde taryeth no Man. A Moste Pleasant and merry Commody, right pythie and full of delight. Compiled by George Wapull. *Hugh Jackson.* [Prologue.]

Editions by J. P. Collier (1864, *Illustrations of Early English Literature*, ii), E. Ruhl (1907, *Jahrbuch*, xliii. 1), J. S. Farmer (1910, *T. F. T.*).

A non-controversial moral, with allegorical and typical characters, including 'Courage, the vice', arranged for four actors.

WILLIAM WARNER (*c.* 1558–1609).

Warner was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and became an attorney. His chief work, *Albion's England* (1586), was dedicated to Henry Lord Hunsdon, and his *Syrinx* (1585) to Sir George Carey, afterwards Lord Hunsdon.

Menaechmi > c 1592

S. R. 1594, June 10. 'A booke entituled Menachmi beinge A pleasant and fine Conceyted Comedye taken out of the moste excellent wittie Poett Plautus chosen purposely from out the reste as leaste harmefull and yet moste delightfull.' *Thomas Creede* (Arber, ii. 653).

1595. Menaecmi, A pleasant and fine Conceited Comædie, taken out of the most excellent wittie Poet Plautus : Chosen purposely from out the rest, as least harmefull, and yet most delightfull. Written in English, by W. W. *Thomas Creede, sold by William Barley.* [Epistle by the Printer to the Readers ; Argument.]

Editions by J. Nichols (1779, *Six Old Plays*, i), W. C. Hazlitt (1875, *Sh. L.* ii. 1), and W. H. D. Rouse (1912, *Sh. Classics*).

This translation is generally supposed to have influenced the *Comedy of Errors*. If so, Shakespeare must have had access to it in manuscript, and it must have been available before *c.* 1592. The epistle speaks of Warner as 'having diverse of this Poetes Comedies Englished, for the use and delight of his private friends, who in Plautus owne words are not able to understand them'. No others are known.

THOMAS WATSON (*c.* 1557–92).

An Oxford man, who took no degree, and a lawyer, who did not practise, Watson became an elegant writer of English and Latin verse. He won the patronage of Walsingham at Paris in 1581, and became a member of the literary circle of Lyly and Peele. His most important volume of verse is the *Hekatompathia* (1582) dedicated to the Earl of Oxford. At the time of his death in Sept. 1592 he was in the service of William Cornwallis, who afterwards wrote to Heneage that he 'could devise twenty fictions and knaveryes in a play which was his daily practyse and his living' (*Athenaeum*, 23 Aug. 1890). This suggests that the poet, and not the episcopal author of *Absalon* (*Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 458), is the Watson included by Meres in 1598 amongst our 'best for Tragedie'. But his plays, other than translations, must, if they exist, be sought amongst the anonymous work of 1581–92, where it would be an interesting task to reconstruct his individuality. In *Ulysses upon Ajax* (1596) Harington's anonymous critic says of his etymologies of Ajax, 'Faith, they are trivial, the froth of witty Tom Watson's jests, I heard them in Paris fourteen years ago: besides what balductum [trashy] play is not full of them'. In the meantime Oliphant (*M. P.* viii. 437) has suggested that he may be the author of *Thorny Abbey, or, The London Maid*, printed by one R. D. with Haughton's *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* in *Gratiae Theatrales* (1662) and there assigned to T. W. Oliphant regards *Thorny Abbey* as clearly a late revision of an Elizabethan play.

TRANSLATION

Antigone > 1581

S. R. 1581, July 31 (Bp. of London). 'Aphoclis Antigone, Thoma Watsono interprete.' *John Wolfe* (Arber, ii. 398).

1581. Sophoclis Antigone. Interprete Thoma Watsono I. V. studioso. Huic adduntur pompae quaedam, ex singulis Tragoediae actis deriuatae ; & post eas, totidem themata sententiis refertissima ; eodem Thoma Watsono Authore. *John Wolf.* [Latin translation. Verses to Philip Earl of Arundel, signed 'Thomas Watsonus'. Commendatory Verses by Stephanus Broelmannus, Ἰωαννης Κωκος, Philip Harrison, Francis Yomans, Christopher Atkinson, C. Downhale, G. Camden.]

JOHN WEBSTER (?–>1634).

There is little clue to the personal history of John Webster beyond the description of him on the title-page of his mayoral pageant *Monuments of Honour* (1624) as 'Merchant-Taylor', and his claim in the epistle to have been born free of the company. The records of the Merchant Taylors show that freemen of this name were admitted in 1571, 1576, and 1617, and that one of them was assessed towards the coronation expenses in 1604. A John Webster, Merchant Taylor, also received an acknowledgement of a 15*s*. debt from John and Edward Alleyn on 25 July 1591 (Collier, *Alleyn Papers*, 14). A John Webster married Isabel Sutton at St. Leonard's Shoreditch on 25 July 1590, and had a daughter Alice baptized there on 9 May 1606. It has been taken for granted that none of the sixteenth-century records can relate to the dramatist, although they may to his father. This presumably rests on the assumption that he must have been a young man when he began to write for Henslowe in 1602. It should, however, be pointed out that a John Webster, as well as a George Webster, appears amongst the Anglo-German actors of Browne's group in 1596 (cf. ch. xiv) and that the financial record in the *Alleyn Papers* probably belongs to a series of transactions concerning the winding up of a theatrical company in which Browne and the Alleyns had been interested (cf. ch. xiii, s.v. Admiral's). It is conceivable therefore that Webster was an older man than has been suspected and had had a career as a player before he became a playwright.

Gildon, *Lives of the Poets* (1698), reports that Webster was parish clerk of St Andrew's, Holborn. This cannot be confirmed from parish books, but may be true.

As a dramatist, Webster generally appears in collaboration, chiefly with Dekker, and at rather infrequent intervals from 1602 up to 1624 or later. In 1602 he wrote commendatory verses for a translation by Munday, and in 1612 for Heywood's *Apology for Actors*. In 1613 he published his elegy *A Monumental Column* on the death of Prince Henry, and recorded his friendship with Chapman. His marked tendency to borrow phrases from other writers helps to date his work. He can hardly be identified with the illiterate clothworker of the same name, who acknowledged his will with a mark on 5 Aug. 1625. But he is referred to in the past in Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Angels* (1635), Bk. iv, p. 206, 'Fletcher and Webster . . . neither was but Iacke', and was probably therefore dead.

Collections

1830. A. Dyce. 4 vols. 1857, 1 vol. [Includes *Malcontent*, *Appius and Virginia*, and *Thracian Wonder*.]

1857. W. C. Hazlitt. 4 vols. (*Library of Old Authors*). [Includes

Appius and Virginia, *Thracian Wonder*, and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*.]

1888. J. A. Symonds, *W. and Tourneur* (*Mermaid Series*). [*The White Devil* and *Duchess of Malfi*.]

1912. A. H. Thorndike, *Webster and Tourneur*. (*N. E. D.*) [*White Devil*, *Duchess of Malfi*, *Appius and Virginia*.]

Dissertations: E. Gosse, *J. W.* (1883, *Seventeenth-Century Studies*); A. C. Swinburne, *J. W.* (1886, *Studies in Prose and Poetry*, 1894); C. Vopel, *J. W.* (1888, *Bremen diss.*); M. Meiners, *Metrische Untersuchungen über den Dramatiker J. W.* (1893, *Halle diss.*); W. Archer, *Webster, Lamb, and Swinburne* (1893, *New Review*, viii. 96); W. von Wurzbach, *J. W.* (1898, *Jahrbuch*, xxxi. 9); J. Morris, *J. W.* (*Fortnightly Review*, June 1902); E. E. Stoll, *J. W.* (1905); L. J. Sturge, *W. and the Law; a Parallel* (1906, *Jahrbuch*, xlii, 148); C. Crawford, *J. W. and Sir Philip Sidney* (1906, *Collectanea*, i. 20), *Montaigne, W., and Marston: Donne and W.* (1907, *Collectanea*, ii. 1); F. E. Pierce, *The Collaboration of W. and Dekker* (1909, *Yale Studies*, xxxvii); H. D. Sykes, *W. and Sir Thomas Overbury* (1613, *11 N. Q.* viii. 221, 244, 263, 282, 304); A. F. Bourgeois, *W. and the N. E. D.* (1914, *11 N. Q.* ix. 302, 324, 343); R. Brooke, *J. W. and the Elizabethan Drama* (1916).

Sir Thomas Wyatt. *1602*

With Chettle, Dekker (q.v.), Heywood, and Smith, for Worcester's.

The Malcontent. *1604*

Additions to the play of Marston (q.v.) for the King's.

Westward Ho! *1604*

With Dekker (q.v.) for Paul's.

Northward Ho! *1605*

With Dekker (q.v.) for Paul's.

Appius and Virginia. *c. 1608.*

S. R. 1654, May 13. 'A play called Appeus and Virginia Tragedy written by John Webster.' *Richard Marriott* (Eyre, i. 448).

1654. Appius and Virginia. A Tragedy. By Iohn Webster. [*No imprint.*]

1659. *For Humphrey Moseley.* [A reissue.]

1679.

Edition by C. W. Dilke (1814–15, *O. E. P.* v).—*Dissertations*: J. Lauschke, *John Webster's Tragödie A. und V. Eine Quellenstudie* (1899, *Leipzig diss.*); H. D. Sykes, *An Attempt to determine the Date of Webster's A. and V.* (1913, *11 N. Q.* vii. 401, 422, 466; viii. 63); R. Brooke, *The Authorship of the Later A. and V.* (1913, *M. L. R.* viii. 433), more fully in *John Webster* (1916); A. M. Clark, *A. and V.* (1921, *M. L. R.* xvi. 1).

The play is in Beeston's list of Cockpit plays in 1639 (*Var.* iii. 159).

Webster's authorship has generally been accepted, but Stoll, 197, who put the play 1623–39, because of resemblances to *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* which he thought implied a knowledge of F_1, traced a dependence upon the comic manner of Heywood. Similarly, Sykes is puzzled by words which he thinks borrowed from Heywood and first used by Heywood in works written after Webster's death. He comes to the conclusion that Heywood may have revised a late work by Webster. There is much to be said for the view taken by Brooke and Clark, after a thorough-going analysis of the problem, that the play is Heywood's own, possibly with a few touches from Webster's hand, and may have been written, at any date not long after the production of *Coriolanus* on the stage (*c.* 1608), for Queen Anne's men, from whom it would naturally pass into the Cockpit repertory.

The White Devil. *1609 < > 12*

1612. The White Divel; Or, The Tragedy of Paulo Giordano Ursini, Duke of Brachiano, With The Life and Death of Vittoria Corombona the famous Venetian Curtizan. Acted by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants. Written by Iohn Webster. *N. O. for Thomas Archer.* (Epistle to the Reader; after text, a note.]

1631. . . . Acted, by the Queenes Maiesties seruants, at the Phœnix, in Drury-lane. *I. N. for Hugh Perry.*

1665; 1672.

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-3}$ (1744–1825) and by W. Scott (1810, *A.B.D.* iii) and M. W. Sampson (1904, *B.L.*).—*Dissertations*: B. Nicholson, *Thomas Adams' Sermon on The W. D.* (1881, 6 *N.Q.* iii. 166); W. W. Greg, *W.'s W. D.* (1900, *M.L.Q.* iii. 112); M. Landau, *Vittoria Accorambona in der Dichtung im Verhältniss zu ihrer wahren Geschichte* (1902, *Euphorion*, ix. 310); E. M. Cesaresco, *Vittoria Accoramboni* (1902, *Lombard Studies*, 131); P. Simpson, *An Allusion in W.* (1907, *M.L.R.* ii. 162); L. MacCracken, *A Page of Forgotten History* (1911); H. D. Sykes, *The Date of W.'s Play, the W. D.* (1913, *11 N.Q.* vii. 342).

The epistle apologizes for the ill success of the play, on the ground that 'it was acted in so dull a time of winter, presented in so open and blacke a theater, that it wanted . . . a full and understanding auditory', and complains that the spectators at 'that play-house' care more for new plays than for good plays. Fleay, ii. 271, dates the production in the winter of 1607–8, taking the French ambassador described in III. i. 73 as a performer 'at last tilting' to be M. Goterant who tilted on 24 March 1607, since 'no other Frenchman's name occurs in the tilt-lists. It is nothing to Fleay that Goterant was not an ambassador, or that the lists of Jacobean tilters are fragmentary, or that the scene of the play is not England but Italy. Simpson found an inferior limit in a borrowing from Jonson's *Mask of Queens* on 2 Feb. 1609. I do not find much conviction in the other indications of a date in 1610 cited by Sampson, xl, or in the parallel with Jonson's epistle to *Catiline* (1611), with which Stoll, 21, supports a date in 1612. The Irish notes which Stoll regards as taken from B. Rich, *A New Description of Ireland* (1610), in fact go back to Stanyhurst's account of 1577, and though there is a pretty clear borrowing from Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy*, that may have been produced some time before its publication in 1611. Nor was Dekker necessarily referring to Webster, when he wrote to the Queen's men in his epistle before *If this be not a Good Play* (1612): 'I wish a *Faire* and *Fortunate Day* to your *Next New-Play* for the *Makers-sake* and your *Owne*, because such *Brave Triumphes* of *Poesie* and *Elaborate Industry*, which my *Worthy Friends Muse* hath there set forth, deserue a *Theater* full of very *Muses* themselves to be *Spectators*. To that *Faire Day* I wish a *Full, Free* and *Knowing Auditor*.'

Webster's own epistle contains his appreciation 'of other mens worthy labours; especially of that full and haightned stile of Maister *Chapman*, the labor'd and understanding workes of Maister *Johnson*, the no lesse worthy composures of the both worthily excellent Maister *Beamont*, & Maister *Fletcher*, and lastly (without wrong last to be named) the right happy and copious industry of M. *Shake-speare*, M. *Decker*, & M. *Heywood*'. In the final note he commends the actors, and in particular 'the well approved industry of my freind Maister Perkins'.

The Duchess of Malfi. 1613–14

1623. The Tragedy of the Dutchesse of Malfy. As it was Presented priuately, at the Black-Friers; and publiquely at the Globe, By the Kings Maiesties Seruants. The perfect and exact Coppy, with diuerse things Printed, that the length of the Play would not beare in the Presentment. Written by John Webster. *Nicholas Okes for Iohn Waterson*. [Epistle to George Lord Berkeley, signed 'John Webster'; Commendatory Verses, signed 'Thomas Middletonus Poëta et Chron: Londinensis', 'Wil: Rowley', 'John Ford'; 'The Actors Names. Bosola, *J. Lowin*. Ferdinand, *1 R. Burbidge, 2 J. Taylor*. Cardinall, *1 H. Cundaile, 2 R. Robinson*. Antonio, *1 W. Ostler, 2 R. Benfeild*. Delio, *J. Underwood*. Forobosco, *N. Towley*. Pescara, *J. Rice*. Silvio, *T. Pollard*. Mad-men, *N. Towley, J. Underwood, etc.* Cardinals M^ls^, *J. Tomson*. The Doctor, etc., *R. Pallant*. Duchess, *R. Sharpe*.'
1640; 1678; N.D.

Editions by C. E. Vaughan (1896, *T.D.*), M. W. Sampson (1904, *B.L.*), and W. A. Neilson (1911, *C.E.D.*).—*Dissertations*: K. Kiesow, *Die verschiedenen Bearbeitungen der Novelle von der Herzogin von Amalfi des Bandello in den Literaturen des xvi. und xvii. Jahrhunderts* (1895, *Anglia*, xvii. 199); J. T. Murray, *The D. of M. List of the King's Company* (1910, *E.D.C.* ii. 146); W. J. Lawrence, *The Date of the D. of M.* (*Athenaeum* for 21 Nov. 1919); W. Archer, *The D. of M.* (*Nineteenth Century* for Jan. 1920).

The actor-list records two distinct casts, one before Ostler's death on 16 Dec. 1614, the other after Burbadge's death on 13 March 1619, and before that of Tooley in June 1623. Stoll, 29, quotes the *Anglopotrida* of Orazio Busino (cf. the abstract in *V.P.* xv. 134), which appears to show that the play was on the stage at some date not very long before Busino wrote on 7 Feb. 1618:

> Prendono giuoco gli Inglesi della nostra religione come di cosa detestabile, et superstitiosa, ne mai rappresentano qualsivoglia attione pubblica, sia pura Tragisatiricomica, che non inserischino dentro uitij, et sceleragini di qualche religioso catolico, facendone risate, et molti scherni, con lor gusto, et ramarico de' buoni, fu appunto veduto dai nostri, in una Commedia introdur' un frate franciscano, astuto, et ripieno di varie impietà, cosi d' avaritia come di libidine: et il tutto poi ruiscì in una Tragedia, facendoli mozzar la vista in scena. Un altra volta rappresentarono la grandezza d' un cardinale, con li habiti formali, et proprij molti belli, et ricchi, con la sua Corte, facendo in scena erger un Altare, dove finse di far oratione, ordinando una processione: et poi lo ridussero in pubblico con una Meretrice in seno. Dimostrò di dar il Velleno ad una sua sorella, per interesse d' honore: et d' andar in oltre alla guerra, con depponer prima l' habito cardinalitio sopra l' altare col mezzo de' suoi Cappellani, con gravità, et finalmente si fece cingere la spada, metter la serpa, con tanto garbo, che niente più: et tutto ciò fanno in sprezzo, delle grandezze ecclesiastice vilipese, et odiate a morte in questo Regno.
>
> Di Londra a' 7 febaio 1618.

The date of first production may reasonably be put in 1613–14. Crawford has pointed out the resemblances between the play and *A Monumental Column* (1613) and definite borrowings from Donne's *Anatomy of the World* (1612), Chapman's *Petrarch's Seven Penitentiall Psalms* (1612), and Chapman's Middle Temple mask of 15 Feb. 1613. Lawrence thinks that Campion's mask of 14 Feb. 1613 is also drawn upon. But it is not impossible that the extant text has undergone revision, in view of borrowings from the 6th edition (1615) of Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters*, to which Sykes calls attention, and of the apparent allusion pointed out by Vaughan in I. i. 5 to the purging of the French Court by Louis XIII after the assassination of Marshall d'Ancre on 14 April 1617. It need not be inferred that this is the ' enterlude concerninge the late Marquesse d'Ancre ', which the Privy Council ordered the Master of Revels to stay on 22 June 1617 (*M.S.C.* i. 376).

Later Plays

The Devil's Law Case (1623).

A Cure for a Cuckold (1661), with W. Rowley.

On the authorship and dates of these, cf. Brooke, 250, 255, and H. D. Sykes in *11 N.Q.* vii. 106; ix. 382, 404, 443, 463.

Lost Plays

The following are recorded in Henslowe's diary:

For the Admiral's:

Caesar's Fall or The Two Shapes.

With Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, and Munday, May 1602.

For Worcester's:

Christmas Comes but Once a Year.

With Chettle, Dekker, and Heywood, Nov. 1602.

In the epistle to *The Devil's Law Case*, Webster says to Sir T. Finch, 'Some of my other works, as The White Devil, The Duchess of Malfi, Guise and others, you have formerly seen', and a *Guise* is ascribed to him as a comedy in Archer's play-list of 1656 and included without ascription as a tragedy in Kirkman's of 1661 and 1671 (Greg, *Masques*, lxxii). Rogers and Ley's list of 1656 had given it to Marston (q.v.). Collier forged an entry in Henslowe's diary meant to suggest that this was the *Massacre at Paris* (cf. s.v. Marlowe).

In Sept. 1624 Herbert licensed 'a new Tragedy called *A Late Murther of the Sonn upon the Mother*: Written by Forde, and Webster' (Herbert, 29).

Doubtful Plays

The ascription to Webster on the t.p. of *The Thracian Wonder* is not generally accepted. His hand has been suggested in *Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall.*

GEORGE WHETSTONE (1544?–87?).

Whetstone was a Londoner by origin. After a riotous youth, he turned to literature interspersed with adventure, possibly acting at Canterbury *c.* 1571 (cf. ch. xv), serving in the Low Countries in 1572–4, the Newfoundland voyage in 1578–9, and the Low Countries again in 1585–6. His chief literary associates were Thomas Churchyard and George Gascoigne.

After writing his one play, *Promos and Cassandra*, he translated its source, the 5th Novel of the 8th Decade of Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatomithi* (1565) in his *Heptameron of Civil Discourses* (1582). Both Italian and English are in Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library* (1875, iii). Like some other dramatists, Whetstone turned upon the stage, and attacked it in his *Touchstone for the Time* (1584; cf. App. C, No. xxxvi).

Promos and Cassandra. 1578

S. R. 1578, July 31. 'The famous historie of Promos and Casandra Devided into twoe Comicall Discourses Compiled by George Whetstone gent.' *Richard Jones* (Arber, ii. 334).

1578. The Right Excellent and famous Historye, of Promos and Cassandra; Deuided into two Commicall Discourses. . . . The worke of George Whetstones Gent. *Richard Jones.* [Epistles to his 'kinsman' William Fleetwood, dated 29 July 1578, and signed 'George Whetstone', and from the Printer to the Reader, signed 'R.I.'; Argument; Text signed 'G. Whetstone'; Colophon with imprint and date 'August 20, 1578'.]

Editions in *Six Old Plays*, i. 1 (1779), and by W. C. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, vi. 201 (1875), and J. S. Farmer (1910, *T.F.T.*). There are two parts, arranged in acts and scenes. Whetstone's epistle is of some critical interest (cf. App. C, No. xix). In the *Heptameron* he says the play was 'yet never presented upon stage'. The character of the s.ds. suggests, however, that it was written for presentation.

NATHANIEL WIBURNE (*c.* 1597).

Possible author of the academic *Machiavellus* (cf. App. K).

GEORGE WILKINS (*fl.* 1604–8).

Lee (*D. N. B.*) after personally consulting the register of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, confirms the extract in Collier, iii. 348, of the burial on 19 Aug. 1603 of 'George Wilkins, the poet'. It must therefore be assumed that the date of 9 Aug. 1613 given for the entry by T. E. Tomlins in *Sh. Soc. Papers*, i. 34, from Ellis's *History of Shoreditch* (1798) is an error, and that the 'poet' was distinct from the dramatist. Nothing is known of Wilkins except that he wrote pamphlets from *c.* 1604 to 1608, and towards the end of that period was also engaged in play-writing both for the King's and the Queen's men. A George Wilkins of St. Sepulchre's, described as a victualler and aged 36, was a fellow witness with Shakespeare in *Belott v. Mountjoy* on 19 June 1612 (C. W. Wallace, *N. U. S.* x. 289).

The Miseries of Enforced Marriage. 1607

S. R. 1607, July 31 (Buck). 'A tragedie called the Miserye of inforced Marriage.' *George Vyncent* (Arber, iii. 357).

1607. The Miseries of Inforst Mariage. As it is now playd by his Maiesties Seruants. By George Wilkins. *For George Vincent.*

1611; 1629; 1637.

Editions in Dodsley$^{2-4}$ (1780–1874) and by W. Scott (1810, *A. B. D.* ii) and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*).

The play, which was based on the life of Walter Calverley, as given in pamphlets of 1605, appears to have been still on the stage when it was printed. An allusion in III. ii to fighting with a windmill implies some knowledge of Don Quixote, but of this there are other traces by 1607. The Clown is called Robin in II. ii, and Fleay, ii. 276, suggests that Armin took the part. He comes in singing:

> From London am I come,
> Though not with pipe and drum,

in reference to Kempe's morris.

Doubtful Plays

Wilkins probably wrote Acts I, II of *Pericles*, and it has been suggested that he also wrote certain scenes of *Timon of Athens*; but the relation of his work to Shakespeare's cannot be gone into here.

The anonymous *Yorkshire Tragedy* has also been ascribed to him.

ROBERT WILMOT (>1566–91<).

A student of the Inner Temple, and afterwards Rector of North Ockendon, Essex, from 28 Nov. 1582 and of Horndon-on-the-Hill, Essex, from 2 Dec. 1585. William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetry* (ed. Arber, 35), commends his writing.

Tancred and Gismund. 1566 (?)

Written with Rod. Staff[ord], Hen[ry] No[el], G. Al. and Chr[istopher] Hat[ton].

[*MSS.*] (*a*) *Lansdowne MS.* 786, f. 1, ' Gismond of Salern in Loue '.

(*b*) *Brit. Mus. Hargrave MS.* 205, f. 9, ' The Tragedie of Gismond of Salerne '.

[Both MSS. have three sonnets ' of the Quenes maydes ', and Prologue and Epilogue.]

(*c*) A fragment, now unknown, formerly belonging to Milton's father-in-law, Richard Powell.

1591. The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund. Compiled by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, and by them presented before her Maiestie. Newly reuiued and polished according to the decorum of these daies. By R. W. *Thomas Scarlet, sold by R. Robinson.* [Epistles to Lady Mary Peter and Lady Anne Gray, signed ' Robert Wilmot ' ; to R. W. signed 'Guil. Webbe ' and dated ' Pyrgo in Essex August the eighth 1591 ' ; to the Inner and Middle Temple and other Readers, signed ' R. Wilmot ' ; two Sonnets (2 and 3 of MSS.) ; Arguments ; Prologue ; Epilogue signed ' R. W.' ; Introductiones (dumb-shows). Some copies are dated 1592.]

Editions in Dodsley$^{1-4}$ (1744–1874) and by J. S. Farmer (1912, *S. F. T.*) from 1591, and by A. Brandl (1898, *Q. W. D.*) and J. W. Cunliffe (1912, *E. E. C. T.*) and J. S. Farmer (*S. F. T.*) from MS.—*Dissertations*: J. W. Cunliffe, *Gismond of Salerne* (1906, *M. L. A.* xxi. 435) ; A. Klein, *The Decorum of These Days* (1918, *M. L. A.* xxxiii. 244).

The MSS. represent the play as originally produced, probably, from an allusion in one of the sonnets, at Greenwich. The print represents a later revision by Wilmot, involving much re-writing and the insertion of new scenes and the dumb-shows. Webbe's epistle is an encouragement to Wilmot to publish his ' waste papers ', and refers to *Tancred* as ' framed ' by the Inner Temple, and to Wilmot as ' disrobing him of his antique curiosity and adorning him with the approved guise of our stateliest English terms '. Wilmot's own Epistle to the Readers apologizes for the indecorum of publishing a play, excuses it by the example of Beza's *Abraham* and Buchanan's *Jephthes*, and refers to ' the love that hath been these twenty-four years betwixt ' himself and Gismund. This seems to date the original production in 1567. But I find no evidence that Elizabeth was at Greenwich in 1567. Shrovetide 1566 seems the nearest date at which a play is likely to have been given there. Wilmot was clearly not the sole author of the original play ; to Act I he affixes ' *Exegit Rod. Staff.*' ; to Act II, ' *Per Hen. No.*' ; to Act III, ' *G. Al.*' ; to Act IV, ' *Composuit Chr. Hat.*' ; to the Epilogue, ' *R. W.*' Probably Act V, which has no indication of authorship, was also his own.

W. H. Cooke, *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547–1660* (1878), gives the admission of Christopher Hatton in 1559–60, but Wilmot is not traceable in the list ; nor are Hen. No., G. Al., or Rod. Staff. But the first may be Elizabeth's Gentleman Pensioner, Henry Noel (q.v.), and Cunliffe, lxxxvi, notes that a ‘ Master Stafford ’ was fined £5 for refusing to act as Marshal at the Inner Temple in 1556–7.

Doubtful Play

Hazlitt assigns to Wilmot *The Three Ladies of London*, but the R. W. of the title-page is almost certainly Robert Wilson (q.v.).

ROBERT WILSON (>1572–1600).

For Wilson's career as an actor and a discussion as to whether there was more than one dramatist of the name, cf. ch. xv.

The Three Ladies of London. c. 1581

1584. A right excellent and famous Comœdy called the three Ladies of London. Wherein is notably declared and set foorth, how by the meanes of Lucar, Love and Conscience is so corrupted, that the one is married to Dissimulation, the other fraught with all abhomination. A perfect patterne for all Estates to looke into, and a worke right worthie to be marked. Written by R. W. as it hath been publiquely played. *Roger Warde.* [Prologue. At end of play ‘ Paule Bucke ’ (an actor ; cf. ch. xv).]

1592. *John Danter.*

Editions by J. P. Collier, *Five Old Plays* (1851, *Roxb. Club*), in Dodsley[4] (1874), vi, and by J. S. Farmer (1911, *T. F. T.*).

The stylistic resemblance of this to the next two plays justifies the attribution to Wilson, although Hazlitt suggests Wilmot. Gosson describes the play in 1582 (*P. C.* 185) together with a play in answer called *London Against the Three Ladies*, but does not indicate whether either play was then in print. In B ii Peter's pence are dated as ‘ not muche more than 26 yeares, it was in Queen Maries time ’. As the Act reviving Peter's pence was passed in the winter of 1554–5, the play was probably written in 1581.

The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London. c. 1589

S. R. 1590, July 31 (Wood). ‘ A comodie of the plesant and statelie morrall of the Three lordes of London.’ *Richard Jones* (Arber, ii. 556).

1590. The Pleasant and Stately Morall, of the three Lordes and three Ladies of London. With the great Joy and Pompe, Solempnized at their Mariages : Commically interlaced with much honest Mirth, for pleasure and recreation, among many Morall obseruations and other important matters of due regard. By R. W. *R. Jones.* [Woodcut, on which cf. *Bibl. Note* to ch. xviii ; ‘ Preface ’, i.e. prologue.]

Editions by J. P. Collier (1851, *Five Old Plays*), in Dodsley[4], vi. 371 (1874), and by J. S. Farmer (1912, *T. F. T.*).—*Dissertation* : H. Fernow, *The 3 L. and 3 L. By R. W.* (1885, *Hamburg programme*).

Fleay, ii. 280, fixes the date by the allusions (C, C^{v}) to the recent death of Tarlton (q.v.) in Sept. 1588.

The Cobbler's Prophecy > 1594

S. R. 1594, June 8. 'A booke intituled the Coblers prophesie.' *Cuthbert Burby* (Arber, ii. 653).

1594. The Coblers Prophesie. Written by Robert Wilson, Gent. *John Danter for Cuthbert Burby.*

Editions by W. Dibelius (1897, *Jahrbuch*, xxxiii. 3), J. S. Farmer (1911, *T. F. T.*), and A. C. Wood (1914, *M. S. R.*).

The general character of this play, with its reference (i. 36) to an audience who 'sit and see' and its comfits cast, suggests the Court rather than the popular stage.

Doubtful Plays

Wilson's hand has been sought in *Clyomon and Clamydes, Fair Em, Knack to Know a Knave, Pedlar's Prophecy* (cf. ch. xxiv).

Lost Plays

Short and Sweet (*c.* 1579). *Vide Catiline's Conspiracy* (*infra*).

The following is a complete list of plays for the Admiral's men in which a share is assigned to Wilson by Henslowe:

(i, ii) *1, 2, Earl Godwin and his Three Sons.*
With Chettle, Dekker, and Drayton, March–June 1598.

(iii) *Pierce of Exton.*
With Chettle, Dekker, and Drayton, April, 1598; but apparently unfinished.

(iv) *1 Black Bateman of the North.*
With Chettle, Dekker, and Drayton, May 1598.

(v) *2 Black Bateman of the North.*
With Chettle, June 1598.

(vi) *Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-Lion.*
With Chettle, Drayton, and Munday, June 1598.

(vii) *The Madman's Morris.*
With Dekker and Drayton, July 1598.

(viii) *Hannibal and Hermes.*
With Dekker and Drayton, July 1598.

(ix) *Pierce of Winchester.*
With Dekker and Drayton, July–Aug. 1598.

(x) *Chance Medley.*
With Chettle or Dekker, Drayton, and Munday, Aug. 1598.

(xi) *Catiline's Conspiracy.*
With Chettle, Aug. 1598; but apparently not finished; unless the fact that the authors only received one 'earnest' of £1 5*s.* was due to the play being no more than a revision of Wilson's old *Short and Sweet,* which Lodge (cf. App. C, No. xxiii) contrasts about 1579 with Gosson's play on Catiline.

(xii, xiii) *1, 2 Sir John Oldcastle.*

With Drayton (q.v.), Hathaway, and Munday, Oct.–Dec. 1599.

(xiv) *2 Henry Richmond.*

Nov. 1599, apparently with others, as shown by Robert Shaw's order for payment (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 49), on which a scenario of one act is endorsed.

(xv) *Owen Tudor.*

With Drayton, Hathaway, and Munday, Jan. 1600; but apparently not finished.

(xvi) *1 Fair Constance of Rome.*

June 1600. The Diary gives the payments as made to Dekker, Drayton, Hathaway, and Munday, but a letter of 14 June from Robert Shaw (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 55) indicates that Wilson had a fifth share.

ANTHONY WINGFIELD (*c.* 1550–1615).

Possible author of the academic *Pedantius* (cf. App. K).

NATHANIEL WOODES (?).

A minister of Norwich, only known as author of the following play.

The Conflict of Conscience > 1581

1581. An excellent new Commedie Intituled: The Conflict of Conscience. Contayninge, A most lamentable example, of the dolefull desperation of a miserable worldlinge, termed, by the name of Philologus, who forsooke the trueth of God's Gospel, for feare of the losse of lyfe, & worldly goods. Compiled, by Nathaniell Woodes, Minister, in Norwich. *Richard Bradocke.* [Prologue.]

Editions by J. P. Collier (1851, *Five Old Plays*), in Dodsley^4, vi. 29 (1874), and by J. S. Farmer (1911, *T. F. T.*).

The characters are allegorical, typical and personal and arranged for six actors 'most convenient for such as be disposed either to shew this Comedie in private houses or otherwise'. Philologus is Francis Spiera, a pervert to Rome about the middle of the sixteenth century. The play is strongly Protestant, and is probably much earlier than 1581. It is divided into a prologue and acts and scenes. Act VI is practically an epilogue.

HENRY WOTTON (1568–1639).

Izaak Walton (*Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 1651) tells us that, while a student at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1586, Wotton 'was by the chief of that College, persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use;—it was the Tragedy of Tancredo—which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had, in a slight employment, given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities'.

CHRISTOPHER WREN (1591–1658).

Author of the academic *Physiponomachia* (cf. App. K).

ROBERT YARINGTON (*c.* 1601 ?).

Nothing is known of Yarington, but this is hardly sufficient reason for denying him the ascription of the title-page.

Two Lamentable Tragedies. 1594 < > 1601

1601. Two Lamentable Tragedies. The one, of the murder of Maister Beech a Chaundler in Thames-streete, and his boye, done by Thomas Merry. The other of a young childe murthered in a Wood by two Ruffins, with the consent of his Vnckle. By Rob. Yarington. *For Mathew Lawe.* [Running-title, 'Two Tragedies in One.' Induction.]

Editions by A. H. Bullen (1885, *O. E. P.* iv) and J. S. Farmer (1913, *S. F. T.*).—*Dissertation*: R. A. Law, *Y.'s T. L. T.* (1910, *M. L. R.* v. 167).

This deals in alternate scenes with (*a*) the murder of Beech by Merry on 23 Aug. 1594, and (*b*) a version, with an Italian setting, of the Babes in the Wood, on which a ballad, with a Norfolk setting, was licensed in 1595. Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 208, following a hint of Fleay, ii. 285, connects the play with Henslowe's entries of payments, on behalf of the Admiral's, (i) of £5 in Nov. and Dec. 1599 to Day and Haughton for *Thomas Merry* or *Beech's Tragedy*, (ii) of 10*s*. in Nov. 1599 and 10*s*. in Sept. 1601 to Chettle for *The Orphan's Tragedy*, and (iii) of £2 to Day in Jan. 1600 for an Italian tragedy. He supposes that (ii) and (iii) were the same play, that it was finished, and that in 1601 Chettle combined it with (i), possibly dropping out Day's contributions to both pieces. Yarington he dismisses as a scribe. In the alternate scenes of the extant version he discerns distinct hands, presumably those of Haughton and Chettle respectively. Law does not think that there are necessarily two hands at all, finds imitation of *Leire* (1594) in scenes belonging to both plots, and reinstates Yarington. Oliphant (*M. P.* viii. 435) boldly conjectures that 'Rob. Yarington' might be a misreading of 'W^{m} Haughton'. Bullen thought that this play, *Arden of Feversham*, and *A Warning for Fair Women* might all be by the same hand.

CHRISTOPHER YELVERTON (*c.* 1535–1612).

Yelverton entered Gray's Inn in 1552. He is mentioned as a poet in Jasper Heywood's verses before Thomas Newton's translation (1560) of Seneca's *Thyestes*, and wrote an epilogue to the Gray's Inn *Jocasta* of Gascoigne (q.v.) and Kinwelmershe in 1566. He also helped to devise the dumb-shows for the Gray's Inn *Misfortunes of Arthur* of Thomas Hughes (q.v.) on 28 Feb. 1588. He became a Justice of the Queen's Bench on 2 Feb. 1602 and was knighted on 23 July 1603.

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